Rte. 2 Box #
Glenwood, Ga.
Lawader M. Daniels
March 5 1945

Dr. W. B. Dois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear sir:

Please send me a copy of the history of Joe Louis life, from birth up untill now. Stating who his parent were and when they married. If you do not have it. Please let me know where I will be able to get it from. Will you let me know at once?

Oblige your
Lawader Daniels

23 March 1945

20-20-62

My dear Sir:

You will find a life of Joe Louis in the book by Edwin R. Embree, Thirteen Against the Odds, published by the Viking Press.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lanoder Daniels
Route 2
c/o A. R. Pearson
Glenwood, Georgia

SUSQUEHANNA 7-3300

REPLY TO
HOTEL ANSONIA
BROADWAY AND 73RD ST.
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.
Watumull Foundation, Visiting Professor
Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Sept. 26. 1945

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of the Colred People
69th Fifth Ave
New York City

20-131-19

Dear Dr. Du Bois :

I have been informed by Irwin Leff of the Boston Metroplitan Council of Colleges that it will be my pleasure to be at the same programme with you on December 9. 1945 ; the topic for discussion will be "problems of Colonial Peoples " . It seems to me that we should meet together for a few munites , at your convenience , to map out lectures so that we may not over-lap each-other . Any morning except Saturdays will be convenient for me .

It has been such a long time that we met and it will be a matter of real pleasure for me to exchange views with you . I have read with the greatest interest your book " Color and Democracy" . It is the best and only book which speaks out fearlessly on the all important subject .

With the kindest regards , I remain

Very sincerely yours

Taraknath Das

Taraknath Das

20-13-20

October 5, 1945

Dr. Taraknath Das
Hotel Ansonia
Broadway and 73rd Street
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Das:

I should be very glad to meet and talk with you concerning the lectures in Boston, December 9th but just now I am trying to get permission to attend the Pan African Congress in London this month. If I go, I should be back in two or three weeks and will then communicate with you. If I do not go, I will write you again next week.

Thank you very much for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

30 January 1945

My dear Davis:

I shall arrive in Cleveland, Thursday night, February eight, on the Empire Express. I will get off at East Cleveland and take a taxi to the house. I shall stay over for the lecture on the eleventh and leave for New York at 9:55 a. m., Monday the twelfth.

I trust you can arrange with Mrs. Davis to let me stop at your bungalow.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

February 1st, 1945

20-10-34

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am looking forward to seeing you as outlined in your letter of January 30th.

The Art Museum has arranged a luncheon party in your honor for Friday, February 9th at 11:50 A.M. There will be a small group of interesting people, a number of whom you will know. I will be unable to attend this luncheon, but Mrs. Davis will represent me.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

jm

14 February 1945

20-10-30

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Davis:

I had a very comfortable ride home although a bit long. We got in an hour and a half late but I am nicely rested especially as I found a consignment of bacon in my larder. By the way, Mrs. Davis' lunch came in very handy indeed. I am starting out Saturday night for Detroit and Chicago. Let me thank you again for your very kind hospitality. I feel under very deep obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. and Mrs. Harry E. Davis
1050 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

August 23, 1945

20-7-27

My dear Mr. Davis:

I have been corresponding with a Clarence S. Bond, 6003 Thackery Avenue, Cleveland, about a lecture which he wants me to give at some church October 28th.

Kindly give me some idea as to whether he is a reliable person. He belongs to the Political Action Committee.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Davis.

I have just finished a nice rest in Maine.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

Lectures

September 5, 1945

20-7-45

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Your letter of August 23 in re Clarence S. Bond was received while I was on my vacation at Highland Beach.

From what I can learn this person is reliable and responsibile. He is promoting a group of lectures as a representative of the local Political Action Committee - CIO. However, I know nothing of his financial responsibility and in your future correspondence with him you shoid learn whether this is an individual matter on his part or whether he is acting as an Agent for the Political Action Committee, in which case I think it would be wise to secure confirmation from the Committee.

With all good wishes I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

HED:JM

P. S. Mrs. Davis and I have just returned from our annual vacation at Highland Beach. We were very much disappointed in not finding you there - at least over a weekend, but since you were in the more aristocratic suburb in Maine, perhaps this can be overlooked. If you plan to be in Cleveland for a lecture please let me know in advance.

H. E. D.

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

20-7-40

December 5th, 1945

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Wilkie Memorial
20 West 40th St.
New York, New York

c/o NAACP

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I received both your postcard and letter purported to have been mailed from your plane at the "top of the world", and express the hope that you had a pleasant and profitable sojourn in London and Paris.

The St. James Forum would like to know whether you would be able to make your customary lecture tour this year and if you have any dates open they want to put you on their schedule. Please advise me as to any open time, possible dates and your honorarium.

Very truly yours

Harry E. Davis

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Composed of the following Organizations

National Missionary Council of Australia
Société Belge de Missions Protestants au Congo
Confederação Evangélica do Brasil
National Christian Council of China
Conseil Protestant du Congo
Dansk Missionsraad
Deutscher Evangelischer Missionstag
Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris
Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland
National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon
National Christian Council of Japan
Committee on Coöperation in Latin America
Concilio Nacional Evangélico de México
Near East Christian Council
Nederlandsche Zendingsraad
Netherlands India
National Missionary Council of New Zealand
Norsk Misjonsråd
Foreign Missions Conference of North America (United States and Canada)
Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches
Confederación de Iglesias Evangélicas del Rio de La Plata
Christian Council of South Africa
Suomen Lähetysneuvosto
Svenska Missionsrådet
National Missionary Council of Switzerland
National Christian Council of Thailand

Cablegrams:
Intmission, New York
Missions Code
Telephone: Chelsea 2-3233

Honorary Chairman: John R. Mott, New York
Chairman: Bishop James C. Baker, New York
Treasurer: S. Frederick Telleen, New York
Secretaries: John W. Decker, New York
Norman Goodall, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1

156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND COUNSEL
J. Merle Davis, *Director*

20-4-100

January 24, 1945

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr.Du Bois:

I am much interested in the outline you have sent me of the proposed colonial conference and I hope very much that you will be able to carry out the plan along the lines suggested.

As you are doubtless aware, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and particularly the Africa Committee of that Conference of which Dr.Emory Ross is Secretary would be a group that would take special interest in the plan which you have proposed. Other committeesof the Foreign Missions Conference which might be interested are the India Committee and the South East Asia Committee.

I am sorry that I am not able to send you more references of the kind you would like to have. I know that Dr.Ross would be glad to cooperate with you in any possible way.

If any further suggestions occur to me, I would be glad to send them to you.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Merle Davis.

J.Merle Davis

JMD:EC

9 March 1945

20-4-101

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am enclosing copies of our invitation and statement for our Colonial Conference, April sixth. In your letter of January twenty-fourth, you mentioned a South East Asia Committee. If wonder if that committee could recommend any persons who might attend our conference. I am putting stress on native inhabitants of the colonies. Also I am looking for representatives from the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and East Africa. I would be glad of any advice you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J. Merle Davis
International Missionary Council
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

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Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris
Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland
National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon
National Christian Council of Japan
Committee on Coöperation in Latin America
Concilio Nacional Evangélico de México
Near East Christian Council
Nederlandsche Zendingsraad
Netherlands India
National Missionary Council of New Zealand
Norsk Misjonsråd
Foreign Missions Conference of North America (United States and Canada)
Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches
Confederación de Iglesias Evangélicas del Rio de La Plata
Christian Council of South Africa
Suomen Lähetysneuvosto
Svenska Missionsrådet
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156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND COUNSEL
J. Merle Davis, *Director*

20-4-102

March 13, 1945

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have passed on to the Secretary of the Southeast Asia Committee your letter and enclosure of March 9th. I am also asking the Committee Secretary to communicate directly with you and I hope he will be able to suggest some suitable people who might attend your Conference.

With kind regards,

Most sincerely yours,

J. Merle Davis

J.Merle Davis

JMD:EC

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Composed of the following Organizations

National Missionary Council of Australia
Société Belge de Missions Protestants au Congo
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Netherlands India
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156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND COUNSEL
J. Merle Davis, *Director*

20-4-103

April 2nd 1945

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I thank you for your invitation to attend the Colonial Conference on April 6th at the New York Public Library.

I am very sorry that I have to be in Hartford on that date and it will, therefore, be impossible for me to attend this important conference.

With best wishes,

Most sincerely yours,

J. Merle Davis.

J.Merle Davis

% Feakins Lecture Bureau
500 Fifth Ave.
New York City
Feb. 11, 1945

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta

Social Menace

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have just returned to the United States after over a year and a half abroad. I find your letter inviting me to the conference last year. I regret that I was unable to come. As you know I am intensely interested in education and particularly in Negro education. If you have a conference this year I wish you would let me know. In addition if any of the colleges would want me to come and lecture for a term on sociology in 45-46 I might be interested. Just now I am busy lecturing all over the country and writing.

With warm regards,

Jerome Davis

Jerome Davis

20-15-42

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

26 March 1945

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

20-24-105

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Will you be kind enough to word for me an amendment to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which would safeguard the interests of 750 millions of dependent and colonial peoples and 500 million semi-colonials. I desire to use a rightly worded statement with persons who may have some influence in connection with the human side of world affairs.

I have been delighted to see in press reports that you will go to San Francisco. This is as it should be.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Crisis, 69 Fifth Avenue
N A A C P
New York City

29 March 1945

20-24-106

My dear President Davis:

I think the enclosed resolution which I wrote and which has been adopted unanimously by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be what you want. Also will you look out for my book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE which will appear in May.

My best wishes to you and Mrs. Davis.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

2 April 1945

JOHN W. DAVIS PRESIDENT

20-24-104

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am delighted to have a copy of the Resolution on the post-war interests of colonial and semi-colonial peoples which has been adopted by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I will be happy to use this resolution to advantage.

Mrs. Davis joins me in kindest regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P, 69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

16 April 1945

JOHN W. DAVIS PRESIDENT

Conference San Francisco

20-16-3

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I hand you now a clipping from the Charleston, West Virginia Gazette of April 14, 1945. Please note that I was successful in getting the West Virginia Council of Churches and Christian Leaders to adopt a resolution on the protection of colonial and dependent peoples, as formed by you. The acceptance and approval of this resolution were significant.

I am delighted that you were able to send me this important resolution.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N A A C P, 69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Social Action Clinic Drafts Outline for World Peace

20-16

Resolutions memorializing the late President Roosevelt, supporting the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, urging greater protection for the rights of small nations and the establishment of an international court of justice and of an international mandates commission were adopted yesterday at the closing session of the social action peace clinic at Jackson's Mill. Speakers included Congressman C. M. Bailey of the third district. The clinic, which was held under the auspices of the extension service of West Virginia university and the West Virginia Council of Churches and Christian Education, was attended by church and civic leaders from all parts of West Virginia.

Citing the late President Roosevelt's devotion to international cooperation and the establishment of peace and the fact that the community of nations will suffer from the loss of this leader, the delegates resolved "that we hereby rededicate and reconsecrate ourselves with unfaltering devotion to the cause so near his heart—formation of an organization to establish and maintain a just and durable peace."

In endorsing the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the delegates recommended that:

1. A preamble setting forth the long range purposes of justice and human welfare be prepared. 2. International law be developed and a strong court of justice be established. 3. A nation on trial under law should have no vote. 4. There be established a special commission and a trusteeship on colonial and dependent areas. 5. There be established a commission on human rights and freedoms. 6. Eventual membership in the world organization include all nations. 7. There be more specific provisions for the limitation of agreements. 8. There be greater protection for the rights of small nations. 9. Provision be made for peaceful change in international agreements. 10. An international educational agency be established. 11. There be greater emphasis on economic cooperation among nations. 12. The citizens of West Virginia devote more time to the study of these financial plans and other world problems and proposals.

In regard to colonial and protected areas, the delegates recolved further: that ownership and control of such lands by any country be recognized in international law on the following terms: (a) That the dominating country solemnly engage to give the peoples of such areas immediately a voice in their own government; (b) That it solemnly declare its intention that by a given date these people shall either be integrated into the policy of the governing country with full rights of citizenship, or shall be allowed to become independent and autonomous countries, as the peoples themselves shall decide. (c) That the national resources of these countries shall be owned by the colonies, protectorates and dependencies and used primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the area x x x. (d) That an international mandates commission be established x x x with the right to supervise the government of territory mandates after the first World war and any such enemy territory acquired in the present war.

Congressman Bailey declared the conflicting interests that lie at the root of aggressive wars can be reduced and re-directed by social engineering, that racial, national and group hatreds can be controlled to a considerable degree through education, that condescension toward "inferior" groups destroy our chances for a lasting peace, that liberated and enemy peoples must participate in planning their own destiny.

Those on the program included Dr. Leonard Riggleman, Morris Harvey college, John W. Davis, president of W. Va. State college; R. C. Boothe, John B. Easton, B. W. Tinsley, C. Oral Lowe, A. J. Gibson and Z. B. Edworthy.

Jun 3 '44

4-14-45

[ENC]

A Resolution
on
The Control of Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies

We, the members of the social action clinic, support the proposition that the ownership and control of colonies, protectorates, and dependencies, by any country, be recognized in international law on the following terms:

A. That the dominating country solemnly engage to give the peoples of such areas immediately a voice in their own government;

B. That it solemnly declare its intention that by a given date these peoples shall either be integrated into the polity of the governing country (mother) with full rights of citizenship; or shall be allowed to become independent and autonomous countries, as the peoples themselves shall decide;

C. That the national resources of these countries including mines, forests, land and its materials shall be owned by the colonies, protectorates, and dependencies and used primarily for the benefits of the inhabitants of the area; that the organization of industry, the control of labor and investment of capital shall be ordered for the benefit of the people in the area and not simply for profit of invested capital or primarily for the welfare of people outside of the colony.

D. That an international Mandates Commission be established and implemented with the supreme authority of the United Nations with the right to supervise the government of territory mandated after the first world war and any such enemy territory acquired in the present war and to investigate, report, and recommend action in the case of countries who do not keep their commitments in colonies or will not make such commitments, and that in such cases the conduct and administration of the colonies be placed under the control of the Mandates Commission, backed by the authority of the United Nations.

Approved

4-13-45

Social Action Peace Clinic
Jackson's Mill, W. Va.

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

April 25, 1945

Doctor John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

My dear Doctor Davis:

Let me assure you that the resolution quoted in your letter of the twenty-first day of April with reference to the control of colonies, protectorates and dependencies will be sent to the Secretary of State for consideration at the Conference.

Thanking you for your thoughtfulness in sending this item, I am, with kindest regards,

Most sincerely yours,

H. M. KILGORE

20-16

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

April 27, 1945

Doctor John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Dear Doctor Davis:

I appreciate your sending me a copy of the Resolution adopted at the Jackson's Mill meeting on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and dealing with the control of colonies, protectorates and dependencies.

At your request I am forwarding copies of this Resolution to some of the members of our delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

I am particularly impressed with the statement upon self-government and the use of their own national resources by protectorates and dependencies.

Very sincerely yours,

Chapman Revercomb

From President, West Virginia State College
Hears,

[JOHN DAVIS]

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

San Francisco
April 30, 1945

Dear Senator Kilgore,

Thank you for your letter of April 25th, in which you enclosed a letter which you had received from Mr. John W. Davis, the President of West Virginia State College.

20-9-7

I have sent the Resolution, which Mr. Davis sent you, on to the Secretary General of the United States Delegation of the Conference. His office is charged with handling the many resolutions which have been received since the opening of the Conference, and I am sure it will receive their proper attention.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

Senator Harley M. Kilgore
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

(DAYTON CITIZENS' COMMITTEE)

370 South Broadway
Dayton Ohio
Aug. 6, 1945

21-6-26

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Offices of N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I send this letter at the request of a group of Dayton citizens who are much perturbed over the school situation in our city. I had hoped to have been able to see you and talk the matter over with you personally while I was in New York in June but was unable to reach you either time I called at the office. Letters are quite inadequate to explain the setup, but I shall endeavor to give you some what of a picture of the situation.

As you perhaps know, we have in Dayton one segregated Negro high school, the Paul Lawrence Dunbar. Its principal is Mr. Frederic C. MacFarlane, who has been at its head for over ten years. Despite the fact that Negroes are themselves partly to blame for its erection, there are those who now see their error and are anxious to atone for their sin. This is true because they have come to see thatthe local Board of Education is determined to continue its policy of segregating Negro children by a subtle system of zoning. So now, instead of one Negro school, we have three elementary ones. The last one, Wogaman, where an all white faculty has been replaced by an all Negro faculty and where the white children living in this school district have been transferred out into another one leaving most of the school population Negro.

(1)

Resentment is high against this incident and Dunbar high school has become the sore spot in the city. Mr. MacFarlane, has been under attack for some years, because he has openly approved segregation and supports the Board in its policy. He has a few followers- but very few, as the majority of the Negro citizens have severely condemned him and have asked the Board for his removal. The Board sofar has refused to do so, because he preaches the gospel of segregation, which fits into their scheme.

Mr. MacFarlane has advocated to white audiences the establisment of a "49th" state to be Federally supported for Negroes. He has indoctrinated the students attending Dunbar with his philosophy of racism and continually quotes you as favoring segregation as the only solution to the race problem in America.

I am enclosing first, a copy of charges made against him by the Citizens' Committee; a copy of his "Farewell to the Graduates" and some newspaper clippings taken from the Daily press, in which he writes under an assumed name of "Charles S. Motley."

We are much disturbed over the influence that he is exerting on the students. They are developing a hatred for whites which reacts against any effort at obtaining a democratic educational system. We are most anxious that you disclaim through the press, any approval of segregation, as the solution to the problem of the Negro minority. There are many people who do not read and

young minds are easily influenced by Mr. MacFarlane's quotations from your writings as favoring segregation.

We would be much relieved if you could make statem ments in the Ohio edition of the Pittsburg Courier, Ohio State News and in both of our daily papers, the Herald and the NEWS to refute this dangerous propaganda.

I know that you are quite busy, but such a statement coming from you would clarify this issue to no mean degree. My friend Mrs. Hathcock has insisted that I reach you about this matter. I also talked with our friend, Father J.N.S. Belboder, shortly before his passing and he too was quite anxious to have you come to Dayton and publicly refute these theories.

Anything you can do, we will appreciate as we are determined to put an end to discrimination in the Dayton schools.

Respectfully yours,

Marian Smith Williams

(Mrs.) Marian Smith Williams,
Chairman of Citizens' Committee.

21-6-87

DAYTON CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

83-9-12

31 August 1945

My dear Madam:

I have your letter of August sixth and have been trying to get time to answer it not simply as a letter but perhaps to write about it in my column in the Defender.

I do not believe in jim crow schools. They are undemocratic and discriminatory. At the same time as I have said from time to time, the majority of Negroes in the United States depend today upon separate schools for their education and despite everything we can do and should do that situation will contine longer than any of us now living survive. We must, therefore, make the best of a bad situation and take every advantage of that situation.

2

The separate schools provide employment for colored teachers and in many cases as in the schools of Washington, D. C. they are in themselves very excellent schools. Usually, of course, a separate school is a poorer school run with fewer funds with less trained supervision and with a poorly trained staff. Under these circumstances there is no single answer which will apply to all situations. There are cases where the establishment of a separate school would be nothing less than a crime permitted by carelessness. There are other cases when the establishment of a separate school is not only advisable but a bounden duty if colored children are going to get education.

P

What the exact situation is in Dayton, I, of course, do not know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Marian S. Williams
370 South Broadway
Dayton 7, Ohio

[DAYTON CITIZENS' COMMITTEE]

370 South Broadway
Dayton Ohio
Sept. 19, 1945

21-9-8

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our Citizens' Committee received your recent communication in reply to our letter re: the local school situationand while we must say frankly that we were a bit shocked and sorely disappointed in its contents, I have been authorized to thank you for taking the time to re-reply.

(3)

We had tried to give you in our communication, somewhat of a picture of the local situation and had hoped that you would see the importance of taking a definite stand on the trend of events as they are happening in a northern city, where discrimination is illegal and where our Negro children are being tragically miseducated as to the meaning of true democracy. That you evaded the pertinent issue by generalities, is quite a disappointment to the group.

Personally, I cannot agree with you that any segregated school system is more advantageous to Negro children. I do admit that there are some sections of the country where the mores of the communities are so colored by race prejudice, that it would be foolish to attempt to initiate change at this time, but I sincerely believe that in a northern city, such as Dayton, it is criminal to teach Negro children that segregation is the solution to the problem of race.This type of education we are opposing and shall leave no stone unturned to eliminate the dual system, which we consider most detrimental to the children, psychologically, educationally and materially. We regret then, that you could not see your way to help us denounce it, inasmuch as the exponent of this outmoded philosophy, has used your name to bolster his contentions.

We would appreciate it very much if you would return to us the clippings and the address of Mr. MacFarlane to the June graduates of Dunbar high school.

Sincerely yours,
Marian S. Williams
Marian S. Williams.

[DE 1145 2AR]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FACULTY EXCHANGE, BOX 36

Sept. 29, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Request to quote

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The H.W. Wilson Company has asked me to edit a volume on Race Prejudice in their Reference Shelf series. These volumes consist of reprints of articles. All articles are solicited and none of them paid for. Three or four thousand copies are distributed to schools and libraries who subscribe to the series and get 7 titles for $6. The volume on Race Prejudice will be published this Fall.

20-19-74

May I have <u>two</u> copies of the reprint of your "A World Without Race Conflict" (Am. Journal of Sociology, March, 1944)? Upon receipt of these articles I shall ask the editor of the Journal to give me permission to reprint it.

Thanking you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

George B. de Huszar

George B. de Huszar

[DE HUSZAR]

October 6, 1945

20-19-75

Mr. George B. de Huszar
The University of Chicago
Faculty Exchange
Box 36
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. deHuszar:

I shall be glad to give you permission to reprint my article in the "American Journal of Sociology", March, 1944. I regret to say that I have no copies of the article and you will have to obtain them through the "American Journal of Sociology".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

20-15-111

8 January 1945

Dear Mrs. Delaney:

I found your note under my door when I returned from Baltimore but I was working night and day to finish a book for the publishers and then had to rush out of town almost immediately to make a speech for the Alphas in Atlantic City. I could not find a moment to get in contact with you. I am very sorry. When you come to New York again, as you doubtless will soon, please let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Julia Delaney
212 North State Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

[DELTA SIGMA THETA]

20-16-30

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION (55)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter
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1945 APR 21 PM 12 57

DR W E B DUBOIS AND MRS WALTER WHITE=

DLD 69 FIFTH AVE=

DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY NOTES WITH PLEASURE APPOINTMENT OF CONSULTANT TO AMERICAN DELEGATION AT SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE WE SHALL SEND DR DUBOIS RESOLUTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY ITS MEMBERS THIS SORORITY URGES DR DUBOIS TO REQUEST THAT MINORITY GROUP AND DEPENDENT NATIONS RECEIVE ADEQUATE PROTECTION IN THE PROPOSALS= :==

MAE W DOWNS NATIONAL PRESIDENT DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

APR 21 1945

[DELTA SIGMA THETA]

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Grand Chapter

11706

OFFICE OF
GRAND PRESIDENT
MAE WRIGHT DOWNS
BOX 121, SEWELL, N. J.

51-91-92

April 23, 1945

APR 24 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Mr. Walter White
National Ass'n. Advancement Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Sirs:

This is a copy of a telegram sent you on April twenty-first:

> Delta Sigma Theta Sorority notes with pleasure appointment of Consultant to American Delegation at San Francisco Conference. We shall send Dr. DuBoise Resolutions and conclusions reached by its members. This Sorority urges Dr. DuBois to request that minority groups and dependent nations receive adequate protection in the proposals.

Mae Wright Downs, National President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

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SEWELL, N. J.

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[DELTA SIGMA THETA]

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20-16-32

DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
GRAND CHAPTER

(INCORPORATED)

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122 WILLOWDALE AVENUE
MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

JOB OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT
MISS DOROTHY HEIGHT
Chairman
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

April 25, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.
69 - 5th Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Doctor DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our resolution in regard to the San Francisco Conference. Feel free to use it in any way whcih you may desire for emphasis in the program of the Conference.

Yours very truly,

Mae Wright Downs, President

Bertell Collins Wright

Bertell Collins Wright,
Chairman, Public Affairs

RESOLUTION ON SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

WHERE-AS: This great War has been waged for the preservation of domocracy and freedom for the peoples of the world.

WHERE-AS: The San Francisco Conference is a gathering together of the Allied Nations for the purpose of establishing a charter which will permanently hold together the great powers of the world in their program for world security, freedom and international peace.

BE IT RESOLVED: That Delta Sigma Theta Sorority endorse and support the San Francisco Conference in its' efforts to achieve peace, freedom and security for the Nations of the world.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the problems of dependent Nations and Minority groups is a world problem and must be treated as one.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That machinery be set up at the San Francisco Conference to insure social, economic and political advancement to the peoples of Minority groups and dependent Nations and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That dependent Nations and Minority groups be assured of the same protection from aggressor Nations as other peoples and Nations of the world.

20-16

[Denver Unity Council]

OFFICE PHONE
MAIN 4827

RESIDENCE
2247 MARION ST.
KEYSTONE 5965

THOS. CAMPBELL
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
C. A. JOHNSON BUILDING
509 SEVENTEENTH ST. - SUITE 326
DENVER 2, COLORADO

March 31, 1945

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-24-4

While here in my husband's office, I am taking the liberty to use some of his business stationery. Pardon my rudeness.

This is a note to you in the interest of the Denver Unity Council, a group including the Mayor, educators, ministers, labor leaders, and the like, to ask you to make a visit to Denver either before the Dumbarton Oakes Conference, or preferably after the Conference.

We are having serious problems as these clippings indicate. Your conference here could include some of the decisions of the San Francisco Conference, its relationship to real democracy for all minority groups.

Possibly you would become interested and continue a study of the Spanish American and Japanese peoples for the N.A.C.C.P.

I regretted that you were asked to resign as Professor of the Sociology Department of Atlanta University. Dr. Alain Locke was in our home last summer, while doing a project for the city, and he stated that no white college would have done such a thing, considering your value and achievements.

Let us know at your earliest convenience if you can come and give us some time after the San Francisco Conference, and state, also, what you would charge for this service.

OFFICE PHONE
MAIN 4827

RESIDENCE
2247 MARION ST.
KEYSTONE 5965

THOS. CAMPBELL
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
C. A. JOHNSON BUILDING
509 SEVENTEENTH ST. - SUITE 326
DENVER 2, COLORADO

#2 - Dr. DuBois - 3/31/45

20-24-5

Mr. Campbell wishes to be remembered to you. He presented you to the citizens of Denver sometime ago and wishes to meet you again.

Best wishes to you for continued success.

Yours very sincerely,

Lula Lowe Campbell

Lula Lowe Campbell (Weeden)

LLC/ao

[Denver Unity Council]

5 April 1945

20-24-6

My dear Mrs. Campbell:

I am very glad indeed to hear from you. I am not altogether certain as to whether the State Department is going to allow me to get to San Francisco but I presume it will. I shall be very glad to lecture in Denver after the conference. My fee would be one hundred dollars.

My best wishes to Mr. Campbell whom I remember with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Lula Lowe Campbell
2247 Marion Street
Denver, Colorado

[Denver Unity Council]

OFFICE PHONE
MAIN 4827

RESIDENCE
2247 MARION ST.
KEYSTONE 5965

THOS. CAMPBELL
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
C. A. JOHNSON BUILDING
509 SEVENTEENTH ST. - SUITE 326
DENVER 2, COLORADO

April 18",1945.

20-42-7

Dr.W.EB.DuBois,
%N.A.A.C.P.,
65 Fifth Ave.,
New York, New York.

Dear Dr.Bu Bois:

Your price is perfectly satisfactory. I was able to get the Social Foundation of Denver University and other influential civic organizations to join with us in sponsoring your appearance here in Devner.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Lula L. Campbell

[Denver Unity Council]

April 28, 1945

20-2-4-8

Mrs. Lula L. Campbell
2247 Marion Street
Denver, Colorado

My dear Mrs. Campbell:

My departure from San Francisco is not absolutely certain but I think that I can speak in Denver May 27 or 28. Will you kindly let me know if that would suit you?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

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Americanism is a matter of the mind and the heart, and not a matter of race, ancestry or religion.

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Denver 10, Colorado

May 7, 1945

Pesman

20-21-16

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Mrs. Lula Campbell asked me to write you concerning your speaking engagement in Denver. Either May 27 or 28 would be satisfactory from our point of view. We plan to have a meeting of the organizations which will be sponsoring the meeting at which you will speak, and I will let you know more definitely when we have had a chance to make more specific arrangements.

Will you let me know if you find that you will not be able to be here on the 27th or 28th, and in the meantime, we will plan the meeting for one of those days.

Am I correct in assuming that your fee for the speaking engagement will be $100?

We feel honored that you will find it possible to stop in Denver following the conference, and are looking forward to your visit here.

Sincerely yours,

Louise Evans

Louise Evans

[Denver Unity Council]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(31)..

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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1945 MAY 14 PM 3 41

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:HOTEL SIR FRANCIS DRAKE SFRAN=

RESERVED LOWER FOUR CAR U9 UNION PACIFIC TRAIN LEAVING DENVER 400 PM MAY 29TH ARRIVING OMAHA 750 AM MAY 30TH WHAT DAY AND HOUR WILL YOU ARRIVE IN DENVER WILL YOU BE ABLE TO ADDRESS OTHER GROUPS HERE WHAT WILL BE SUBJECT OF YOUR ADDRESS=

LOUISE EVANS.

U9 400 PM 29TH 750 AM 30TH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Denver Unity Council]

Day letter

WIRE

May 17, 1945

Louise Evans
Denver Unity Council
University of Denver
Denver, Colo.

Arrive Denver Monday, May 28th, at 12:50 P.M. ~~by way of~~ on Western Pacific.

Sent

Can make but one address. Subject San Francisco Conference and Darker Races.

W.E.B. DuBois

29-2-1-8

20-15-31

Scarsdale News

1945 Mrs. Dwight Lloyd Dickinson

AT water 9 9834

11H E 95

N. Y. C.

My dear Mr. Du Bois —

What pleasant reading your "Color and Democracy." No one but you could clothe the raw bones of statistics and far-off problems with philosophy, poetry and the music of sincerity. —

Thanks you for a fine book.

Perhaps - if you ever have a free evening - you will honour me & by coming & to share one of my French messes. My apartment includes just a bit of a kitchen but name the dish - and I'll try to make it.

It would be a joy to see you again after so many years.

And will you help me to decide if I should translate into English Blaise Cendras' Anthologie Nègre?

Very sincerely yours

Anita Beatrice Thompson

(Mrs. D. M. Dickinson)

Social Items
1945

Mrs. Dwight Lloyd Dickinson

20-15-100

114 East 95

15 September '45

Dear Mrs. DuBois

Thank you for your prompt friendly reply.

I've started already rubbing my marmite in Garlic I'm so sure you'll be

~~be~~ coming over soon to "
plan my duties on "our
trip to London.
Oh London! without food!
without fuel, with fog
in November.
Surely you want a secre-
tary who can pub crawl
under the mist.

If you cannot spare an
evening - or a Sunday -
before you go —— please
do not forget your
promise.
Working all day, in school
till ten at night (psychiatry)
I'm not easy to reach by
phone. Will you drop
me a word whenever
you can come over.

Sincerely
Anita.

12 April 1945

Gentlemen:

I am going to San Francisco as consultant of the American delegation. I have a dictaphone outfit here which I use continuously but it would be awkward to try to transport it. Could I find facilities in San Francisco during April and May so that I could rent a machine for dictation and have the dictation transcribed. Please give me any information and addresses that you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-6

The Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York City

MERRILL B. SANDS, *President* • T. H. BEARD, *Vice President* • C. E. HALLENBORG, *Vice President* • H. F. JOPP, *Secretary Treasurer* • PAUL APPENZELLAR, *Chairman of the Board*

CC: J. H. Best, San Francisco

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK • TELEPHONE: LEXINGTON 2-3700

April 13, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We have a District Office in San Francisco at 533 Market Street and Mr. J. H. Best is our Manager for the Pacific Coast.

Unfortunately right at the moment it is impossible for us to be definitely certain that we would have machines available for rental in San Francisco.

It is quite possible that we might have relocated machines available for that purpose but we do not have here in New York up-to-the-minute inventory figures that would enable us to answer your inquiry more definitely.

We are sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Best and will ask him to notify you and to notify us whether he believes that rental equipment will be available and what facilities there may be for having the dictation transcribed.

Cordially,

Royal H. Miller, Mgr.
Sales Analysis Dept.

RHM:bs

DICTATED TO THE DICTAPHONE

B-69 MADE IN U. S. A.

July 20, 1945

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you please send one of your representatives to my office, Room 1338, 55 West 42nd Street, and look over my Dictaphone installation? I think it needs some adjustment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

ORIGINAL
For Customer

[redacted]

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION:

Date July 24 1945

You are hereby authorized to render your Maintenance Service to the Dictaphone Acousticord and Electricord machines listed on the reverse side of this sheet.

This service shall include cleaning, oiling and adjustment of such equipment, as well as a complete mechanical test every sixty (60) days, but the essence of this Agreement is that you assure us of the continued reliability and uninterrupted performance of these machines on an annual basis.

To that end you will make no charge for necessary adjustment calls between inspections when the equipment is located within the boundaries of your Branch city. Furthermore, you will replace without charge any of our machines which you may have temporarily in your possession for the purpose of estimating repairs.

The charge for inspection does not include parts required for replacement. When adjustments or replacements are so extensive as to require complete overhauling a shop estimate for such work, showing labor and material charges separately, will be submitted.

This Agreement does not cover attention made necessary by carelessness, misuse or accident while the machines are in our hands.

There shall be added to these prices any sales tax, excise tax, or other like tax, now or hereafter imposed on or in connection with the sale or delivery or furnishing of such service or materials hereinbefore described.

Additional Dictaphone machines purchased by us are automatically included in this Agreement unless otherwise specified at the time of purchase.

This Agreement remains in force until canceled in writing by either party.

Signed W E B Du Bois
Firm name of purchaser

By ..... Title .....
Signature of Individual

Address 56 W. 42 St. New York, N.Y. Room No. 1338
Number and Street *City and State*

Accepted: DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

By C Lysell Witness James Bono
District Manager *Salesman*

Machine Serial Numbers

A 1325 A
B 5060 B7
S 1400 S7

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Our office is closed Saturdays all year ☐

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[redacted]

20-6

The regular inspection of all your Dictaphone equipment assures you that it will at all times be kept at the highest operating efficiency.

★

DICTAPHONE

DICTATING AND RECORDING EQUIPMENT

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★

[redacted]

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DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF

Dictaphone
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

NY No 39332

DATE 7-24 1945 TERMS NET 30 DAYS

NAME W. E. B. Du Bois DEPARTMENT

STREET AND NUMBER 65 W 42nd St - Room 1338 CITY New York STATE NY. ROOM NO. 1338

CAUSE FOR SERVICE CALL REMARKS TSE Mach 200-2000

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	MATERIAL USED	MATERIAL AMOUNT
A	1325 A		
B	5060 B7		
S	140057		

INVOICE

PAID
JUL 27 1945
Dictaphone Corporation
Per

INSPECTION FOR MONTH OF July & Aug.

INTERIM CALL NO LABOR CHARGE

SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE

INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION

SHOP REPAIR

MACHINES SERVICED 3

TIME USED 2 HRS.

MATERIAL	
LABOR (MINIMUM CHARGE $1.00)	4 00
SALES TAX	
TRAVELING EXPENSE	
TOTAL AMOUNT	4 00

SERVICE RENDERED BY James Dono

APPROVED BY W E B Du Bois CUSTOMER

LOCAL SERVICE STATION
420 LEXINGTON AVE.
ROOM 228
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Tel 2-3700

THIS IS THE ONLY INVOICE WHICH WILL BE RENDERED
MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 420 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1945

[0165]

Lincoln University

20-6-2

27 June 1945

My dear Mabel:

Left New York Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Arrived in Saint Louis two hours late, missed my connection and had to wait until 11 p.m. that night. Arrived at four a.m. on the campus, got up at seven, called on the director of the summer school just before eight. And lo! And behold he said: The classes meet @ 8, 9 and 10 o'clock. I will take you right down and introduce you. So I taught ??? three classes before eleven the first day. I don't think I have ever received a warmer reception. He apparently was greatly relieved to have a teacher of sociology. Cultural Anthropology has ten students, American Minority Groups eight and Population Problems has fifteen. Since I lived through that first day I see no reason why

[3]

I cant hold out. The weather was
Cool when I arrived but it is quite
warm now. I have a nice cool room in a
beautiful dormitory. The food is O.K.
but so far we have had no meat.
However I did have two broiled
Lamb chops in Saint Louis. Now

I know how I got that reservation; I come on a special car with the Yankee ball players -- only woman on it. Have met several people I know here including Hugh Lynthe who is visiting his wife.

Tell me all about the trip to Harvard, etc. The books haven't arrived but I am expecting them daily. Food in the dining room is exceptionally cheap. Rode through the main street of the city this evening for the first time. The campus is lovely and green.

I have worked rather hard these first days getting the classes organized but I think they will turn out all right. I put on "Winds of Time" to be mailed July 9; it should read July 2. Did I mention that President Stowers of Austin would like to have you for a series of lectures during his summer school? I told him I thought it would be better to send you a letter stating details and he promised to do so. Have heard already that A. U. Library School is frantically looking for teachers. Write me soon,

with love

Nell

27 June 1945

CHARLES T. DIXON

Request for information

Washington and Lee
Lexington, Virginia
April 21, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois

Last year I was fortunate in being able to hear you speak at a meeting of the Cleveland City Club; and having read your contribution to WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, I feel compelled to write to you.

When race questions are discussed here at college, I am lost in a sea of racial hatred and condemned for being "radicsl". Too radical - I have been told - to ever become a successful lawyer in the South.

Dr. DuBois, I should like to congratulate you for attaining the outstanding postion that you hold as an educator and leader in the fight for better race relations.

Unfortunately, I am able to find no basis for optimism in regard to a more liberal attitude on the part of Southerners. As a Georgian, I hate to admit this and would like to have your opinion. Do you believe that there are many Southerners today who accept the Negro and will help him gain the political, economic, and social rights that should be his? Where are those Southerners about whom John Temple Graves, II writes that are the friends of the Negro?

I hope you can find time to write to me. I wish you continued success.

Most sincerely,

Charles T. Dixon

29-02-24

25 April 1945

28-20-30

My dear Sir:

In answer to your letter of April 21, addressed to Dr. Du Bois, please permit me to say that he is now in San Francisco acting as Consultant to the American Delegation of the United Nations Security Conference. The date of his return to New York is unknown but your letter will be brought to his attention as soon as he returns to his desk.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Charles T. Dixon
Washington and Lee University
P. O. Box 14
Lexington, Virginia

20-20-31

21 June 1945

My dear Mr. Dixon:

I appreciate your letter of April 21 which found me at the conference in San Francisco from which I have just returned. I believe there are many Southerners today "who accept the Negro and will help him gain the political, economic, and social rights that should be his" but I am sure that they still form a small minority of the intelligent and powerful South which is today in control and I know that if they stand by their convictions they are going to suffer for it.

I do not consider John Temple Graves II nor Virginius Dabney nor Ralph McGill - these men are professional liberals but they are not willing to stand up for principles. Until the South gets and keeps at home a group willing to suffer for the right, it will never become a great section.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Charles T. Dixon
Washington and Lee University
Lexington, Virginia

May 1, 1945

Mrs. Katherine Dixon
2610 Grant Street
Berkley, California

Dear Mrs. Dixon:

There is a small check at the office any time you call.

I thank you very much for your services and I am sorry we could not use you full time and for a longer period.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[DJOEMENA]

NETHERLANDS EMBASSY
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

No.P-1073/127 April 2nd, 1945

Dear Sir:

With reference to your recent invitation to participate in the Colonial Conference to be held on April 6th by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, I regret to have to advise you that it will not be possible for me to be present on that occasion, owing to a previous engagement. Please be assured of my appreciation of your kind invitation.

Very truly yours,

M. M. SoeriaNataDjoemena
First Secretary of Embassy

W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

20-4-191

16 March 1945

20-4-152

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing an invitation to a proposed Colonial Conference. I should like very much to get in touch with some natives of Indonesia now resident in the United States. Could you suggest any persons? I would be under great obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Raden Djumena
Indonesia Club of America
18 Allen
New York City, N. Y.

Los Angeles Cal. May 18-45
1704 W. Jefferson Blvd

20-15-94

Dr W.E.B. Dubois:

Dear friend I trust you are feeling greatly improved and the abdominal pains are gone, changing water often brings on constipation, Carters little liver pills are very good for cleansing the ~~bowels~~ bowels then get a bottle of 5 gr Asafetida tablets take one after each meal and at bed time which will cause the gas to cease. Mr Hodge was sick so long and I had to care for him in every way. I think I have become a very good practical nurse. I trust you will not get sick up there if so try to come down here and I

20-15-95.

will do what I can until
Mrs Hunt comes. You are
one man that held a dear
place in the heart of my
husband and I know he
would want me to do what
I could for you. I have a
souvenir, a sterling silver spoon
I would like your granddaughter
to have, advise me how to send
it and her name. We I certain-
ly enjoyed having you for
breakfast even though you could
only eat eggs, come when you
will or many there is always
a welcome to you and yours.
Don't forget to pray.

With God's love and blessings
to you and yours.

Martha T. Hodge.

20-15-96

May 21, 1945

Mrs. Martha T. Dodge
1704 West Jefferson Boulevard
Los Angeles, 7, California

My dear Mrs. Dodge:

It was very nice to see you, and I am sorry that I had a stomach ache and couldn't eat more of that good breakfast. I am quite all right now and do not need any of your patent medicines. It is quite unusual for me to have my stomach upset.

Thank you very much for your hospitality, and I appreciate your good will.

My granddaughter's name and address are: DuBois Williams, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, 14, Maryland. She will be delighted to hear from you. You can write Mrs. DuBois at the same address.

I am leaving here Saturday for the East.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

TEL. EDGECOMBE 4-9620

ARNOLD DONAWA, D.D.S.
2384 SEVENTH AVENUE
BET. 139TH & 140TH STS.
NEW YORK CITY
209

HOURS:
10-1 2-6
DAILY EXCEPT FRIDAY

April 3, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your invitation to the Colonial Conference to be held on April 6, 1945.

I regret very much that I will not be in the city on that date and therefore cannot be present. Please accept my best wishes for a fruitful exchange of ideas among those in attendance.

I trust the Conference will give the broadest possible consideration to the problems under discussion, and that its findings will facilitate the work of the San Francisco Conference of April 25 which is of such transcendental importance for all peoples and nations.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Donawa.

Arnold Donawa.

20-4-96

********** 20 West 40th Street

17 December 1945

20-15-25

My dear Mrs. Dorch:

One cannot pay for works of art and of course poor people should not try. Therefore, the check enclosed has absolutely no connection with the portrait which you have so carefully and beautifully sketched. On the other hand, at Christmas time there is always leeway for something in the line of perfect foolishness. Therefore, will you take this check, which I think will still be good when you cash it, and spend it for something which has no reason in the world back of it except that you just wanted it?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Celestine Johnston Dorch
5 Bennington
North Randolph, Massachusetts

41-9-203.

Du Bois family

W. J. Weimy Co
Medina
New York
Apr 22nd 1945

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I would be very grateful if you could give me some information concerning my relatives. First I must apologised for disturbing you at such a critical moment when you have more important business to look after.

My father was Raoul Louis DuBois, he left me when a baby to join the Forces in World War I; since then we have not heard from him. He was born in Martinique had a brother who went to China years ago his name was Dennis. Also a sister who was a stage dancer in France.

When the volcano Mt Pelée was erupting in Martinique his parents took them to France. On his return, he found that all his relatives were destroyed. His sister is dead and his brother was never heard of since his departure to China.

I was born in Brazil and grew up and was educated in Barbados a small British West Indian island. I am in the U.S.A doing War Work. I really came with the hope of seeing my mother who lives at 66 W. 120 St. I always saw books written by you at home in the Public Library and wondered if you could be related in any way. Since coming here I read some of your

cicles in the Amsterdam News also that you will be an observer at the San Francisco Conference.

I close hoping that you will find it convenient to reply to this and that you will find it possible to give me some information on the matter.

I remain
Yours truly
Dennis Oval DuBois.

41-9-204

July 11, 1945

My dear Mr. DuBois:

The name DuBois is very widespread and borne by numbers of people who are not at all related. You will find a record of my own family and descendants in my book Dusk of Dawn, published by Harcourt Brace. I do not believe that any of my family was connected with Martinique. They came rather from Barbadoes.

I thank you for your kind words concerning my books.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dennis Oval DuBois
Care of H. J. Heinz Company
Medina, New York

41-9-205

2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore – 14, Md

Jan. 12 – 1945

20-2-27

Dear Miss Diggs:

Your letter & the package came yesterday. I am so sorry to have to return the panties. They are so light weight that I fear they would be too thin for this time of year besides Du Bois would go through them in no time. I am sorry Dr. Du Bois troubled you about getting them. It happened to mention when he was here that I could not get them. I know only too well how

difficult it is to get under ware,
especially for children, because I
tried last fall when I was in
New York. Then tried here. The shops
get a very limited supply, some
shops tell you they just don't
get any. If you happen to be in
a store when they have a few you
get them, even then they do not have
the sizes, so one just waits and
hopes. I'm using under wear I
have had six years but the
children are harder on things &
they use them up & out grow them.
Don't worry further about them
I will try to get them back to

20-12-29

yare as soon as I can get Yolande to take them to a post office. You see we are miles from a Post office. The sub office that used to serve out this way has been closed so one can't even buy stamps.

However I am not worried & don't you worry there are so many things of more importance than pants. It is good of you to offer to help out with the shopping & perhaps I will be glad to call upon you for something else one of these days.

I shall be looking forward to having a visit with you

before too long.

Thanking you again

Yours Sincerely,

Nina G. Du Bois

[DuBois]

19-30-43

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Dear Will:

When you were here you spoke of going to Washington for the 25th of January.

When will you be here and shall I try to get a turkey? It takes about a week or ten days to get one & will cost about eight dollars. The turkey would be mostly for you so let me know. We are still having

quite cold weather here.

We are all well and send love. Yours,

Nina

Jan. 15-45.

TRANSCRIPTION

[Du Bois]

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Dear Will:

When you were here you spoke of going to Washington for the 25th of January.

When will you be here and shall I try to get a turkey? It takes about a week or ten days to get one & will cost about eight dollars. The turkey would be mostly for you so let me know. We are still having

[page 2]

quite cold weather here.

We are all well and send love.

Yours,

Nina

Jan. 15 - 45

2-12-30

17 January 1945

Dear Nina:

Enclosed is a check for $40 to make up the deficit. You may send me the bill for Du Bois' glasses.

I am having my first taste of real winter for a long time. We have had plenty of snow, sleet and cold but on the whole I have rather enjoyed it. I hope that you and the family are comfortable.

I am not coming on the twenty-fifth but shall come down Friday, February second and stay until Sunday afternoon. I would be glad to have turkey.

I am awaiting letter from Du Bois and Yolande.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

[FAINT WRITING] [DUP. TS]

19-30-44

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Jan. 22 – 1945

Dear Will:

Thank you for the check for the deficit. You can give me the money for Du Bois eye glasses when you come. I have paid for them. They were $13. The first pair Dr. Woldert sent were stolen from the mail at the 145th St. Post Office in New York. Someone

and there is no traffic to help get rid of it. The children have had quite a time getting in and out of town to school. Our drive way + street is still a glare of ice + snow. The snow has been too deep to walk in unless you had boots. Then the ice under the snow made driving very difficult. Yolande is very afraid of driving over the ice.

Mr. Burgess came down one

opened the package took out the glasses & mailed the box back to Dr. Williams. He had them more than covered with insurance and we now have the second pair of glasses but it did keep Dr Bair waiting about ten days.

We have had some of the same & select that the rest of the country has been having. In fact out here we still have it as our season is closed out here

[4]

morning & drove me with Yolande. Then she waited until he was through so he could drive them home. This morning they started alone. You see once they get toward town the streets are cleared. Dr Bair waites until her mother is through and comes out with her to save the long walk up the hill & on to our place. It is a little warmer to-day so perhaps it will thaw some. I fear we won't be able to get a turkey for you. Even the chickens are getting scarce. We are all well and comfortable. Yours with love

Nina

TRANSCRIPTION

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Jan. 22 - 1945

Dear Will:

Thank you for the check for the deficit. You can give me the money for Dr Barnes eye glasses when you come. I have paid for them. They were $13. The first pair Dr. Williams sent were stolen from the mail at the 145th Street Post Office in New York. Someone

/p.2/

opened the package took out the glasses & mailed the box back to Dr. Williams. He had them more than covered with insurance and we now have the second pair of glasses but it did keep Du Bois waiting about ten days.

We have had some of the same snow and sleet that the rest of the country has been having. In fact out here we still have it as no snow is cleaned out here

/p.3/

and there is no traffic to help get rid of it. The children have had quite a time getting in and out of town to school. Our drive way & street is still a glare of ice & snow. The snow has been too deep to walk in unless you had boots. Then the ice under the snow made driving very difficult. Yolande is very afraid of driving over the ice. Mr. Burges came down one

morning & drove in with
Yolande. Then she waited until
he was through so he could drive
them home. This morning they
started alone. You see once they
get toward town the streets are
cleaned. Du Bois waits until
her mother is through and comes
out with her to save the long walk up
the hill & on to our place. It is a
little warmer to-day so perhaps it
will thaw some. I fear we wont be
able to get a turkey for you. Even the
chickens are getting scarce. We are all
well and comfortable. Yours with love

Nina

24 January 1945

20-12-31

Dear Nina:

Enclosed is the money for Du Bois' glasses. If you can't get a turkey, don't worry. I am sorry about your difficulties with the snow. Even here in New York a trip across the street downtown is a considerable adventure.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

20-12-32

30 January 1945

Dear Nina:

Enclosed is your check for $125.
I shall be down Friday sometime before dinner.
Do not bother about meeting me.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

14 February 1945

20-12-33

Dear Nina:

I have been out lecturing in Cleveland at the Museum of Art and a M. E. Church. The weather was awful but I had a very nice stop with Harry Davis and wife. I got to Philadelphia when I left you last time and lectured at the church. I was going to spend the night with Dr. and Mrs. Bailey but they had no coal so I took a train and got into New York about two in the morning.

I hope you are well. I shall write Yolande soon. My love to Du Bois and you.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

6 March 1945

20-12-35

Dear Nina:

Yolande told me last night that you were feeling a little better. It is terrible to think of what you have had to suffer. But the point now is to rest just as long and as patiently as possible. A day of rest now will be better than a month's rest later. Here are a few roses and by and by I will send you some books.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Provident Hospital
1514 Division
Baltimore, Maryland

27 March 1945

20-12-37

My dear Nina:

Enclosed are one hundred three cent stamps and one hundred ones for your use. You had better lock them up.

I was so glad to find you as well as you are and you ought to be very much encouraged at your progress. I am writing Mr. Burgess. Please let him teach Du Bois to massage you. It is easily done and practical and is of tremendous importance. It will distinctly accelerate your recovery.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

[DU BOIS]
[MARCH 1946?]

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

19-30-46

Dear Will:

Thank you for the postage stamps. Mr. Burges has been to massage me each evening.

Du Bois is observing. I think I see some improvement on the bright sunny days.

I suppose it is going to be a rather slow job of getting well. The Easter vacation in the schools began to day.

you sent me a card from the family of George N. White acknowledging the expression of sympathy to the family. Is it the brother of Walter White.

I see by the paper that Walter has been in a plain accident.

It is very warm here to-day & looks like thunder showers.

The girls are well. We each send you our love & hope you have a pleasant Easter.

Yours.

Nina

3 April 1945

20-12-40

Dear Nina:

Here is a letter from Ada Young which I have just answered. I told her that I would send it to you and that you had had an accident. Perhaps you can drop her a line.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

[DuBois]

19-30-47

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

April 7 - 1945

Dear Nikki

Dr. Higgins was out to see me yesterday. He says I am doing nicely. He says to have the massage every other day for a week, then twice a week, at the end of two weeks more which will be ten weeks since I had the accident he will take me to a specialist

But Dr Higgins says the good thing about it is that I can stand up straight, so he is hopeful that I may be in fair condition again.

Yolande & Dr Bair are well and join me in love.

Yours, Nina

to see if the specialist & he agree on my condition. Dr. Higgins thinks I will need a support for my back & abdomen. He hopes in time I may be in fair condition but says I may have to tell some of the results on for some time. However we hope for the best.

The Easter lily is still lovely. It is good to have a line from Lide after so long a time.

Again about myself. The lameness has about gone from my left ankle. The back is still very lame

22-12-41

12 April 1945

Dear Nina:

Things have been going pretty rapidly here and I have neglected to write you but I do hope you are getting on nicely. As I wrote Yoland, I have sold my car for cash. As I thought the matter over it seemed unwise to keep it in idleness and to pay out from $7 to $15 a month just for storage. So I have gotten rid of it at a good price.

Next, as perhaps you have seen in the papers, I have been named as a representative of the NAACP at San Francisco and the State Department has given me official status as a consultant to the American delegation. This insures permission to travel. I shall leave here by train on the nineteenth and before that either this weekend or early next week, I will be down to see you. If there is anything I can do before I go think it over and let me know.

My best love to you, Yolande and Du Bois

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

20-12-42

18 April 1945

Dear Nina:

I leave tomorrow for San Francisco. Enclosed is a check for $225; $125 is your house check due May first. I am sending you the other $100 for emergencies while I am away.

If after your examination by the specialist there is any treatment you should have, take it immediately. I will write you as soon as I reach California.

Love to Yolande, Du Bois and yourself,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

[Du Bois]

20-12-45

April 28, 1945

Dear Nina:

I wrote you briefly the first day I arrived by air mail and hope you got it all right. I have not heard from you.

I am pleasantly situated at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel with room and bath and usually I order up my breakfast. I attended two sessions of the Conference which were very interesting and last night I heard Mrs. Pandit, the sister of Nehru. It was a tremendous meeting and very enthusiastic. I had dinner with Mr. Singh, President of the Indian Association, and afterward a reserved seat at the meeting.

I hope you are getting stronger and at the same time are being careful to follow the doctor's orders and to rest. Let me know the verdict of the specialist and do anything that he orders you to.

When will Du Bois go to camp? As it looks now I shall leave here the week of the 20th of May, although something may arise to keep me until June but I hope not.

Give my love to Yolande, DuBois and give Du Bois the enclosed program in which I am sure her school will be interested.

Yours with love,

(APRIL 1945, DuBois)

20-12-24

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Dear Will:

Your special delivery letter came yesterday.

I realize that you are quite busy. I am still improving but cannot move about much without aching a good deal. However I am hoping it may pass away with time. Mr. Burgs still continues the treatments. It is ten weeks this

her services would take care of her expenses. That she would not be paying anything.

The passing away of President Roosevelt is very sad and unfortunate for even with his affliction I think he would have chosen to live a little while longer.

The children join me in love to you.

Yours,
Nina

coming Monday since the accident.

It is nice that your trip to San Francisco has been given official status. We will be looking for you. I do not think of any thing I can do for me.

Mildred Johnson has asked Du Bois to serve as a Junior Counsel at her camp this summer.

Du Bois seems delighted but wants to know if she is to realize any money from it so Mildred explained to her that

Roosevelt + Truman

New deal

1 from Profits & Wages
2 Union Labor
3 Banks
4 S Court
5 War ~~Wars~~ - Russia

Peace

6 Jews
7 TVA E.P.C. + Steel
8 South Economic P

Parties - Labor
Civil Liberties

Mexico

Carver for D. Good
Finance
Eichelberger
Document for San Francisco
Wide Wire
Circular to Historians { Snowden, Weeks, Stratton, Coulborn, Eric Williams
Have you any

1- Winds of Time — 2

Mirror

[DuBois]

19-30-42

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

May 4th 45

Dear Will:

I've received your two letters and the menus from the train dining car. Yesterday your letter telling of the conference with the programme. Also the Chicago Defender with your picture on your arrival and your article on the Conference. Yolande & Du Bois vie with each other as to who is to have the things to take to

I have not been to the specialist I think Dr. Higgins wants to wait to see how much my system will do before going. I take the heat treatment each evening and Mrs. Burges comes twice a week. I talked with Yolande about what should be done about offering to pay him. She feels that since he has been coming so long that we should ask him + let him decide what he thinks would be right.

school first as the children and grown ups all listen and look for some word from you. Dr. Hawkins was and to ask if I had any news from you. He said he would love to be there. He says he is feeling better but to me he looks thin. I of course had not seen him since he came to see me in the hospital the first week in February. It is twelve weeks since my accident. I am gradually gaining, so far

you can write him after you return to New York.

Dr. Bair keeps quite busy with her school & the church activities.

Her Camp opens July 1st.

Things are going on as usual here. We are having a good deal of rain almost too much.

We send you our love and await more news

Yours,
Nina

[DuBois]

20-12-44

May 7, 1945

My dear Nina:

I am so glad to hear from you. Please keep writing even though I do not answer because I am pretty busy. Tell Yolande and DuBois if they don't write me pretty soon I shall stop remembering them.

I am well and continue to have more to eat than I really need.

I have been meeting some very interesting people.

I shall write to Mr. Burgess and delicately suggest payment.

I am so glad to know you are improved.

ith love to all.

[DuBois]

19-30-40

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

May 9th 45

Dear Will:

We are all well and the weather is at last clearing up. Your card to Du Bois came, also the book you had sent to her by Geo. H. Carver.

She made very good marks in school this last term.

Du Bois went to Washington last Sunday with her school

to spend the day with one of the schools there.

Well, the war in Europe is over at last. I have followed the news over the radio.

I am improving still and having my treatments of heat & massage.

We send our love

Yours, Nina

(DuBois)

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

19-30-39

May 15th 1945.

Dear Will:

Your letter to me and the one to Du Bois with the programme of Helen Hayes in "Harriet" came on Sat. 12th. We were glad to have news of you. We watch the papers & magazines for news too. Du Bois thinks he see you in the magazine photo in the theatre. Yolande sent you a letter yesterday.

Yolanda drove us in but she had a bad cold so did not go in. It was my first ride. It did not bother me much.

I have had some more leaks mended around the windows but not much of a bill two or three dollars.

Since you say you will likely leave about the 20th I will not write you again in California.

I am improving. Dr. Higgins was out to see me yesterday. He is quite pleased with my progress. He says the main thing now is to rest. I'm to still take the heat treatment but can stop the massage. I think I will not need the specialist. I don't know about the surgery.

Sunday I went with Du Bois to her school. It was a Mother's Day programme.

[4]

The large thin package you sent Du Bois came about an hour ago. She will be delighted to find it here when she comes from school.

We all send our love.

Yours,

Nina.

20-13-59

May 17, 1945

My dear Nina:

I am still well and beginning to think of returning East.

Two items will interest you:

I went down to Los Angeles and spoke to 2,000 people. I staid with the Somervilles. They have the loveliest new home that you can imagine. It is an estate that originally cost $100,000 and has 15 or 16 rooms, paneling in fumed oak, and beautifully furnished. They told me to invite you to come out and stop with them.

Secondly, Edith Loving is back from the Philippines. Her husband died there. She is thin but at one time said she weighed only 90 pounds. She looks pretty good and will be all right I think in time.

I am planning to leave here about the 26th and to get East in time to look in upon you somewhere about June 10th. You can write me here airmail up to the 26th. After that write or wire to New York and they will reach me.

My best love to Yolande, DuBois and yourself. I hope you are getting better. I wrote to Mr. Burgess.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

[Boobs]

20-12-25

2302 Monticello Terrace

Baltimore – 14, Md

May 25th 45

Dear Bill:

Just a line to say we will be looking for you about the 10th of June. We are all well. I am improving daily.

Dr Bair wrote you yesterday. She is very excited over your being back East in time for her schools closing.

Things are going on here as usual. Less & less food but it doesn't worry me.

We send love

Your

Nina

[DuBois]

2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore-14, Md.
June 19- 45

20-12-4

Dear Will:

I believe you were to get to New York to day or to morrow. Your shirts from Panama came about an hour after you left. Also the two Panama hats.

I thought of you during the very hot spell of weather and wondered where you were. I presume you

Du Bois has been having another one of her times of going out with out permission, So she & her mother have had another serious period of punishments. It rather worries me. I am afraid sometime Du Bois will just not take the punishment and Yolande gets so angry and so it develops into an unfortunate situation. Du Bois went into the school but told me she had been to see a girl friend. Don't say any thing to either of them. Its best to let

would like to have one of your electric cars. We have four here in the house. Have you located your large one yet. I hope it did not get lost in moving.

I don't think I will come to New York with Du Bois. The trip just for my self I could manage but with her things and all the things to be seen I do am afraid is too much. A note from Mildred to day says she hopes Du Bois can arrive on the 29th of June.

it stand as it is. Yolande just wasn't bother with or about Du Bois so Du Bois just sometimes goes on her own. Yolande gets her expensive things at periods which Du Bois neither needs or especially wants.

Or Du Bois says she wants to go some where & be with friends sometimes. Well there it is.

Yours with love.

Nina.

20-12-416

20 June 1945

Dear Nina:

I just got in this morning from Atlanta after a pleasant visit there and in Norfolk and Virginia Union. The Townsends and Mrs. Shivery and many others send best regards to you and family.

Will you send me as soon as you conveniently can the hats and the shirts. Send them parcel post to 409 Edgecombe Avenue, Apartment 13-H.

We have got to decide about the vacations. Do you think you would be able to shop with Du Bois or would it be better to have Yolande do it. I can go with her and keep down too much extravagance. Think this out carefully and write me and perhaps I will talk with you over the telephone.

I am very well indeed and hope you are still recovering.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

[DuBois]

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

20-12-23

Dear Will:

I am glad you were able to get the shopping done so quickly. I have heard from Du Bois. She say every thing has arrived and that they are busy & well and happy. It was nice she could get to the theatre.

I have found some summer cotton bed blankets which I think must belong to you. I will bring them

It has begun to rain for which I am thankful maybe it will get a little cooler.

Yours with love,

Nina

July 1-2nd 45

with me as I know you have no light weight ones. Don't you think I better bring a change of sheets.

I am getting the winter bedding and clothes put away and the beds cleaned. Now I hope to let up a bit as it is a very, very warm. I finally wrote to Shirley Graham my thanks.

You did not say when you returned to New York but I presume you are there by now.

(Dubois)

19-30-53

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore – 14, Md.
July 4 – 45.

Dear Will:

I know you are waiting to hear from Yolande about her trip to New York. She wants to get away but feels rather uncomfortable about leaving the house for long. There has just been a bad fire in Baltimore caused by the wiring in the building. It was one of the

I don't know what your apt.,
just what accomodations you
have for cooking. It does seem
to me rather foolish to keep
spending the most that we
can on trips to New York. Other
people manage with less
expensive quarters. Just when
is the best time for me to come
I am getting the things I have to do
pretty well done so I can leave soon,

Catholic Institute. Before we went to see it after the fire she said there wasn't any [illegible] of the building. Fortunately there were only a few of the sisters there at the time as the school work was over. She said if a fire broke out in this house with so many [illegible] there wouldn't be a chance for anyone to escape. Margaret stayed over night with us. She says Yolande can stay at their home if she wants to.

Your letter with monthly check came. Yesterday was my birthday. Dorothy joined us for dinner with ice cream & cake. Margaret goes home today.

I hope we can get the electric fan to you.

Yours with love,

Mama

July 5, 1945

20-13-58

My dear Nina:

Mr. Burgess has sent me a bill for $36.00 for 18 treatments. I am paying him and thanking him.

I should like for you to bring the cotton blankets when you come but I do not need any sheets. I am asking Mabelle to reserve you a room at the Y and she is going to try. I think you will be more comfortable there on account of the food situation.

I shall speak in Washington the night of July 16th. Suppose that on the way back I pick you up and that we leave for New York July 18th. I am waiting to hear from Yolande.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Nina DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Md.

[Du Bois]

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore – 14, Md.
July 7th 45

20-12-22

Dear Will:

Unless I have to have a room at the Y. M. I would rather not. They are warm & small. Even the ones with bath are small and warm in the summer. I found last Summer that for several weeks it was not a very good place to be. I can quite

understand that you do not care for company.

I promis not to disturbe your way of life. If you had a couch of some sort I could use. It wouldn't cost any more than the room at the Y., Then it would be there for all the time. The food is not important to me.

Will look for you on the 17th". Yours with love

Nina

P.S. Heard from Du Bois to-day. She is fine. I'll show you her letter when you come. She's asking already about her Fall visit to New York and the Plays she hopes to see.

N.

July 12, 1945

20-12-47

My dear Nina:

I had already asked Mabelle for a room for you at the Y.W.C.A. before leaving for Washington and before receiving your letter. I phoned her last night and she has a room reserved and went to a good deal of trouble getting it, being compelled to tell the lady in possession that you had had the reservation for six months, and she hoped you will back her up.

I think it will be better for you to stay at the "Y" for several reasons. First, my room is 20 blocks, or a full mile further up town than the "Y". There are no restaurant facilities near except Craig's, which is only open part time. You would have to do your own catering and cooking most of the time. You need regular meals, and I think you can get them much better at the "Y" than around my neighborhood.

Your room will be hot, and so will mine - practically all New York rooms are. I have no place for a cot without crowding. At any rate, start in at the "Y" and see how matters go.

I shall be in Baltimore next Tuesday morning and we can start for New York Wednesday.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Nina DuBois
2302 Montebello Avenue
Baltimore 14, Maryland

August 2, 1946

20-1-2-44

My dear Nina:

I talked with Mildred last night and she said it would be better for us to come up Saturday rather than Sunday so I have bought tickets, and the boat leaves 125th Street at 9:40 Saturday morning.

I will come down and have breakfast with you and then we will take a taxi to the boat.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Nina DuBois
YWCA
175 W. 137th Street
New York, New York

(NNA 04 80 25)

August 2, 1945 - 2:10 P.M.

Phoned following message to Mrs. DuBois at 137th St. YWCA:

"We are going to Dunroven Sat. instead of Sun. The boat leaves 125th St. at 9:40 A.M. I will get in touch with you."

W.E.B.D.

20-12-48

[DuBois]

175 West 137th Street, Y.W.C.A.
New York - 30, N.Y.

Aug. 7th 1945

19-30-48

Dear Will:

I am going to Mrs Alexandere Thursday this week. She is going to come down and I am to go up with them. I have the bag you left at the desk for me + the books.

Yolande is here we had dinner together to night.

Hope you are resting.

Not sure of your camp address

so am sending this to your office address.

The Sweators called on Sunday.

With love.

Nina

[Du Bois]

(FAINT WRITING)

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

19-30-51

Sept. 12th 25

Dear Nell:

Du Bois and I had a very pleasant trip down. Yolande met us at the station.

The weather was very warm but it is cooler to day.

Du Bois has entered school. She will come under different teachers this year. Several of the sisters have been transferred

to other schools. All but one of the bags have arrived.

Did you send the last bag of laundry that was mailed to you from Camp? It has not arrived. [illegible] the laundry marker will check and see what it is you want.

With love to you from Yolanda Dr Boris & me.

Mima

TRANSCRIPTION

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

Sept. 12th 45

Dear Will:

Du Bois and I had a very pleasant trip down. Yolande met us at the station.

The weather was very warm but it is no cooler today.

Du Bois has entered school. She will come under different teachers this year. Several of the sisters have been transfer'd

/-p.2-7

to other schools. All but one of the bags have arrived. Did you send the lost bag of laundry that was mailed to you from camp? It has not arrived. /-? I will -7 get the Wanamaker bill checked and return it to you soon.

With love to you from Yolande Du Bois and me

Nina

20-12-50

September 15, 1945

Mrs. Nina G. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Nina:

I was glad to hear that you and DuBois arrived safely and that Yoland could meet you. I was a little afraid about that.

I did not send DuBois' small bag of laundry until yesterday; here is the insurance receipt for it.

The N.A.A.C.P. Board has voted that I should attend the Pan African Congress in London, October 15th to 21st. I am not sure that I can get passage but I am trying.

Tell Yoland to answer my letter.

Love to all.

[FAINT WRITING] [illegible]

19-30-52

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 11, Md.
Sept. 17th 45

Dear Will.

Have received the Wanamaker bill for my things & Du Bois. Yolande has checked it.

The bag of laundry came today. That's all the things that were sent from New York.

I think you owe me a Ration Book No. 4 as I can not find mine. I think I

gave it to you instead of
your No. 3 which you gave
me to take a shoe store and
I did not need it. Here
is your No. 3 book.

TRANSCRIPTION

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Md.
Sept. 17th 45

Dear Will:

We checked the Wanamaker bill for my things and Du Boises. Yolande has checked her's.

The bag of laundry came today. That ends the things that were sent from New York.

I think you must have my Ration Book No. 4 as I can not find mine. I think I gave it to you instead of your No. 3 which you gave me to take a shoe stamp from and I did not need it. I have your No. 3 book.

Today it is raining very very hard.

[two lines illegible]

She comes under different teachers this year.

[one line illegible]

Nina

20-12-51

September 19, 1943

Mrs. Nina G. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Nina:

Enclosed is your Ration Book No. 4. I did not notice that you had given it to me until you wrote. You might return my No. 3.

I am still waiting to hear from Yoland and DuBois owes me a letter too.

We have had the same heavy rain here but it is clearing up today.

I may be down this week-end; if not next. I will let you know.

Yours with love.

D:jd

As from : 58 Oxford Rd.
Manchester,
England.

18th Oct/45.

28-5-14

Mrs Nina G. Dubois,
Provident Hospital,
Division Street,
Baltimore.

Dear Nina,

I arrived safely after a marvellous journey. In London I found that the Congress was going to be held in Manchester which was 5 hours away so I am here stopping in the present home of an Indian Doctor.

We have over 100 Delegates and the Meetings so far have been very interesting.

I hope this is going to find you better. I shall return sometime after October 22nd but am not sure yet when I can get transportation.

Yours with love,

[Nina Dubois, 1945]

19-30-49

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PRESIDENT

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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W. E. B. Du Bois

Many Many happy returns of the day to the finest husband & father in the world

Nina + Yolanda

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

(FAINT WRITING) (DuBois, 1945?)

19-30-50

Dear Will,

I have your note saying you would come to dinner Thursday. Charles Burroughs of Marcus came to see me yesterday morning. Morning. He tells me he is twenty-six years old. He is somewhat like his father. He speaks English fairly well. He is about six feet tall.

Yesterday at lunch I pulled loose the bridge that holds in my

[3]

TRANSCRIPTION

Dear Will:

I have your note saying you would come to dinner Thursday. Charles Burroughs of Moscow came to see me yesterday morning. Morning. He tells me he is twentysix years old. He is somewhat like his father. He speaks English fairly well. He is about six feet tall.

Yesterday at lunch I pulled loose the bridge that holds in my

/-p.2_7

upper front teeth. After trying several dentists I finally called Dr. Lewis Williams. He was able to take care of me last night. Today he put the teeth back in for me just temporary. I will have to see Dr. Beekman when he returns

/-line illegible_7

Du Bois would have to hurry back to school.

/-p.3_7

/-two lines illegible_7

Yours with love

Nina

Thursday afternoon

[DuBois, 1945]

19-30-41

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14

Dear Will:

You did not say how long you expected to be gone. I learn from the radio that the conference is to last for several weeks so thought I better send you a line that we are all doing nicely. I am still improving and still having the massage twice a week. I have the ~~lamm~~ lamp treatment every

night just before going to bed.
Dr. Higgins has been to see
me again but he is not quite
ready, or feels I am not ready
to see the specialist.

I received your letters sent
just before you left New York
also the check for $225.

I will remember to send
the Wanamaker bill to Miss Diaz.

We send you our love and
hope you are well.

Yours,
Nina

[DuBois, 1945]

19-30-41

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14

Dear Will:

You did not say how long you expected to be gone. I learn from the radio that the conference is to last for several weeks so thought I better send you a line that we are all doing nicely. I am still improving and still having the massage twice a week. I have the ~~lam~~ lamp treatment every

night just before going to bed
Dr. Higgins has been to see
me again but he is not quite
ready, or feels I am not ready
to see the specialists.

I received your letter sent
just before you left New York
also the check for $225.

I will remember to send
the Wanamaker bill to Miss Digg

We send you our love and
hope you are well.

Yours,
Nina

B+

NEW YORK, N.Y.
FEB 2
7-AM
1945

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois: February 2nd, 1945

Lillian Smith, who, as you know, is now a member of our Advisory Committee can be with us on Saturday, March 3rd for a luncheon-discussion session from 11 a. m. to 3.

Please let us know if you can join us at that time.

Cordially,

Rachel Davis-DuBois

20-5-55

7 February 1945

20-5-54

Dear Rachel:

I think I can be with you Saturday, March third. At any rate I shall try.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rachel Davis-DuBois
204 East Eighteenth Street
New York City

July 20, 1945

My dear Rachel:

28-5-50

I have received your report, and I am amazed at how much you accomplish on nothing!

Let me hear from you and know when you are going to be at leisure. Are you in New York for the summer? Telephone me at Chickering 4-3997.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Rachel Davis DuBois
204 E. 18th Street
New York, New York

October 11, 1945

20-5-51

Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois
204 East 18 Street
New York, New York

My dear Rachel:

I am flying to London Saturday and shall not probably get a chance to see you.

Greetings and love,

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 December 1945

Dear Rachel:

20-5-52

I should like very much to come to the meeting, Thursday, but I find that I already have an engagement at the home of Mrs. Ernest Alexander at five o'clock which will make it impossible. You can express to the persons meeting my very strong feeling that you should accept the proposed appointment if it is offered; and that your right to pursue your work with a decent salary should be unquestioned.

Let me hear from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rachel Davis Du Bois
204 East Eighteenth Street
New York City

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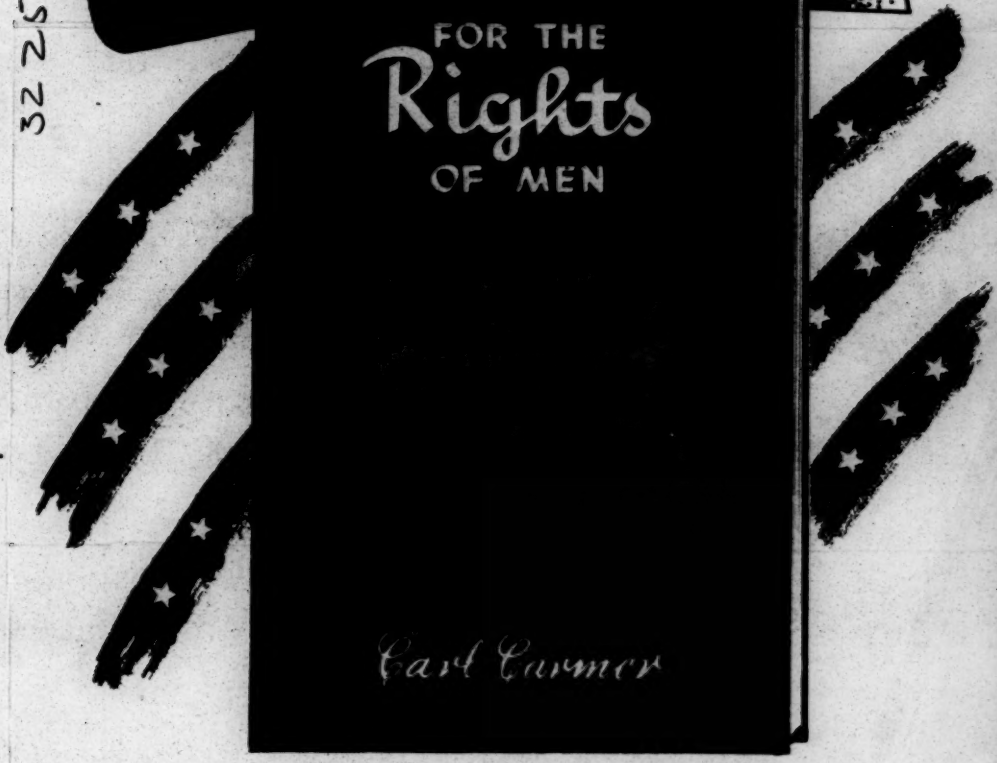
[RACHEL DAVIS DUBOIS]
[c.1945]

STIRRING TALES about HEROES who risked their lives and fortunes in the struggle for Civil Liberties

32 25.11



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8 January 1945

Gentlemen:

I have in mind a book along the following lines: title to be "The Africas" emphasizing the fact that Africa is not one country, one group or one race but a conglomerate of peoples with various degrees of importance and possibilities who are going to play roles in the post-war world.

20-5-7

The book will be a study of the history of the various African nations, colonies and groups at the time of the first World War, since that war, during the present war, with a forecast of what is going to happen in Africa after this war.

I want to emphasize the fact that merely because news from Africa is not broadcast, this does not mean that important developments are not taking place. The people of Africa are normal human beings with all possibilities for development. Their country is extraordinary for its climate and possibilities and the geography of Africa places it today in the midst of world events.

I think that a small book of one hundred and fifty or two hundred pages on this subject might attract readers. I should be glad to know what you think of the proposition.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Duell, Sloan and Pearce
270 Madison Avenue
New York City
New York

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SAMUEL SLOAN
CHARLES A. PEARCE

MURRAY HILL 5-4610
CABLE:
SWORDWORDS

January 10, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very much gratified that you wished to write us as you did on January 8th concerning the book THE AFRICAS which you have in mind. Any book which you propose would of course be very seriously considered by us or by any good publisher, but I am sorry to say that since we brought out a book called AFRICA: FACTS AND FORECASTS by Albert Q. Maisel not long ago, it doesn't seem appropriate that we should have another book on this same general subject on the list however dissimilar in approach the second book might be. I am sure you will understand.

Sincerely,

Samuel Sloan

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
Nat'l Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

SS:EW

[Dunn]

16 March 1945

20-4-154

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation which we are sending out for a colonial conference. I should like very much to get in touch with some one from Korea resident in America, who could attend. Can you suggest any persons?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J. K. Dunn
Dorean Economic Society
1775 Broadway
New York City

UNITED KOREAN COMMITTEE IN AMERICA
(Washington Office)
1719 K STREET, N. W.,
PHONE DISTRICT 7049
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

March 23, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

20-6-2

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I sincerely appreciate your invitation to the Colonial Conference to be held April 6, 1945. Inasmuch as I am not in a position to leave Washington at that time I am turning over your letter and enclosure to Reverend Minsoo Pai of the Korean Church and Institute, 633 West 115th Street, New York City. I trust Reverend Pai will be able to cooperate with you in a subject which is of vital interest to the Korean people.

Wishing you all success, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Kyuang Dunn

(DUPRE' VICTORIAN CHOIR)

Request for information

20-20-46

282 E. Palmer St., #6
Detroit 2, Michigan
August 14, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Professor of Sociology
Atlanta University
Artlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dubois:

In introducing myself, I wish to state that I am the Assistant Manager and narrator for the DuPre' Victorian Choir. This choir has formed the nucleus of many movements, here in our city, for the promotion of inter-racial goodwill, including the 5th and 6th Annual American Negro Music Festivals.

As a result of this, we have been asked by one of our local radio stations to prepare a series of programs, under their sponsorship, portraying the various stages in the history of Negro development, from colonial slavery to his present stage.

Due to your unexcelled wisdom in this field, we are asking your assistance in the outlining of this program. We realize that this is an imposition but feel, as we hope you will, that the cause justifies the means. Even though there is no compensation for su, other than the opportunity to strike at the forces of economic, social, and political injustices, we are willing to re-imburse you, as best we can, for your time and materials,

We are preparing a once a week half-hour broadcast for a period of six to twelve months beginning the first of October, and need a topic outline to cover this period; we hope to gather details from your book, "Black Folks Then and Now" and any other work of yours you recommend.

Sincerely yours,

Albert J. B. Chance

Albert J. B. Chance, Narrator
The Du're' Victorian Choir

ac/jp

[DUPRE' VICTORIAN CHOIR]

20-20-47

August 23, 1945

My dear Mr. Chance:

I am afraid I could hardly find opportunity from my commitments this fall to help you with your program outlined in your letter of August 14th. A matter of this kind to be well done would take a great deal of time and thought, and I certainly could not afford to undertake it unless I was paid for the time and trouble.

Since you have little money at your disposal I hardly think it would be worth while for me to assist in the matter. I appreciate your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Albert J. B. Chance
282 E. Palmer St., #6
Detroit 2, Michigan

Telephone : **Taunton 3552** EAST AFRICA LTD. — Directors : F. S. Joelson, F. E. Joelson

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MEB 1st. March, 1945.

Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co.,
2 Star Yard,
Carey Street,
L O N D O N, W.C.

#325/45

20-19

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for your order 325 received today asking us to send "East Africa and Rhodesia" throughout 1945 to Messrs. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Director of the National Institute Association of the Advancement of Coloured Peoples.

There are several of the issues of January and February of which we have no further copies available, and so we are entering the subscription for twelve months as from March 1, and the issue for today has been posted.

Yours faithfully,
p.p. EAST AFRICA, LTD.

MB.

Dr. Du Bois,
Please note.

G. E. STECHERT & CO.
31-33 EAST 10th ST.
NEW YORK

Period-Dept.

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MEB 1st. March, 1945.

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Director,
National Association of the Advancement of Coloured Peoples,
69 Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

20-15

Dear Sir,

We have today received instructions from Messrs. G. Stechert & Company, of London, to supply "East Africa and Rhodesia" to you as from the beginning of January.

To our regret we have had to say that several issues of January and February are not now available, and we are therefore beginning dispatch with our issue of today, and entering the subscription as from March 1. In the circumstances we trsut that this will be satisfactory from your standpoint. Unfortunately the rationing of newspaper is so very drastic in this country that we cannot meet demands for copies, but we are very glad to be able to put your name

on our existing dispatch list.

Yours faithfully,

p.p. EAST AFRICA, LTD.

MB.

The East and West Association

AMERICANS AS WORLD CITIZENS

An East and West Institute for Librarians
Saturday, February 2, 1946, New School Auditorium

INSTITUTE CHAIRMAN:

Houston Peterson
Chairman, Cooper Union Forum

MORNING SESSION:
10:00 to 12:00

"AMERICA - A NATION AMONG NATIONS: THE WORLD'S PEOPLES APPRAISE US"

THE PEOPLES OF THE FAR EAST - Robert Aura Smith

THE COLONIAL PEOPLES - W.E. Burghardt DuBois

THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE - Hanna Kister

THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE - Maria Dikareva Scott

PALESTINE'S PEOPLE - Speaker to be chosen

AFTERNOON SESSIONS:

I. 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.

"FREEDOM'S PEOPLE: AS OTHERS SEE US"

A JAPANESE VIEW - Haru Matsui

AN AFRICAN VIEW - Mbonu Ojike

A CHINESE VIEW - Kung Pu-sheng

JEWISH DILEMMA IN AMERICA - Elmer Berger

FREEDOM'S PEOPLE - AN AMERICAN VIEW - Bonaro W. Overstreet

II. 4:15 to 5:30 p.m.

"WHAT LIBRARIES ARE DOING"

Mildred V.D. Mathews, chairman of East-West Librarians' Advisory Committee

Frederic G. Melcher, editor of Publishers' Weekly

and others

Reports on Library Activities
Concrete Program Suggestions
Resources for Librarians

SPECIAL EXHIBITS — READING LISTS — BOOK DISPLAYS

40 EAST 49 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. PLAZA 5-0843

The East and West Association
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. PLaza 5-0843

14 February 1945

Dear Friend:

I am sending you herewith a description of the Victory Caravan Campaign which I outlined at a meeting of representatives of organizations concerned with the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, called by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, at the YWCA on Friday, 9 February 1945.

The Victory Caravan Campaign, with such suggestions as were made at the meeting, was unanimously endorsed, and it was voted that the Steering Committee should expedite action on it. I agreed to prepare copies of the Campaign plan for distribution to all organizations concerned about Dumbarton Oaks. It is the purpose of this campaign to stir up mass interest in and support of United States participation in the United Nations Organization.

Will you please fill out the questionnaire on the reverse side of this letter and return it to my office not later than Friday, 23 February 1945, since time is of the essence.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon B. Halstead

Gordon B. Halstead
National Director

Attachment

20-13

I. In what ways will your organization participate in the Victory Caravan Campaign?

a. Developing of popular literature for distribution at Caravan mass meetings.

b. Support by your local chapters or affiliates in communities to be visited by the Caravan.

c. Organization of Victory Caravan Campaign.

1. Personnel of teams.

2. Briefing of teams on Dumbarton Oaks and Breton Woods proposals.

3. Nation-wide promotion for campaign.

4. Suggestions on financing.

d. Advisory capacity.

e. Other.

II. Name of representative of your organization with whom we should work.

III. Your comments on the Victory Caravan Campaign.

_____
Name

_____
Organization

_____
Date

ENC

February, 1945

THE VICTORY CARAVAN CAMPAIGN
for
UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION
Developed and to be Directed by
THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION

I. THE VICTORY CARAVANS

1. Three Caravans will be organized, one to depart from the West, the other from the East Coast, and the third from a Mid-West Center. Each Caravan will consist of a team of three veterans of World War II, three nationals of the United Nations, two top stage or screen stars, who will serve as Chairmen, and a Moderator who will be an authority on the United Nations Organization. The Moderators will be either widely-respected leaders in the communities visited or outstanding national figures.

2. These Caravans will visit key centers throughout the United States. Their arrival will be heralded through large-scale advance promotional activities directed by local organizations using bill board posters, press, radio and other popular media. Bands and parades will welcome them. These Caravans will remain in each community preferably three days under the following schedule of activities:

   a. Three mass meetings will be held. The program of the first will be THE G.I. OFFENSIVE FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION at which the veterans will relate first-hand experiences with war that make servicemen want world organization in order to assure future international security. The second will be NATIONS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION, featuring three nationals of other United Nations who will tell of their own peoples and how their future depends upon world organization. The third, MIDDLETOWN MOBILIZES FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION (the name of each community visited will be inserted), will be under community leadership with as much local participation as possible. The third meeting, introduced by a specially-prepared film, will climax the activities of the Caravans in each community visited and will initiate intensive local follow-up activities culminating in political action to achieve U.S. participation in the United Nations Organization.

   b. Throughout the three days, individual team members will speak at schools, churches, service clubs and to small groups of interested citizens.

   c. Popular literature on U.S. participation in the United Nations Organization will be distributed throughout each community visited.

   d. Campaign field workers assigned to the Caravans will be responsible for assisting local committees in planning follow-up activities. They will meet with local representative of organizations participating in the Campaign and with any other local groups that wish to support U.S. participation in United Nations Organization.

3. The preparation of the Caravans will require:

   a. Assembling the necessary team members. The veterans and nationals need not be well known nor polished public speakers, but should be "folksy" in their presentation.

   b. For one week prior to the departure of the Caravans the team members will be briefed on the United Nations Organization proposals thoroughly and on a uniform policy for presenting these proposals to the American people.

II. LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE CARAVAN TOUR.

1. The VICTORY CARAVAN CAMPAIGN has been endorsed by a Coordination Committee representing most of the national organizations supporting American participation in the United Nations Organization.

2. The East and West Association is assuming responsibility for developing and coordinating THE VICTORY CARAVAN CAMPAIGN.

3. Its policy is to work through existing organizations in all communities reached by the Caravans and to solicit the advice and assistance of all organizations supporting American participation in the United Nations Organization.

4. Itineraries for the Caravans will be developed in cooperation with the national organizations participating in the Campaign.

5. The political action follow-up of the Campaign will be directed and coordinated by a national organization whose charter allows it to engage in political action.

6. Local committees representing the participating organizations will have full responsibility for laying the groundwork and for planning the activities of the Caravans in their communities. The schedule of activities for the Caravans in each community visited as outlined in Section I will be recommended to local committees. However, such variations can be made by local committees as will most effectively meet community needs and conditions.

   a. Where such local committees are already in existence, they will be used for the purposes described above.

   b. Otherwise, field representatives of the VICTORY CARAVAN CAMPAIGN, with the cooperation of the participating national organizations, will establish new local committees as needed.

7. Headquarters of national organizations will notify their local chapters and/or units of the full campaign and ask their maximum support at the local level.

8. Popular literature, bringing home to individuals the identity of their own well-being with U.S. participation in the United Nations Organization will be prepared in so far as it does not exist and distributed throughout the Country during the Campaign.

III. FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

The enthusiasm and fervor aroused by the Caravans must be intensified by the local committees and spread throughout surrounding regions. Each national organization will urge its local chapters and/or units to undertake concerted and special action immediately following the visit of the Caravans. It is hoped that the work of the organizations within each community will continue to be coordinated by the local committees described above.

Great flexibility must be allowed in the manner in which local Committees carry on their responsibilities. The activities outlined below are largely in the nature of suggestions and will be put at the disposal of all of the committees throughout the country for their use.

A. A Vote in the Name of a Servicemen: A five cent packet will be assembled consisting of:

1. A V-Mail letter to be sent to a person in the armed services notifying him that while he is fighting the battles with the enemy, the individual sending the V-Mail is taking steps to assure a sound peace through his notification of his Congressman that he is supporting United Nations Organization.

2. A printed post-card to the individual's Congressman, stating that the individual has notified someone in the armed services that in his name and for his interests the United Nations Organization proposals are being supported.

3. A campaign button, stating that in the name of the serviceman he is supporting United Nations Organization.

B. Regional Victory Caravans: Victory Caravans comparable to the national one described in the foregoing should be organized by the local committees in communities visited during the Campaign. These Regional Caravans should be made up of local veterans, of local nationals or former nationals and of local stars in the entertainment field. They could put on programs similar to the national Victory Caravans.

C. Speakers and Discussion Leaders Service: Each local Committee should uncover local persons of international experience who believe in collective security and who could be used as discussion leaders and speakers for small informal meetings.

D. Home Meetings: Neighborhood Home Meetings should be instituted for intimate discussions of United Nations Organization and local working Committees should provide leadership for such meetings.

20-13

IV. VICTORY CARAVAN "DRESS REHEARSAL" IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND LANCASTER, PENNA.

The East and West Association in conjunction with Americans United for World Organization is now planning a VICTORY CARAVAN demonstration in Washington, D. C. and Lancaster, Pennsylvania in the immediate future. This demonstration will make it possible to refine further the plans for the national campaign and to work out technical details.

V. POLICY ON POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

1. The objectives of this campaign are to achieve full public support of:

   a. the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as released by the Department of State on October 9, 1944, or if at the time of the campaign an agreement has been concluded by the United Nations, public support for that agreement,

   b. of the Breton Woods Articles of Agreement.

2. Although there may be disagreement on certain details of these proposals, and these weaknesses should be recognized, this should not affect full support of the proposals since they are apparently the best that can be achieved through the inter-play of diplomacy at the present time.

3. No attempt should be made to urge modifications in the proposals from those supported by the United States Government.

4. International political issues are bound to be raised in the course of the campaign. Participants in the campaign should not hold themselves up as experts on international politics, and attempt to answer questions on international politics. Political problems should be recognized as existing, and it should be urged that their solution could be more easily achieved through an international organization such as the ones proposed.

5. The East and West Association is a non-political organization and therefore cannot engage in political action. It will, however, urge that the people use their democratic rights and privileges to make their views on U.S. participation in United Nations Organization known to their congressional representatives. Responsibility for all political action aspects of the VICTORY CARAVAN CAMPAIGN will be vested in such national organizations as are free to engage in political action.

21 March 1945

20-5-15

My dear Sir:

I beg to enclose a set of resolutions which the directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at their meeting March 19, 1945 adopted. May I also say that I have been elected to represent this Association at the meeting in San Francisco. I would be glad of any information or cooperation which will help me carry out this directive.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Gordon B. Halstead
East and West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York City 17

The East and West Association

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between peoples through mutual knowledge

40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
PLaza 5-0843

March 21, 1945

Lectures

20-10-28

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Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Sixty-Nine Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The East and West Association, in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Library Service and Town Hall, is putting on an All-Day Institute for Librarians in the metropolitan area on Saturday, May 5th. Its purpose is to point up the opportunities for librarians to help the general public understand the world's peoples and gain knowledge of the human backgrounds of Dumbarton Oaks and world organization.

The morning session, which will meet from 10:30 to 12:30 in the Town Hall Auditorium, will be built around the theme "Peoples of the World Look at Dumbarton Oaks". Houston Peterson, Director of Cooper Union Forums, will be our Chairman. To insure a diversified picture and a breath of the world, we are inviting to participate authorities and representatives of several countries. Our aim is to get at least one expert from each continent.

Dr. Peterson and all of us are hoping that you might find it possible to speak at that time as an American authority on Africa. We are asking each of our speakers to address the group for about ten minutes; following the speeches we will have panel discussion among the participants and then throw the discussion open to the audience. I should say that we expect about five hundred librarians from the entire metropolitan area.

May I call your office within the next couple of days to get your reaction?

Cordially,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Assistant Director

le/mc

The East and West Association

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Lectures 1946

40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
PLaza 5-0843

July 30, 1945.

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20-10-62

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing you this letter for a very special reason.

The Peoples' Congress in New York this coming autumn will begin on October the fourteenth, at the Town Hall, as usual. As you may know, this series is always sponsored by THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION in cooperation with Town Hall, and it continues through the autumn, weekly, until the middle of December. The audience averages about eight hundred to a thousand people, most of them working people, teachers, librarians, and professional persons as well. The hour is always at five thirty in the afternoon, and the meeting goes on for two and a quarter hours. We have one key speaker and a panel made up of nationals from other countries on the platform.

The purpose of the series is to bring together persons of different countries to discuss questions of mutual interest, in the hope that we may learn one another's points of view, and thus understand better one another's peoples. This year our purpose remains the same, of course, but we try to bring something new to each series, and so this autumn we are applying to one another's countries the yardstick of human rights. It is hard to know just what we are all like when we have no yardstick by which to measure ourselves and others.

I usually open the series and explain the theme, and after that the program goes on, applying the theme. These human ~~Rights~~ will be discussed by our key speakers, and then the persons from the other countries will take the yardstick and measure their own countries in terms of their own thinking, not in speeches, but in discussion. When the series is over, we ought to have a pretty clear idea of just

A nonprofit membership organization for education, not relief

where we all stand, in terms of peoples, on the essential human rights.

The subject for November the 7th is The Right To Self-Government, and of course we think of you first as the key speaker we want to have on that day. This is a warm invitation to you. Will you come and talk as informally as you like? You will be very welcome indeed.

Yours cordially,

Pearl S. Buck

Pearl S. Buck

20-10-63

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

PSB HS

P.S. We are able to offer only the very modest honorarium of a hundred dollars.

August 1, 1945

20-10-02

My dear Miss Buck:

I have your letter of July 30th.

I shall be glad to speak for you November 7th on "The Right to Self-Government".

You will let me know just how much time I am to take and other necessary information.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Pearl S. Buck
The East and West Association
40 East 49 Street
New York 17, New York

The East and West Association

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Lectures 1946

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September 21, 1945

20-10-68

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Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are so glad that you have consented to participate in our Peoples Congress meeting on "The Right to Self-Government". You will note from the enclosed folder that the date is Wednesday, November 7th and the time is from 5:30 to 7:15 p.m. We should very much like to have you speak about thirty minutes on the whole question of the rights of colonial peoples and their right to eventual self-government.

The purpose of the series is to bring together persons of different countries to discuss the various human rights. We hope through these programs to offer the opportunity for a better understanding of where we all stand in terms of people on these essential human rights.

Since we are anxious to have representatives from other countries to make up an international panel which will participate in the question period, we shall be very glad if you wish to suggest the names of persons you would like for this.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Director, Community Services

Sat Feb 2

le/fp
encl.

A nonprofit membership organization for education, not relief

October 10, 1945

20-10-66

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
40 East 49 Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Madam:

I am flying to England next Saturday to attend a Pan African Congress but plan to be back well in time for the meeting November 7th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

********** 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

My dear Miss Buck:

20-10-6

I trust that you were notified by my office of my inability to get back from Europe in time to speak for your forum November seventh.

The Pan African Congress was held in Manchester, England, October 15 to 21 and I had hoped to get back to America before November first. As a matter of fact I landed at LaGuardia Field, November 26.

I understand that you have me scheduled for a date in December. If this is so, will you kindly let me know and I shall make every effort to keep it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pearl S. Buck
The East and West Association
40 East 49 Street
New York 17, N. Y.

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20-7-39

November 30, 1945

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Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Miss Buck has asked me to answer your kind letter of November 29th. We were very disappointed indeed, in not having had you at our Peoples Congress meeting on November 7th. We had hoped to be able to postpone that discussion to a later date in December, but were not able to do so because of previous commitments. We do hope that we shall have the privilege of having you on one of our programs very near in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

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20-13-23

December 18, 1945

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JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In our telephone conversation the other day, you indicated that you would probably be free to participate in our East-West Institute for Librarians which we are holding on Saturday, February 2nd at the New School Auditorium at 66 West 12th Street. I am enclosing a rough outline of our program so that you can see what we have in mind. As you will note, we have listed you for our morning session which will be held from 10:00 to 12:00 on the theme of "America- A Nation Among Nations: The World's Peoples Appraise Us". We are particularly eager to have you speak for the colonial peoples - what they expect from America, and so forth. We are asking each of our speakers to take fifteen minutes and then we expect to have a lively question period.

Since this is a meeting for librarians, we shall very much appreciate it if you make special mention of books on this topic which every library should feature.

We are so glad that we can count on you for this and very much appreciate your cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
enclosure

A nonprofit membership organization for education, not relief

"THE CHURCH THAT SERVES"

Ebenezer Methodist Church

EAGLE AND STEEL ROADS
MANOA, UPPER DARBY, PA.

E. W. J. SCHMITT, PH.D., PASTOR
144 SYCAMORE ROAD
HILLTOP 3351

October 1, 1945

Dr. W. A. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

20-10-71

This letter is sent to you with the hope that it might be possible for you to come to our community on Sunday evening, November 18, to speak to a community gathering on the subject of "Improving the United Nations Charter." Each year we have a series of Sunday evening services dealing with some important issue of the day and this year we are having three meetings to discuss the new Charter. On November 4 a representative of the United Nations Council will describe and explain the Charter; on November 11 Dr. Jacob Simpson Payton, Washington Correspondent of the Christian Advocate will speak on "Supporting the Charter Politically"; the final session, which to me is the most important, will show how there are still limitations in the Charter that we must strive to overcome.

I regret that it is not possible for me to offer a large and attractive honorarium. We will be able to take care of your expenses and then some. But when I finished reading your "Color and Democracy" I knew that the point of view that you presented there so skillfully and powerfully was the one that the people of our community had to see. It is presumptuous for us to ask you to come to us for we have so little to offer in return but I dare to make the request because to me it is a matter that is tremendously important.

If you do feel that you can help us I shall send you full details or, better yet, come to New York to discuss them with you. Meanwhile I want you to know that it would make us very happy if you could help and that Mrs. Schmitt and I would be highly honored if you could have dinner with us and spend the night at our home.

Most Sincerely,

E. W. J. Schmitt

October 6, 1945

20-10-72

Rev. E. W. J. Schmitt
Ebenezer Methodist Church
Eagle and Steel Roads
Manoa, Upper Darby, Pa.

My dear Mr. Schmitt:

In answer to your letter of October 1st, I beg to say that just now I am trying to get to London to attend a Pan African Congress. I do not know yet whether I will receive the necessary permissions. At any rate, I shall have to wait until I return before I can tell you definitely whether I can come or not. In case I do not go, I will write you again within a couple of weeks.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

SHERWOOD EDDY
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY 17

Telephone: MUrray Hill 9-3668

January 11, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-4-198

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter of January 9 has come to this office in Dr. Eddy's absence from the city. He is touring through the South and Southwest speaking in the colleges and in connection with several "Religious Emphasis Weeks." I am afraid that he will not be back soon enough to be of any help to you with regard to a possible colonial conference. His schedule carries him well into the month of April. However, I shall mail your letter on to him and if he is able to answer your questions, I am sure that he will do so.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Virginia M. Bonsor

Secretary to Sherwood Eddy

Request for information

LAW OFFICE OF
GEO. CLIFTON EDWARDS
603A MAIN STREET
DALLAS 2, TEXAS

Jan 9, 1945

20-20-71

Dr W E Burghardt Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr Dubois:

On page 210 of your book "Black Folk, Then and Now" I find this statement: "There is no doubt that the thirst of the black man for knowledge, a thirst that has been too persistent and durable to be mere curiosity or whim, gave birth to the public school system of the South."

If it is not too much trouble, I should be glad if you would give me citations of your authority for the underlined statement.

I assure you that I am not concerned in attacking your position. I simply want to know what you base your statement on.

Yours very sincerely,

Geo. Clifton Edwards.

20-20-72

17 January 1945

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of January 9: you will find a chapter on the public school system in the South in my book Black Reconstruction published by Harcourt, Brace and Company in 1935. I am sure the book will be in some of the city libraries.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Clifton Edwards
603A Main Street
Dallas 2, Texas

August 24, 1945

20-19-48

Dear Mr. Embree:

I have just sent the enclosed letter to Marshal Field.

What do you think of it, and can you help in any way?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Edwin Embree
Rosenwald Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

ETHIOPIAN WORLD FEDERATION, Inc.

290 LENOX AVENUE
New York 27, N. Y.

Telephone ATwater 9-9480

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20-21-61

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Nat'l. Assn. For The Advancement For Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois: We congratulate you upon your official designation as an observer at the forthcoming Peace Conference at San Francisco.

We should like to marshall the strength of not only the Ethiopen WorldFederation but also of the African socities, the British West Indian, the Virgin Islands and other black colonial organizations behind the position you will take there.

Many of the leaders are joining us in mass meeting to that end, here on Sunday evening, April 8th, at 8:30 P.M. In order that we may do this the more intelligently, we should be greatly pleased to have you address us on that occasion. We should want to make radio and national press coverage for the conference.in the event of your ability to lend us your presence.

Yours sincerely

George W. Harris

George W. Harris.

GWH/rl

[Ethiopian World Federation]

28 March 1945

20-21-62

My dear Mr. Harris:

I regret to say that on April eighth, I have for several months been scheduled to speak at Cooper's Union on Ethiopia. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be glad to have the cooperation of all organizations so as to make adequate representation at San Francisco sure and effective.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George W. Harris
Ethiopian World Federation
290 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

ETHIOPIAN WORLD FEDERATION, INC.

290 LENOX AVENUE

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Lectures

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September 20, 1945

Doctor Wm. E.B.Dubois

69 Fifth Avenue

New York City

Dear Doctor Dubois: You will remember my asking you recently to visit us at one of our Sunday evening meetings. It may not be amiss to inform you of our policy.

We have the conviction that we are doing and planning a work, vital and fundamental in world and racial progress. We are committed to the proposition that public sentiment toward those of African extraction must be righted before the civilized world can forestall the otherwise inevitable conflict of color and before blak folk can possess their souls in patisnce and move on toward their equal place in the sun.

We advocate the program that the black race must have and cling to a national homeland-before it can have substantial self respect, racial pride and an ambition for economic and civic parity. We war against the abortive isolationism of black folk everywhere and especially against that which enshrouds the colored people in these United States to proclaim themselves "Negroes"-their slave state misnomer- and which estops their spiritual union with the two hundred millions of their proscribed and exploited kinsmen throughout the Americas, the Islands of The Seven Seas and Africa. We work to link up all these under the common bond of a common and glorious heritage for a common and glorious destiny. Nor are we unaware of the mechanics and conditions, international, national and local, which we face to

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WILFRED HIBBERT
SETH SAHARA CARTER

20-7-12

that end.

As loyal Americans, unquestioned, we march behind the standards set by Haile Selassie, Emperor of the historic homeland of the black race and who has demonstrated, in peace and war, the right to proclaim himself the leader of the black race of the world.

We follow not only the sound course of the Hebrew nation, which has set a free and independent Palestinian homeland, sine qua non, as its goal- but the realistic idealism of every other ethnic stock in America that reveres and seeks to promote and perpetuate the integrity of its motherland. All know that without this anchorage they are like driftwood on the sea of time. Without this anchorage, the black race will continue to be the Topsy of Christendom.

Our appeal, therefore, is to the public sentiment-makers of the world- the press, the politicians, the pulpit and the great protagonists of world democracy, like yourself to achieve this consummation.

There is no one, whom we can so surely address to symbolize this cause as yourself. We should welcome a word from you at one our early Sunday meetings under any conditions, which you may stipulate.

Yours very respectfully Geo. W. Harris

George W. Harris-President.

20-7-13

October 5, 1945

Mr. George W. Harris, President
Ethiopian World Federation, Inc.
New York 27, New York

My dear Mr. Harris:

Thank you for your letter of September 20th.

When I can find time, I shall be glad to attend some of your meetings. Just now, I am trying to get to England for a Pan African Congress and am therefore very busy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

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290 LENOX AVENUE

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WILFRED HIBBERT
SETH SAHARA CARTER

20-2-14

October11 , 1945

Dr.W.E. B. Dubois

69 Fifth Avenue

New York City

Dear Doctor Dubois : We want to thank you very much for your letter agreeing to visit us some times on your return from The Pan-African Congress in London. We want you to know that you carry with you to that conference the prayers as well as the highest best wishes of the Ethiopian World Fede ration.You greatly represent not only the cause Of the Ethiopian World Federation but that of the millions of Afro-Americans.

Humanity with all its fears,with all its hopes of future years will hang largely upon what you and your fellow conferees do at what is bound to be an epochalconference. We will follow.

Is it too much for us to indulge the hope that we may be apprised of the date of your return in order that we here in New York way fittingly greet you? The urgent cause must have the widest public recognition and acclaim.Command us .

Yours Most REspectfully

Ethiopian World Federation

George W. Harris

George W. Harris
President

61-12-02

May 21, 1945

Miss Louise Evans
Denver Unity Council
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Dear Miss Evans:

Somewhere in Colorado - I think in the vicinity of Colorado Springs - there is living a Mrs. Loulie Mathews, formerly a prominent club woman in New York. I would like very much to secure her address. She was pretty widely known although I am not sure of her whereabouts lately.

If you can find the address kindly send it to me or give it to me when I come. I shall be greatly obliged.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

10 April 1945

20-15-54

My dear Mr. Evans:

I have been informed by the Secretary that arrangements have been made for me to stop at your residence during the time I am in San Francisco. If this is according to your understanding, will you please write me? I am expecting to arrive by air on the morning of April twentieth but, as you know, my plans may be interferred with by the State Department. I shall wire you when I start.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Robert Evans
575 Twenty-Fourth Avenue
San Francisco, California

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Fee Claimed by Office of Last Address

OFFERED AT ADDRESS
4/14 at 10:00 AM
Cause of Non-Delivery

(424)

MRS. ROBERT EVANS
575 TWENTY-FOURTH AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO 21, CALIFORNIA

San Francisco, 21, California
575 Twentyfourth Avenue
April 13, 1945

20-15-90

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your arrival is expected, and arrangements have been made for your room in my home. I shall endeavor to make you comfortable.

I am wondering if you understand that I cannot furnish meals. However, there are several very excellent restaurants not far from my home where meals may be had. I do not think you will be inconvenienced in that respect.

Sincerely

Robert Evans.

Robert Evans
Tel. BA 7989

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

20-15-91

17 April 1945

My dear Mr. Evans:

New arrangements as to travel have been made by the State Department: I am to leave at ten p. m. Thursday night by special train and will arrive in San Francisco on the twenty-third. When I get into San Francisco I will communicate with you. Thank you very much for your kindness.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Robert Evans
575 Twenty-Fourth Avenue
San Francisco 21, California

6 March 1945

20-12-34

Gentlemen:

Please find enclosed my check for five dollars. Please send to the address on the enclosed envelope five dollars work of roses and enclose this envelope.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Samuel Feast and Sons
527 North Charles
Baltimore, Maryland

27 March 1945

20-21-02

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send an Easter lily to Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

either on the Saturday before Easter or on Easter morning. I am enclosing five dollars. If a suitable plant should cost more, please let me know and I will forward the balance.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Samuel Feast
527 North Charles
Baltimore, Maryland

[Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America]

Saturday, April 14, 1945

INFORMATION SERVICE

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Colonial Policy for a Modern World—I

Ranking high among urgent problems of world organization is the status of dependent peoples and the administration of underdeveloped territories. We publish this week the first of a series of articles on the colonial problem. It will be followed at intervals by discussions of particular phases of the subject, such as economic problems, governmental policies, and emerging plans for colonial development. The accompanying list of colonial possessions is relevant to the whole series.

The terms "colony" and "colonial" in the past have connoted the settlement in areas abroad of nationals who remain under the protection of their mother country. Most such settlements have long since shed their colonial character. Today colonial territories are inhabited mainly by people other than nationals of the governing state.

The fact that the principal colonial empires—British, French, Dutch and Belgian—are composed of distant possessions contributes to another fallacy. Imperial expansion is popularly supposed to be an overseas enterprise. Some of the most important such ventures, however, have affected contiguous territories. Russian imperial power was expanded in eastern Asia. The nineteenth century expansion of the United States occurred principally on the North American continent. The Indian Empire was extended by incorporation of the border states. The recent effort of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe would have established an essentially colonial empire throughout the continent of Europe. Assimilation, or non-assimilation, does not affect the fundamental fact of expanding power. A study group of members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1937 pointed out, in their report *The Colonial Problem,* that "neither independent states nor colonial areas are unchangeable in status." Students of the subject have noted that the contrary processes of disintegration and centralization, of colonization and counter-colonization, are always at work.

Weakness in a state invites intervention from without. That weakness may evidence itself in failure to develop resources or in the inability to keep order on frontiers or to defend neutrality. A state with the power to enforce its will, either militarily or economically, is unlikely to permit conditions to continue anywhere which threaten its own interests or those of its dependencies. Moreover, economic assistance may be as effective as military action in limiting the sovereignty of a weak state through the resulting obligations.

In the modern world colonial dominion is exercised mainly over underdeveloped areas and less advanced peoples who are not equipped by experience and education to develop their human and material resources or to market their products advantageously in competition with highly industrialized nations. Willingly or unwillingly, they accept domination, or at least government, by more advanced peoples in return for protection and for assistance in developing and exploiting their resources. Intense debate is waged over (1) the relative advantages and disadvantages of this system to the governed and the governing communities, and (2) the advantages of possession over non-possession of colonial territory.

Methods of Acquisition

Conquest, of course, was an important factor in the growth of colonial empires. It was probably less extensive and its results in the matter of possession were probably less permanent than is popularly believed. More prevalent has been the practice of annexation for the protection or extension of trade. Settlement was in general incidental rather than a primary motive. In some instances trade was initiated by adventuring private interests; in others charters were granted to trading companies by the governments of continental states. Usually government regulation was later deemed necessary and annexation followed. This method was not necessarily less unpleasant from the native point of view than direct conquest. It has been characterized in general by exploitive practices and in specific instances by cruel abuses such as the slave trade on the African coast and forced hard labor under inhuman conditions by primitive people unprepared because of climate and diet to withstand hardship.

In time a third method appeared, that of affording protection from aggression to individual tribes or small peoples—protection sometimes offered, often sought. The mixture of national interest and goodwill in this practice is difficult to assess exactly. In some instances it had the regrettable result of confirming the status of weak or exploitive rulers; in some it led to definite benefits in better government and increased economic opportunity.

A fourth method of acquisition, used especially to secure strategically valuable sites, is agreement among great Powers regarding ownership.

Many areas whose status is now colonial had few inhabitants prior to their original acquisition. Among British Empire territories, five West Indies islands, including

3 2 30, 104

281
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Colonies and Dependencies of the World's Colonial Powers, with area, population, and population density.[1]

GREAT BRITAIN

	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Density of Population
Self-governing Colonies			
Southern Rhodesia[b]	150,333	1,448,000	9.6
Colonies			
East Africa:			
Kenya (& Prot.)[dg]	224,960	3,692,434	16.4
Mauritius (& dep.)[df]	835	421,416	504.7
Seychelles[dh]	156	32,150	205.8
South Africa:			
Northern Rhodesia[cdg]	290,320	1,381,829	4.8
West Africa:			
Nigeria[c] (& Prot.[dg]) incl. Cameroons mand. terr.	372,674	21,040,720	56.5
Gambia[c] (& Prot.[dh])	4,068	199,520	49.0
Gold Coast (& Prot.)[dg] incl. Togoland mand. terr.	91,843	3,962,692	43.1
St. Helena & Ascension[dj]	93	5,042	54.2
Sierra Leone (& Prot.)[dg]	27,940	1,793,000	64.2
Caribbean:			
Bermuda[de]	19	32,857[a]	1,702.4
Honduras, British[cdf]	8,867	61,723	7.0
Trinidad & Tobago[df]	1,980	522,168	263.7
West Indies—Bahamas[de]	4,404	73,217	16.6
Barbados[de]	166	200,674	1,208.8
Jamaica[dg]	4,642	1,242,691	267.7
Leeward Is.[dg]	422	98,135	232.3
Windward Is... (Grenada[dg], St. Vincent[dg], St. Lucia[dg])	516	265,502	514.5
South America:			
Falkland Islands & dep.[cdh]	5,618	2,785	.5
Guiana, British[df]	89,480	361,754	4.0
Europe:			
Gibraltar[cdj]	2	20,339[a]	10,686.0
Malta[cd]	122	271,359[a]	2,224.2
Asia:			
Aden & Perim[dj]	80	48,338	604.2
Ceylon (& Maldive Is.)[c]	25,447	5,385,863[a]	208.0
Cyprus[dfk]	3,572	389,530	109.1
Hong Kong[cdh]	391	1,071,893[a]	2,741.4
Straits Settlements[cdg]	1,356	1,435,895	1,058.9
Pacific:			
Fiji[cdg]	7,083	233,895	33.0
Gilbert & Ellice Is. Colony[djm]	204	35,522	
Protectorates			
East Africa:			
Nyasaland[dh]	37,374	1,686,045	45.1
Somaliland[dj]	68,000	500,000	7.4
Uganda[dh]	93,981[n]	3,898,333	41.5
Zanzibar[dh] & Pemba	1,020	250,000	246.0
South African High Commission Territories:			
Basutoland[dj]	11,716	660,650	56.4
Bechuanaland[dj]	275,000	265,756	.96
Swaziland[dj]	6,705	156,715	23.4
Asia:			
Aden Protectorate[dj]	112,000	600,000	5.3
Socotra	1,400	12,000	8.6
Pacific:			
Solomon Islands[dj]	12,400	94,105	7.6
Protected States			
Asia:			
Borneo, British—			
North Borneo	29,500	270,223	9.2
Brunei	2,226	30,135	13.5
Sarawak	50,000	490,585	9.0
Federated Malay States	27,540	2,212,052	80.3
Unfederated Malay States—			
Johore	7,330	737,590	100.6
Kedah	3,660	515,758	140.9
Kelantan	5,720	390,332	68.2
Perlis	310	57,776	186.4
Trengganu	5,050	211,041	41.8
Pacific:			
Tonga (Friendly Is.)	250	34,130	136.5
Total colonial areas, Great Britain	2,068,775	58,804,169	

	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Density of Population
Mandated Territories			
West Africa:			
Cameroons (34,081 sq. mi.; 868,637 pop'n—See Nigeria)			
Togoland (12,041 sq. mi.; 391,473 pop'n—See Gold Coast)			
East Africa:			
Tanganyika Territory[q]	360,000[p]	5,321,203	14.8
Mediterranean:			
Palestine	10,429	1,605,816	153.0
Transjordan[r]	34,740	400,000	11.5
Condominium with Egypt			
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	967,500	6,590,996	6.7
Condominium with France			
New Hebrides Islands	5,700	45,000*	7.6
Total Dependencies, Great Britain	3,447,144	72,767,184	

*Listed also with French colonies.

AUSTRALIA

Colonies			
Territory of Papua	90,540	338,822	3.7
Mandated Territory			
Territory of New Guinea	93,000	675,269	7.3
Nauru[s]	8	2,672	318.0

NEW ZEALAND

Dependencies			
Auckland, Cook, Niue (Savage), Kermadec, Union, Antipodes Islands, etc.	516	17,732	
Mandated Territory			
Western Samoa	1,130	63,428	56.1

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mandated Territory			
South-West Africa	318,099	344,564	1.1
Total dependencies, British Commonwealth	3,950,437	74,209,671	

THE NETHERLANDS

Caribbean:			
Curaçao	403	113,956	282.8
South America:			
Surinam (Guiana)	54,291	186,807	3.4
Asia:			
Netherlands Indies	735,267	60,727,233	
(Java & Madura	51,032	41,718,364)	817.5
(Island of Sumatra	164,148	7,677,826)	46.5
(Riau-Lingga Arch.	12,234	298,225)	24.4
(Bangka	4,610	205,363)	44.5
(Billiton	1,866	73,429)	39.3
(Borneo	208,286	2,168,661)	10.4
(Island of Celebes	72,986	4,231,906)	58.0
(Molucca Islands (incl. New Guinea)	191,682	893,400)	4.7
(Timor Archipelago	24,450	1,657,376)	67.8
(Bali & Lombok	3,973	1,802,683)	453.7
Total dependencies, The Netherlands	789,961	61,027,996	

BELGIUM

Colonies			
Africa:			
Belgian Congo	902,082	10,387,135	11.5
Mandated Territory			
Ruanda Urundi	20,152	3,775,355	187.3
Total dependencies, Belgium	922,234	14,162,490	

FRANCE

	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Density of Population
Colonies			
Algeria[t]	847,500	7,234,680	8.5
French West Africa	1,815,768	14,944,830	
(Senegal[v]	77,730	1,666,374)	21.4
(Mauritania[v]	323,310	370,764)	1.1
(French Sudan[v]	590,966	3,635,073)	6.2
(French Guinea[v]	96,886	2,065,527)	21.3
(Ivory Coast[v]	184,174	3,981,459)	21.6
(Dahomey[v]	43,232	1,289,128)	29.8
(Niger[v]	499,410	1,809,576)	3.6
(Dakar & Dep.[v]	60	126,929)	2,115.5
French Equatorial Africa	959,257	3,418,066	
(Gabun[v]	93,219	408,516)	4.4
(Middle Congo[v]	166,069	744,503)	4.5
(Ubangi-Shari[v]	238,767	833,041)	3.5
(Chad[v]	461,202	1,432,006)	3.1
Madagascar & Dep.[v]	241,884	3,797,936	15.7
East Africa:			
Somali Coast[w]	8,492	44,240	5.2
Reunion[w]	970	208,858	215.3
North America:			
St. Pierre & Miquelon[w]	93	4,175	44.9
Caribbean:			
Martinique[w]	385	246,712	640.8
Guadeloupe[w]	583	304,239	549.3
South America:			
French Guiana & Inini[v]	65,041	37,005	.56
Asia:			
Kwang-Chau-Wan (Leased)[v]	325	220,000	676.9
Indo-China	280,849	23,633,429	
(Cochin-China[v]	26,476	4,615,968)	174.3
(Cambodia[v]	67,550	3,046,000)	45.1
(Annam[v]	56,973	5,989,302)	105.1
(Laos[v]	89,320	1,011,695)	11.3
(Tonking[v]	40,530	8,970,464)	221.3
French India[w]	196	295,508	1,507.7
Pacific:			
New Caledonia & Dep.[w]	8,548	53,245	6.2
Oceania[w]	1,520	43,608	
Protectorates			
Africa:			
Tunis[u]	48,313	2,608,313	54.0
Morocco[u]	162,120	6,242,706	38.5
Total colonial areas, France	4,441,844	63,337,550	
Mandated Territories			
Africa:			
Cameroons[v]	166,489	2,513,517	15.0
Togo[v]	21,893	737,056	33.7
Mediterranean:			
Syria & Lebanon	57,900	3,630,000	62.7
Condominium with Great Britain			
New Hebrides	5,790	45,000*	7.8
Total dependencies, France	4,693,916	70,263,123	

*Listed also with British colonies.

SPAIN

Colonies			
Africa:			
Morocco	77	136,779	1,776.4
Ifni Territory	741	905	1.2
Spanish Sahara	105,409	25,000	.2
Spanish Guinea	10,852	167,500	15.4
Protectorates			
Morocco, Northern Zone	7,970	795,000	99.7
Morocco, Southern Zone	10,039	5,000	.5
Total dependencies, Spain	135,088	1,130,184	

ITALY

Africa:			
Libya[x]	679,358	888,401	1.3
Eritrea[x]	15,754	600,573	38.1
Somaliland[x]	194,000	1,021,572	5.3
Mediterranean:			
Aegean Islands	1,035	140,848	136.08
Total dependencies, Italy	890,147	2,651,394	

PORTUGAL

	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Density of Population
Africa:			
Cape Verde Islands	1,557	181,286	116.4
Guinea	13,948	351,089	25.2
Principé and S. Tomé Is.	372	60,490	162.6
Angola	481,351	3,738,010	7.8
Mozambique	297,731	5,081,266	17.1
Asia:			
Goa, etc., in India	1,537	601,000	391.0
Macao	6	374,737	62,456.2
Pacific:			
Timor	7,330	463,796	63.3
Total dependencies, Portugal	803,832	10,851,674	

DENMARK

Greenland (ice free)	31,284	16,630	

JAPAN

Colonies			
Asia:			
Chosen (Korea)	85,246	24,326,327	285.4
Taiwan (Formosa)	13,890	5,872,084	422.8
Bokoto (Pescadores)	50	—	
Karafuto (Jap. Sakhalin)	13,935	339,357	24.3
Kwangtung Prov. (Leased)	1,438	1,184,457	825.0
Mandated Territories			
Pacific:			
Marianne (Ladrone) Is.	246	44,025	178.9
Caroline Islands	—	48,048	
Marshall Islands	—	10,446	
Total dependencies, Japan	114,805	31,824,744	

UNITED STATES

North America:			
Territory of Alaska	586,400	72,524	.1
Caribbean:			
Puerto Rico	3,400	1,869,255	549.8
Virgin Islands of U. S.	133	24,889	187.1
Pacific:			
Territory of Hawaii	6,435	423,330	65.8
Commonwealth of the Philippines[y]	115,600	16,971,100	146.8
Guam	225	23,394	104.0
Samoan Islands	76	13,273	174.7
Total dependencies, United States	712,269	19,397,765	

1. Figures of area and population vary widely with the sources, partly because for many areas they are necessarily estimates, revised as information becomes more accurate. The statistics of *The Statesman's Year-Book 1944* are used here as the most generally accurate and latest available. Areas quoted for some remote territories are official estimates. Population figures in some instances are census data of the years 1931 to 1938; most are official estimates for the years 1940 to 1943 based on earlier census data. Where large uninhabitable tracts—desert, jungle, etc.—are included in territory the population density figures do not offer an accurate picture of conditions.

a. Exclusive of military, naval, and in some instances shipping personnel.
b. Limited authority; separate representation at Imperial Conference.
c. Crown Colony, meaning administration under direction of Colonial Office. Ceylon and Malta have been promised full internal self-government after the war.
d. Administration under Secretary of State for Colonies. Except in the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Honduras and the Leeward Islands, the Crown may legislate by Order in Council.
e. House of Assembly elected and Legislative Council nominated.
f. Legislative Council partly elected; constitution does not provide for an official majority.
g. Legislative Council partly elected; constitution provides for an official majority. Jamaica has been promised a new constitution.
h. Legislative Council nominated and containing an official majority.
j. No Legislative Council.
k. Constitution temporarily suspended.
m. Title to Cantor and Enderby is held in abeyance on account of United States claim; the islands are used by both countries.
n. Of this area 13,680 sq. mi. is water.
o. Administration carried on for the United Kingdom through the High Commission of the Union of South Africa.
p. Of this area 20,000 sq. mi. is water.
q. Legislative Council nominated.
r. Now sovereign on understanding there will be no obstruction of British mandatory responsibility. Legislative Council partly elected.
s. Mandate to the British Empire; administration by Australia.
t. Under jurisdiction of Ministry of the Interior, i.e., assimilated.
u. Attached to Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
v. Under jurisdiction of Colonial Ministry, with a Governor-General.
w. Under jurisdiction of Colonial Ministry, with autonomy.
x. Incorporated in Italian national territory; conquered by Allied Forces.
y. Independence due in 1946.

Bermuda, were uninhabited, while of six ceded in the French and Spanish wars four had very sparse and two somewhat larger populations of Carib Indians. (The Negroes were imported as slaves and in the nineteenth century were freed.) Honduras, British Guiana and Singapore had few aborigines. The Falkland Islands and Mauritius had none. Hong Kong was a desolate island when ceded by China.

A leading authority on colonial matters, Lord Hailey, in his book *The Future of Colonial Peoples* says, "part at least of the motive" when cession of the Malay Peninsula was obtained was the protection of Chinese immigrants from piracy and extortion. Three Malay States asked for protection. Borneo, on the other hand, was occupied for "commercial purposes." The colonies of British West Africa grew out of small trading stations. "The extension of jurisdiction over their hinterland illustrates," Lord Hailey continues, "the force of the maxim that 'where once you have established order in one small corner of the world, you are compelled by the mere need of protecting your own handiwork to establish order on your frontiers.'" Uganda, Kenya, Nyasaland and Zanzibar were occupied to meet "that expansionist policy of other Powers which led to the partition of Africa." The empire-building motive, however, was mixed with "some genuine interest in checking the raids of Arab slave dealers." Again, "the occupation of the Rhodesias had more truly the character of 'imperialistic' acquisition."

Reactions in Public Policy and Opinion

Although missionary enterprise and the pioneering spirit were important elements in colonization, Lord Hailey notes that "no one could pretend that the aim was always altruistic, nor devoid of the spirit which goes to the making of empires." In Great Britain, nevertheless, "there was . . . a lengthy period, lasting over the greater part of the last century, when public policy showed itself strongly averse to fresh acquisition of overseas territory. The England of Cobden, of Bright and Gladstone was strongly opposed to any form of territorial expansion. That was not merely the outcome of the prevailing Liberal tradition. She believed that under the action of free trade principles she could expand her overseas commerce without extension of political control. Parliament adopted in 1866 a formal resolution against the extension of jurisdiction in Africa. Again and again, requests made by native chiefs for British protection were refused. This period ended with . . . the partition of Africa." The era of expansion which culminated in the South African War brought another revulsion of feeling which produced the contemporary school of "anti-imperialist" thought. Developments in British attitudes have been reflected in varying degree among other colonial Powers, but Britain, up to the time of the imposition of imperial preferences after World War I, remained the leading advocate and exemplar of the free trade principle.

In recent decades a sense of responsibility for the dependent or backward communities of the world has spread among the more advanced peoples. A real moral element in the trend is expressed in the term "trusteeship" used to describe the relationship of colonial Powers to their dependencies. The Covenant of the League of Nations speaks of the "sacred trust" for peoples "not yet able to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world." This concept of trusteeship, which is supported by the United States, has been superseded of late in British and Dutch thought by the idea of "cooperation" between the metropolitan country and its dependent peoples.

How Realistic Is the Policy of Acquisition?

The need of land for the settlement of surplus population does not appear to be a valid plea for colonial possessions. Colonies are situated mainly in tropical and subtropical zones unsuited to European settlement. The total European population of British colonies in Africa is 52,000, in Asia 40,000. In the Netherlands Indies 240,000 have been classed as Europeans but the figure includes Japanese and a proportion of mixed blood conservatively estimated at 60 per cent. In 1913 the total German population of all German colonies was only 18,000. After 40 years of Italian possession Italians engaged in agriculture in Eritrea numbered 84, and in 1934 only 90 Italian families emigrated to Libya. Government employes who are not permanent settlers form the bulk of European colonial populations. The real emigration from Europe between 1850 and 1914 was the movement of more than 50,000,000 persons to America and the British Dominions. A similar situation obtains with reference to Japanese emigration to Japan's sparsely settled colonies which in forty years remains less than one year's increase in the home population. In 1928 Formosa had 211,202 Japanese immigrants, Korea 469,043, Karafuto 238,235, the Mandated Islands 16,202; and in 1929 Manchuria had 215,000.

More potent motives in the acquisition of colonies are the desires for power, for prestige and for markets. All are closely related since economic advantage is a form of power, and prestige is both a derivative and an enhancement of power.

The military or strategic power which is supposed to accrue to states possessing extensive colonies derives from their value as bases for military, naval and aerial action, as sources of raw materials, and as suppliers of man power. The possession of widely distributed bases, however, implies commitments for their maintenance and defense which may counterbalance the advantages. The uncertainties of military policy—and of foreign policy—are increased by the dispersal of interests and of strength involved in colonial dominion. Against the advantages of colonial possessions as suppliers of raw materials must be set the possibility that capture or blockade may render them inaccessible in wartime. Moreover, the League of Nations' estimate of commercially important raw materials produced in colonial areas was only three per cent of the world output. With reference to the supply of manpower it appears that of the great colonial Powers only France, having a relatively small population, has consistently depended on her colonies to supply soldiers for her armies.

As for prestige, it would seem obvious that the possession of widely distributed territories, with the consequent expansion of interests and influence, confers upon a state the rank of a world Power.

Economic aspects of the colonial contribution to the power and prestige of an imperial country will be considered in more detail than is possible here in a later article. The several phases may be classified under the heads of raw materials, investment and trade. That special advantage is derived with reference to raw materials and trade, except in those areas where complete monopoly control is maintained, seems doubtful. But there is among non-colonial Powers a very real fear of just such monopoly control and exclusion in all three spheres.

Printed in the U.S.A.

(2)

GOALS FOR SAN FRANCISCO

A joint study of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant pronouncements on world organization

Catholic, Jewish and Protestant pronouncements have made clear the moral principles of a just world order. Our joint study of these authoritative statements convinces us that the agencies which issued them are agreed on ten constructive recommendations for the United Nations Charter to be drafted at the San Francisco Conference. These agreements offer practical guidance to all men of good will. The pronouncements upon which they are based include the "Pattern for Peace," issued by leaders of the three religious bodies in October, 1943; the statement of the Catholic Bishops in November, 1944; the statement of the Federal Council of Churches in December, 1944; the statement of the Synagogue Council in January, 1945; and the statement of the Cleveland Church Conference in January, 1945. Our formulation of these recommendations to support and improve the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a world organization is as follows:

1. Need for Organization. The sacrifices and hardships of this war and the need of mankind for an organized peace make it imperative that the San Francisco Conference succeed and the general security organization be established.

2. Preamble. The Charter of the United Nations Organization should acknowledge in its preamble that the actions of States are subject to the same moral principles as govern the conduct of individuals.

3. Membership. The Charter should specify that membership will be open to all States willing and able to fulfill the obligations of the Charter, so that membership may become universal.

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4. International Law. The Charter should provide for the codification and development of international law and for its impartial enforcement.

5. Peaceful Change. The Charter should provide more explicitly for the revision of treaties and other agreements when such action is required by justice and the good of the world community.

6. Small Nations. The Charter should safeguard the economic and political rights of small nations and assure them an adequate share in shaping the policies of the organization.

7. Disarmament. The Charter should provide a clear purpose and procedure for the limitation and control of national armaments, as collective security is established.

8. Voting Power. The Charter should provide that no one nation be allowed to veto judgment in any dispute covered by international law.

9. Human Rights. The Charter should include an international bill of rights, and provide for a commission or commissions to protect and further the rights and liberties of the individual and of racial, religious and cultural groups, especially those uprooted by war or oppression.

10. Dependent Peoples. The Charter should provide for a commission to supervise the administration of mandated territories and to promote the advancement of non-self-governing peoples toward economic well-being, cultural development and political responsibility.

REV. RICHARD M. FAGLEY
Secretary, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

RABBI AHRON OPHER
Secretary, Committee on Peace, Synagogue Council of America.

REV. EDWARD A. CONWAY, S.J.
Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

April 5, 1945.

[FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST) [1]

GOALS FOR SAN FRANCISCO

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Atty. HUGH E. McBETH
Atty. WILLIAM O. HOUSTON

The Date of Meeting is 9-19-20-45
at Monumental Church.
729 Oakwood, Chicago.

My Dear Friends and Co-Workers:

Last April in San Francisco, California the representatives of 16 national bodies organized themselves in what we voted to call the Federated Organizations of Colored People. This organization was formed for the purpose of seeking to have provisions made in Charter of the United Nations that would protect the rights of Colored Peoples and minorities generally.

Now that V-J Day seems to have come, new problems like reconversion, unemployment, discrimination in employment and what we wish to achieve at the coming Peace Conference loom on the horizon. Therefore, we should meet and have your views on same. Please have your organization to authorize a messenger or messengers to attend. There are no funds, therefore we will have to have our organization bear our expenses. There is a great need for a united positive and fearless voice for Colored People and we should organize properly for such action. We know that what we did at Frisco was temporary but now we should really organize for action but not to interfere or hinder the great job being done by your organization separately.

There will be occasions like at the Peace Table and in the struggle for the elevation of social blights which accompany our political, economic and educational plan; where this louder voice and more powerful pressure must be applied. Please arrange, therefore, to be present at this meeting. We are planning to make you comfortable while attending.

Very sincerely,

J. L. Horace

JLH:MP

J. L. Horace

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Atty. WILLIAM O. HOUST

September 20, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I regretted very much to receive your letter and I was shocked to hear of some conflict between the Federated Organizations and the N.A.A.C.P. If there has been any conflict, I don't know anything about it. I have been a loyal supporter of the N.A.A.C.P. for 25 years. I put over the best mass meeting they had had in Nashville, Tennessee up to 1921, and we had Mr. Pickens as our guest. I am taking personal charge of the drive going on in my church and am asking my son to take charge, so my interest in the N.A.A.C.P. can't be questioned for the past 25 years and I expect it to be true for 25 more should I live but that is not to keep me from seeing the wisdom of have an over-all organization that can do special work in some of these fights Negroes have.

I am not speaking in self defense because I am resigning this place to give my full support and time to the Negro Church. I believe that in the Negro Church we have a sleeping giant. If social action groups can be organized in the Negro churches and these preachers can keep from going on a 'excursion to heaven' every Sunday instead of fighting the battles of life it will be a great help to what the N.A.A.C.P. is doing but we may as well be frank and confess that there are many who will never join the N.A.A.C.P. nor the church, so if it takes a thousand organizations to get them into something, let's have a thousand then if we can get a cover-all in which a thousand can express some interest, we will then have the Negro in some way organized. The N.A.A.C.P. and all other organizations must become broader. There is plenty of work for us all to do and not be jealous of the others prestige. As for me, I am going to help every Negro organization but to do my special work through the one of my choice. I don't know of any controversy connected with this meeting.

Very sincerely,

J. L. Horace

JLH:MP

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES

1359 Pine Street, near Larkin

San Francisco

The Fellowship Church of All Peoples began its activities in San Francisco at 1500 Post Street in December, 1943. It was launched in the "Fillmore District," (in which area there is the Largest concentration of Negroes) as a Neighborhood Church, interracial in character and emphasis. The spearhead of the group gathered around the idea, was Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, a Presbyterian clergyman and Professor of Philosophy in the San Francisco State College. Dr. Fisk was able to interest Dr. Clyde Smith, Executive Secretary of the Extension Board of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., who in turn secured the cooperation of his local and national Boards, and made possible the use of property in San Francisco, and a yearly grant to the work of $3600, contributed from their Emergency War Fund.

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A young Negro theological seminary Student, Mr. Manly Johnson, was associated with Dr. Fisk from the beginning, as co-pastor. When His services were terminated at the end of his course of study, another young minister, Rev. Albert Cleage, of Detroit, was appointed as co-pastor. Rev. Cleage, a graduate of Wayne University and the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, made a very important contribution to the early development of the Church during the six months period of his services.

In July, 1944, Dr. Howard Thurman of Washington, D. C. was granted a leave of absence from his post as Dean of the Chapel of Howard University to serve in the extension and development of the new experimental church organization. Prior to July, 1944, the name of the Church was changed to The Fellowship Church of all Peoples. Beginning in July, 1944, it became increasingly clear that the concept of the church should be broadened so as to make possible a service to the total community of a great, cosmopolitan city such as San Francisco, rather than to any one of its particular geographical areas. It was obvious that if the church confined itself to the "Fillmore" section it would soon become a Negro church, having only the distinction of "co-pastor" relationships. In accordance with the wider basis of operation, the program was devised along the following lines:

A Membership Commitment was adopted and discussed in a series of special sermons during the month of August, 1944. On the basis of this commitment individuals are taken into Church communion as regular or associate members. The commitment will be altered from time to time as greater insights would indicate.

A Fellowship Camp for Children was conducted for eight weeks in the summer of 1944, with 50 children of 5 distinct racial groups in the city attending. The program consisted of worship, crafts, sight-seeing trips and intercultural education thru media of art. The San Francisco Museum of Art gave a 5 day exhibition of 55 Watercolors executed by the children.

A monthly Fellowship Dinner uses the intercultural motif. To date, dinners have included programs given by Japanese Americans, Filipinos, and East Indians with authemtic foods and decorations adding to the total value of the experience for the membership.

A monthly Twilight Vesper Hour Series is dedicated to worship through the Arts. Living Madonna "types" of twelve different nationalities resident in San Francisco, were presented in tableaux for the December Twilight hour.

Occasional series of lecture discussions on matters having to do with the development of the spiritual life and its implications for the common life, have been offered in Sunday evening services.

An adult religious education study group meets each Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. In addition there is a class for small children conducted at the same hour.

The core of the Fellowship Church program is the service of Worship at Eleven o'clock on Sunday mornings, with the co-ministers alternating in the preaching.

A national-associate-membership plan has met with wide and enthusiastic response in all parts of the country, and among men scattered over the world in the armed forces. The list includes clergymen, laymen, college presidents, teachers, and people of good-will from various other walks of life. Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the first person in the nation to sign the pledge of commitment as an associate member and return it to the files of the Fellowship Church office.

In the fall of 1944 the Church had so outgrown its quarters at 1500 Post Street that a larger building was secured on a basis of exchange at 1359 Pine Street, the temporary location for all worship services.

The present development of the church is in another dimension from the one in which it was started. Its genius and commitment are Christian and it welcomes into its fellowship all who are willing to dedicate their lives to the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and to take some direct responsibility for its extension wherever they are. In serving San Francisco and the nation, Fellowship Church of all Peoples offers to the several racial and cultural groups in American Society, a fellowship of mind and spirit, devoted to a growing appreciation each of the other, through study, social contact, and services of corporate worship.

The strategic position of San Francisco with its "100 foreign cities within a city", makes possible the offering of this unique interracial-intercultural church fellowship as the beginning of a creative venture which may inspire similar action in other parts of America and the world.

Lectures
1945

THE COMMITMENT

I desire to have a part in the unfolding of the ideal of Christian fellowship through the union of men and women of varying national, cultural, and racial heritage, in church communion.

In this commitment I am pledged to the growing understanding of all men as sons of God and seek after a vital interpretation of the highest manifestation of God--Jesus Christ--in all my relationships.

I desire the strength of corporate worship with the imperative of personal dedication which will be found through membership in The Fellowship Church of San Francisco.

THOSE PLEDGED TO THE UNFOLDING IDEAL AS GIVEN IN THE COMMITMENT, MAY BE RELATED TO THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH THROUGH FOUR METHODS OF PARTICIPATION:

1. THOSE WHO WISH TO JOIN WITH USUAL "LETTER" OF MEMBERSHIP.
2. THOSE WHO HAVE NO RECENT OR PREVIOUS CHURCH AFFILIATION.
3. THOSE WHO WISH TO BECOME "ASSOCIATES" OF THIS VENTURE WHILE RETAINING THEIR OWN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.
4. THOSE LIVING IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WHO WISH TO HAVE A RELATIONSHIP TO THE VENTURE THROUGH CORRESPONDENCE, IN ORDER THAT THE INTERCULTURAL-INTERRACIAL CHURCH IDEAL MAY EXTEND TO OTHER COMMUNITIES.

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES
1359 Pine Street Phone Gr. 6080
San Francisco 9 -

Dr. Alfred G. Fisk — Co-pastors — Dr. Howard Thurman

Mrs. Ayako Murota, Secretary

Miss Anna Anderson, Treasurer

[Fellowship Church]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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29-7-6

FB150 NL PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 24 1945 MAR 24 PM 6 29

DR W E B DUBOIS=

AW NAACP ~~69 FIFTH AVE NYK~~

~~JWC~~ Lectures

CR WALTER WHITE OR WILKINS
409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES, A VENTURE IN PROPHETIC RELIGION ACROSS RACIAL CULTURAL AND DENOMINATIONAL LINES WITH NATIONAL ASSOCIATES INVITE YOU TO GIVE A SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE APRIL 22ND ON WORLD PEACE AND DARKER PEOPLES. HONORARIUM $100 PLEASE WIRE REPLY COLLECT=

HOWARD THURMAN 1500 POST STREET.

22 $100 1500.

MPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Fellowship church]

Charge to the account of $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

20-7-7

28 March 1945

Night letter

Reverend Howard Thurman
1500 Post Street
San Francisco, California

IF I CAN REACH SAN FRANCISCO BY APRIL TWENTY-first SHALL BE GLAD TO SPEAK FOR YOU THE TWENTY-SECOND stop HOWEVER PERMISSION OF STATE DEPARTMENT FOR MY TRAVEL IS NOT YET CERTAIN.

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES

1359 PINE STREET
Telephone GRaystone 6080
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

CO-MINISTERS
ALFRED G. FISK
HOWARD THURMAN

TREASURER
MISS ANNA A. ANDERSON

April 2, 1945

Dear Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,

20-7-8

I am very happy that you have agreed to give the lecture for the Fellowship Church Of All Peoples. I have one practical difficulty. How soon will you know definitely the time of your arrival in San Francisco? If we are to present you on April 22nd, I shall have to make the announcement not later than Sunday, April 8th. Will you please advise me by wire, collect, whether it will be safe for me to plan the advertisement for April 22nd? I do not wish to put undue pressure on you in a matter that may be completely outside of your control, but if it is possible for me to know by April 8th, it simplifies matters tremendously on this end.

It will be a pleasure to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Thurman

Howard Thurman

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Can only say that I expect to
leave here about 19 by air and have
reservations, 21st may possibly be prevented
by State Department priorities
By do not know

[Fellowship Church]

Charge to the account of $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

29-7-52

7 April 1945

Night letter collect

Dr. Howard Thurman
1359 Pine Street
The Fellowship Church of all Peoples
San Francisco 9, California

CAN ONLY SAY THAT I EXPECT TO LEAVE HERE APRIL NINETEENTH BY AIR AND HAVE RESERVATION stop MAY POSSIBLY BE PREVENTED BY STATE DEPARTMENT PRIORITIES BUT DO NOT KNOW.

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES

1359 PINE STREET
Telephone GRaystone 6080
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

Lectures

CO-MINISTERS
ALFRED G. FISK
HOWARD THURMAN

TREASURER
MISS ANNA A. ANDERSON

April 10, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The margin of uncertainty as to your arrival by Sunday, April 22nd is so great that we have decided to ask you if we may present you on Sunday afternoon, May 6th. Our first thought was that we would like to present you on Sunday, April 29th, but there is to be a city-wide welcome to all of the delegates and observers in a local stadium scheduled for the afternoon of that day.

20-24-2

I trust that Sunday, May 6th, meets with your approval. If for any reason, this is impossible for you, please wire me collect. In the event that we do not hear from you within a reasonable time I shall go forward with my plans and announcements for Sunday, May 6th.

Please know how deeply grateful I am for your cooperation with me in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Thurman

Howard Thurman

17 April 1945

20-24-3

My dear Mr. Thurman:

I shall be glad to speak for you May sixth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Howard Thurman
Fellowship Church of all Peoples
1359 Pine Street
San Francisco 9, California

THE FELLOWSHIP CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLES

1359 PINE STREET
Telephone GRaystone 6080
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

CO-MINISTERS
ALFRED G. FISK
HOWARD THURMAN

May 11, 1945

TREASURER
MISS ANNA A. ANDERSON

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Thank you very much for the splendid address you gave us Sunday afternoon. It was indeed a great occasion for Fellowship Church to present you to a San Francisco audience. I am wondering if you could give me a copy of the three points which you read at the close of your address as suggested plans to be incorporated in the Conference Charter. I am to lead a discussion group on this phase of the Conference at the San Francisco State College and I thought that your points would form an excellent basis for the discussion.

20-24-32

We wish that the point of view such men as you and Dr. Mordecai Johnson represent could dominate the Conference and the peace to follow.

Thanking you again for your upholding of this necessary position and assuring you of our support for it.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred G. Fisk

Alfred G. Fisk

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o 12 Geary Street
Rm. 206
San Francisco, California

20-24-33

May 16, 1945

Mr. Albert G. Fiske
The Fellowship Church of All Peoples
1359 Pine Street
San Francisco, 9, California

My dear Mr. Fisk:

I thank you very much for your kind words. You gave me a very interesting audience.

I am enclosing the statement for which you asked.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

8 January 1945

20-24-58

My dear Mrs. Fenderson:

I am speaking February eleventh in Cleveland and February eighteenth in Detroit. I have offered dates between these two to parties in Chicago but have not heard from them. I could not speak for you February twelfth but it is possible that I could speak February fourteenth if I do not hear from Chicago. I am writing them again. Let me know if February fourteenth would do and by that time I can give you a definite answer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson
15 Elm Street
Newark, New Jersey

1 February 1945

20-23-8

My dear Mr. Field:

I regret to say that on February seventeenth, I shall be lecturing in the West and cannot, therefore, attend the luncheon at the Town Hall Club.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Field
16 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

August 24, 1945

My dear Mr. Field:

I have just examined a manuscript of material relating to the contributions which foreign immigrant groups have made to American civilization.

This matter has been collected during the last five to six years by Rachel Davis DuBois and her sister-in-law, Ruth Davis. Ruth Davis has had a great deal of experience in proof-reading and bibliographies for leading publishers. Rachel DuBois is a Ph. D. of New York University and an expert on race relations techniques.

In the work which Mrs. DuBois has been doing in schools and among groups for interracial understanding, she is continually asked for literature and texts, and there is nothing adequate. To fill this need she and her sister-in-law have collected data concerning the contributions of the English, Dutch, Germans, Irish, Negroes, etc., and have a most valuable and fascinating mass of material.

They want to publish a one-volume encyclopedia on racial and cultural contributions to American civilization. I think that if they can have time and help to get this in form for the publishers that they can easily find a publisher who will undertake it, but they need some help toward their support while they are doing this. If they could get $2500 I think they could prepare this manuscript for publication within six months. They want me to collaborate with them as one of the editors and I would be glad to do this without compensation. I am writing to ask if you, or your foundation, would be interested in helping this project after you have looked into it.

I know, of course, the calls that are being made upon you and shall not be at all surprised if it is not possible for you to help. At the same time I thought it my duty to bring the matter before you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Marshal Field
Care of Chicago News
Chicago, Illin ois

[First...]

21 June 1945

19-27-42

My dear Dr. Wright:

When I wrote you offering to come and lecture at your church in June I did not know of your illness. Someone spoke of it in Chicago but I did not know just how sick you had been until I got to Atlanta. If I had know I would not have bothered you. As it is I am thankful that you are as well as you are and glad of the opportunity to address the church. I know, of course, the difficulties under which you labor.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. John C. Wright
First Congregational Church
105 Courtland Street Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Aug. 9. 1945.

Dear B,

But for the fact that I'm still the world's worst correspondent I should have written you long since to ask, as I do now, if you ever write to thank your friends who, in answer to your enquiry, they give you all the information they can obtain as to where your able research assistant can find things so printed about Dumbarton Oaks.

If you do, you might let me know at the U. N. in New York where I shall be for a few days as I hope to arrive late this coming Saturday evening the 11th.

We are now haggling over the terms on which I return to London.

Let me - should you deign to see me - tell you a story about haggling.

As always,

Ruth Anna Fisher

20-23-12

Dear ?:

When did you become a

August 23, 1945

20-23-13

My dear Ruth Anne:

I am so glad you are alive. I thought possibly I had missed your obituary notice.

I see you still have the London bug in your head. I shall be glad to talk with you about it when I am in Washington. If you are going to be in New York any time from now on, call me up.

With love,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Ruth Anne Fisher
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Apartment 409
654 Girard St., N. W.,
Washington 1, D. C.,
Aug. 28, 1945.

Dear B,

I shall try to let you know when my obituary notice appears.

Still no word of thanks for the Dumbarton Oaks information. Suppose you send me a copy of your book for it.

When I am next in New York I shall call you up. - Live in Washington - should you come - I am in the telephone book.

As always,

Ruth Anna

20-38-11

October 11, 1945

20-23-10

Miss Ruth Anna Fischer
654 Gerard Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Apartment 409

Dear Ruth:

I am flying Saturday. Wish me well.

Yours with love,

D:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

********** 20 West 40th Street

5 December 1945

80-23-9

Dear Ruth Anna:

I am back in America. Marian sends her love and Laski wanted me especially to remember him and his wife to you. I saw him again while he was in New York. I had a month in London staying in High Barnet and having membership in the National Liberal Club. I had tea with Viscountess Simon, Lord Buxton, lunch with Laski, tea with H. G. Wells, etc. London looks drab and hurt. I shall see and talk with you soon.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street Northwest
Apartment 409
Washington, D. C.

144-69 Barclay Avenue
Flushing, N. Y.
September 2, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta. Ga.

20-25-80

Dear Mr. Dubois:

For reasons which will appear later, I read "Color and Democracy" with the deepest interest and believe no truer words have ever been written than those contained in the preface: "insofar as such (peace) efforts leave untouched the present imperial ownership of disenfranchised colonies, and in this and other ways proceed as if the majority of men can be regarded mainly as sources of profit for Europe and North America, in just so far we are planning not peace but war, not democracy but the continued oligarchical control of civilization by the white race."

As you point out later, Dumbarton Oaks did nothing whatever to protect or advance the interests of the already subject peoples of the imperial powers and, of course, San Francisco was equally barren, Chapters XI and XII of the Charter of the United Nations being largely the same variety of smokescreen as the declaration of noble aspirations towards the so-called "backward peoples" embodied in Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant. This omission was particularly abominable and disheartening in face of the explicit language of the Atlantic Charter that "the right of all peoples to choose the government under which they will live" would be respected.

The principal reason for the general indifference of the public of the United States and Great Britain to the present and future fate of the colonial peoples is probably their almost complete ignorance of that subject. The average intelligent American dislikes colonialism in principle because he has become aware that it denies adequate participation in government to the native inhabitants. But he does not realize nor believe (if you tell him) that the exploitation of such native peoples often falls not far short of actual slavery in the case of indentured labor subject, under penal sanctions, to severe punishment for the most trifling misdeeds or negligence; that no education of any description is provided for any but a few native children and that independent efforts by native parents to obtain elementary tuition for their boys and girls are discouraged and sometimes suppressed; and that native Africans are frequently evicted from agricultural and mineral lands which are their absolute property by every legal and human right - not in the public interest but to satisfy the greed of infinitesmal white minorities.

20-25-19

It has seemedto me that the exposure of what is actually going on in one or more African colonies (I know little about Asia) might possibly create a situation in which certain influential sections of the American public would demand that post-war financial aid be denied the European imperial powers until such time as they set their colonial houses in decent order and abandon their present policy of more or less ruthless exploitation. Commodities produced by near-slave labor under penal sanctions might also be barred from importation into this country just as we exclude the products of prison labor. There will probably never again a time which offers such opportunities of enforced reform as that in which we are now living, a time which is slipping away rapidly. And that brings me to the real purpose of this letter which I am emboldened to address to you as one of the greatest champions of the misgoverned and oppressed that our country has produced in this generation:

I happen to be a white man, sixty-three years of age, and an employee of the United States Government (Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Although for many years an American citizen, I was born in England and spent several years of my early life in East Africa - principally in an area which is now part of Kenya Colony. During the last portion of this period I made my living by trading with the natives, a number of whom had never before seen a white man for in those days only about 5% of what is now Kenya Colony was under effective British government control. On one of my trading expeditions I was attacked by hostile natives, seriously wounded and - but for the loyalty and unselfish devotion of two Africans who were with me - I should most certainly have been killed outright. These two fine men were almost untouched by "civilization" and I was so impressed by their courage, self-sacrifice and resourcefulness that from that time on I had no difficulty in recognizing the true equality of all mankind. On account of this incident I have followed closely the subsequent misfortunes of the tribes with whom I came in contact, misfortunes due, basically, to the British policy of white settlement which was inaugurated after my departure from Africa.

As I have grown older I have been anxious to do something for those to whom I owe an unpayable debt and in 1938 I commenced work on a manuscript designed to call to the attention of the American public the injustices they now suffer. It deals with the effects of white settlement; the slavery of the local labor law and penal sanctions; the failure to provide the most meagre educational facilities for the great majority of African children; the expulsion of natives from their ancestral lands; taxation without representation and many other kindred subjects - all well documented. Considerable research has been involved in an effort to provide a convincing presentation of the facts rather than a series of unsupported assertions. The style is aggressive and a number of British statesmen responsible for the abuses of the last twelve years are criticized bluntly.

I made no effort to complete the work while the European war was in progress, partly because publication during those years - had I been able to arrange it - would have tended towards disunity in the war effort, and partly because I hoped that a United Nations victory

would surely bring about some alleviations of the conditions I described - in partial fulfillment, at least, of the promises of the Atlantic Charter. The last idea having proved vain, I finished the M.S. in July and submitted it to Doubleday Doran and Co. who gave it to Hugh Gibson (ex-Ambassador to Belgium etc.) for reading. I was not altogether surprised that Mr. Gibson didn'tlike it, for it attacked some of his friends and acquaintances, but he may also have considered the writing deficient and that there was an absence of commercial value. I then sent it to a firm of wellknown literary agents in New York who reported they "could not recommend it for publication," without giving reasons for that conclusion.

20-25-20

It is entirely within the range of possibility, of course, that both Mr. Gibson and the literary agents are right in supposing my product to be commercially unattractive, although I am not yet convinced. I still feel strongly, however,that the substance of the material I have so laboriously collected should somehow reach the public. For this reason I thought I would write you and ask if I might send the M.S. to Atlanta for examination by one of your research colleagues who might, perhaps, give you sufficient comment to enable you to make some helpful suggestion. There need be no particular haste in making such an examination as the M.S. is serving no useful purpose at present.

In making this request I do not fail to realize that you have plenty to occupy your time without acceding to further demands on your energy by perfect strangers who (horrible thought) may prove to be crackpots! I am sure, however, that you are interested in any genuine and reasonably efficient effort to bring about an improvement in the condition of the hundreds of millions of colored peoples who are so helpless and lacking in opportunity and ability to present their case to the great court of public opinion. Whether my attempted contribution in this direction is likely to be worthy of your attention is for you to decide.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

C. Fisk

(Charles Fisk)

20-25-21

October 5, 1945

Mr. Charles Fisk
144-69 Barclay Avenue
Flushing, New York

My dear Mr. Fisk:

I am late in answering your letter of September 2nd as I have been trying to arrange to go to London to attend the Pan African Congress which will deal with colonial subjects. I am to go this month but may not be permitted.

I sympathize with the work which you are doing and hope you will find a publisher. If you do not before I return from England, I would be glad to have you send your manuscript to me at this address. I will read it and give you my judgement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

144-69 Barclay Avenue,
Flushing, N. Y.
December 3, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York

Request to read manuscript

20-19-28

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On October 5th you wrote that you would be good enough to read my manuscript if I was unable to find a publisher before your return from England.

I am going to take advantage of your kindness by expressing the M.S. to you at 69 Fifth Avenue during the coming week. The truth of the matter is that the defeat of the Conservatives in England has outdated it to some extent as have also the recent happenings in Java etc.. The point on which I should most appreciate your opinion is whether the work is of sufficient merit and general interest to warrant its revision in the light of developments since its completion in the latter part of July of this year. If your reaction is unfavorable, I hope that some of the material it contains may be of some value to you from a research standpoint.

Your remarks about the British Labor Government, printed by The New York Times on September 28th, were most interesting. I had hoped for better things from the Labor people, although Hall - the new Colonial Secretary - apparently condoned some of the reactionary wartime measures for muzzling the natives of Kenya when he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Mr. Churchill's administration.

With all good wishes and many thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Charles Fisk
(Charles Fisk)

Returned ms
18 March 1946

[Fisk University]

17 January 1945

1917-19

My dear Mr. Turner:

You wrote me November 26, about a series of lectures at Fisk. I replied December 4, and a copy of my letter is enclosed. Since then I Have not heard from you nor from President Jones. I should be glad to have the matter settled as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Lorenzo Turner
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 25th 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-10-7

I am pleased to learn from Dr. Lorenzo D. Turner that you can arrange to visit Fisk University, in connection with our Lecture Series in the Department of African Studies, and that the dates are March 13th and 14th.

We are so scheduling your appearance - for March 13th and 14th - for an evening lecture to the Fisk community in Memorial Chapel and two talks on the day following: the first to the students and faculty and in the evening to the members of the Faculty only. You are free to choose your own subject from the fields of anthropology, education, political administration, missions, etc. There may be students interested in Africa who will wish to confer with you. I hope such conferences can be arranged.

The University will take care of your round-trip travel expenses by train, your entertainment while on the campus (meals and living accommodations), and a small honorarium of Seventy-five Dollars ($75.00). Mrs. Jones and I would be pleased to have you as our house guest while you are here.

Looking forward to having you with us, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Jones

Thomas E. Jones
President.

TEJ w

1 February 1945

My dear President Jones:

As I told Dr. Turner, I would be glad to take part in your lecture series in the Department of African Studies, March thirteenth and fourteenth, but I regret to say that the honorarium which you offer is simply impossible. There are three lectures involved and the least I could charge would be one hundred and fifty dollars, round-trip travel including pullman and entertainment while in Nashville.

I realize your straitened circumstances and shall not be surprised if you cannot afford it. In which case, we will cancel the proposed engagement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Thomas E. Jones
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

1 February 1945

20-10-9

My dear Mr. Turner:

I have just had a letter from President Jones and I enclose a copy of it and a copy of my reply.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Lorenzo D. Turner
Fisk University

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 8th 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

20-10-10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of February 1st. I regret that our very limited budget at Fisk will not make it possible for us to avail ourselves of your services in connection with our Department of African Studies.

I hope that something can be arranged at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Jones

Thomas E. Jones
President.

TEJ w

cc: to Dr. L. D. Turner.

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

February 12, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have received your letter of February 1. My delay in answering has been caused by my absence from the city.

I am in hearty accord with the sentiment expressed in your letter to President Jones.

Sincerely yours,
Lorenzo D. Turner

20-01-1

20-24-109

First Guard Company, U.S.D.B.
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
20 August 1945

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In Saturday evening's edition of the Kansas City Star appeared a review of your new book, Color and Democracy, which I have clipped and enclosed, thinking you might not see otherwise, for this is a comparatively small newspaper. We soldiers at Fort Leavenworth read the Star regularly because it is the leading daily in this vicinity, being published only thirty miles from here, and through it we keep abreast of the new books.

Your new book sounds very interesting to me, for I feel you have touched upon a problem that is extremely important in the peace-time world. Now that the war has ended, it is more imperative than ever that we reach a understanding that will prevent other conflicts in the future. I shall be anxious to see a copy of Color and Democracy the first time my duties permit me to be in Kansas City when the bookstores are open and have copies available.

I wish you the very best of success as you continue your literary career, and wish to express my gratitude to you for writing such an important book as this at a time when it is greatly needed.

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Slack

JAMES W. FORD
THIRTY-FIVE EAST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Jaunary 6, 1945

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York N.Y.

21-6-01

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Some time ago I wrote to your office requesting a copy of a speech which you delivered over Station WEVD on the Colonial question. I did not receive the address. But I have since read an article of yours on the subject which I take to be the substance of your radio broadcast.

I am therefore writing this to you because I had hoped to make some comment on some of your views on the Colonial question with which I do not agree. Nevertheless, I want you to know that I disagree entirely with the manner and content of the criticism expressed in the Daily Worker article by Max Gordon who incidently expressed his own individual opinion.

Sincerely yours,
James W. Ford
James W. Ford

17 January 1945

21-6-02

My dear Mr. Ford:

I am sending you another copy of my broadcast. I am sorry that the first did not reach you. I may say that so far as the publication in the New Leader is concerned, I simply sent them, at their request, the broadcast and gave them the permission to republish it if they wished.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James W. Ford
Thirty-Five East Twelfth Street
New York City

[FOREIGN AFFAIRS]

21-6-58

July 9, 1945

Foreign Affairs

My dear Mr. Armstrong:

I was at San Francisco for five weeks as one of the Consultants to the American Delegation, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I know that you were there at the same time but I did not have the pleasure of seeing you.

I am, of course, very much dissatisfied at what the Conference did concerning colonies, and I want to express that somewhere. You perhaps know of my book, Color and Democracy. To this eventually I want to add a chapter on San Francisco and I should like to write for Foreign Affairs a preliminary statement of that proposed chapter. Possibly you have already covered this matter sufficiently, but if you have not, won't you please let me know?

The gist of what I want to say is that while the San Francisco Conference took steps to prevent further wars in certain emergencies they did not go nearly far enough in facing realistically the greatest potential cause of war, the colonial system. All that they said about trusteeships applied to a few millions of people and to them only if it was decided later to put them under trusteeship; that the great mass of over 700 million people in colonies were touched only by the general and rather vague declaration concerning the attitude which imperial states should take toward their colonies. This was implemented in no way.

I should be glad to hear from you and to know if you would be interested in such an article. As you will see by my letterhead, I am now in New York and connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong
45 East 65 Street
New York, New York

21-6-60

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
EDITOR

July 12, 1945

58 EAST SIXTY-EIGHTH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of July 9 in which you were kind enough to suggest the possibility of preparing an article for FOREIGN AFFAIRS dealing with the trusteeship aspects of the Charter. I am sorry to say that our schedule is already more than full and that I, therefore, am not able to encourage you to prepare anything for us at this moment.

With much regret, and hoping that at some future time we may be able to number you again among our contributors, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Hamilton Fish Armstrong
H

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

FMC 335

156 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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CABLE CODE: MISSIONS
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49/8/27

February 13, 1945

This note is addressed to a few persons

believed to be interested in

Dependent Areas and Peoples

The small document enclosed (FMC 334A) makes certain suggestions on one of the extremely important problems facing us, on which much of America has been - and still is - poorly informed.

For you there will doubtless be in it little if anything new.

It is sent, nevertheless, because in this country it is the first statement of its kind to come out of American church and missionary interest and experience in dependent areas.

The Study Conference under Mr. Dulles' chairmanship at Cleveland last month gave some serious attention to this question. The Protestant churches, through their boards of missions and otherwise, will be further informing their constituencies on it. It has been arranged for me to spend the next six weeks in Europe, where this subject will be one of the matters discussed with groups in three or four countries.

I feel personally very grateful to you for the service you give to the betterment of world understandings and cooperation, which is also so basically a part of the great objective of the world Christian missionary enterprise.

Faithfully yours,

Emory Ross

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Desirable Policy and Action with regard to Dependent Peoples.

(Basic document prepared for and used by Commission II, under the chairmanship of William E. Hocking, in presenting Christian Standards and Current International Developments to the Second National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, at Cleveland, Ohio, January 16 - 19, 1945).

By Emory Ross

Foreword

1. The Christian church by its primary authority, Jesus Christ; by its oldest directives; by its uninterrupted and world-inclusive action, has accepted and seeks to exercise its fullest moral responsibilities for man's welfare without distinction of nation, race, color or creed.

2. The Christian church because of this and through its missionary functioning has established relationships in nearly every generation with dependent peoples of its time. In the last century and a half those relationships have been more wide-spread and sustained than ever before.

(a). The relationships have included the most intimate spiritual ones, together with general educational services, literacy and literature programs, medical and public health services and training, agricultural services and advancement of rural peoples who make up the bulk of dependent area populations. The relationships have included close and continuing contact with governmental, industrial and other elements in the dependent areas. And they have included and developed a greater degree of mutual understanding and inter-penetration of ideas with more dependent peoples than have perhaps the relationships of any other group of American citizens.

3. These moral responsibilities and established relationships, combined (1) with our support of American democratic principles, (2) with our deisre to see those principles helpfully and suitably extended, (3) with America's treaty and other contractual commitments with other nations regarding certain dependent areas and (4) with Americans' prime stake in stable world order and security, place clearly upon us, we believe, responsibilities of statement and action with regard to desirable dependent area policies.

4. Our basic, brief formulation both for further statement and for desired action is the fourth of the Six Pillars of Peace:

> "Fourth: The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end."

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Four Proposals.

5. Four international agreements should be reached with regard to dependent areas:

> Proposal I. Eventual self-government should be set as the goal for all dependent peoples within whatever frames of national and international organization may then exist and by them be chosen.

6. The words "eventual self-government" should not be accepted as meaning internal self-government only. They should be used and understood as meaning internal self-government first and then progress toward such freely-chosen form of external association within the then-existing structure of national commonwealth and international organization as would best meet the triple requirements of freedom, integration and responsibility.

7. Nothing short of such agreement can

(a) Square with the best of America's historic and current policies and commitments, national and international;

(b) Help bring to fully productive results the years of steady, broadening education and development of dependent peoples in which America, largely through its Christian missions, has shared with other free nations, by thus permitting the essential, highest development of individual personality and therefore of group personality; or

(c) Satisfy the mounting and laudable desires of dependent peoples to fit themselves for freedom, to achieve freedom and, as free peoples, to join in and contribute to the advancement of mankind.

8. No "dependent" person seeing the world today is ready to admit, even though he recognizes candidly his own danger of failure in like circumstances, that free nations which have so strikingly failed to govern themselves and their own free relations with other free nations, are competent indefinitely to rule dependent peoples.

9. And for the same reason, and with the same recognition, no "dependent" person, whose ancestors and fellows have not been guilty of destruction and bloodshed comparable to that of the two wars of our generation, is ready to agree that he is without any special contribution to make as a free person in a free association of men

> Proposal II. Access to economic and security values present in dependent areas should be primarily for the benefit of the dependent peoples themselves, and then for that of all peace-loving nations, and should no longer be permitted to accrue monopolistically to a state administering dependent areas.

10. Two statements should preface the argument on this second proposed agreement:

(a) Not all states administering dependent areas have practiced monopoly of access. Some have made and observed international agreements to allow access to certain or all other states. Some by unilateral action have adopted that policy for certain of their areas. But even in such cases the general tendency has perhaps been toward something less than free access.

(b) "Access" for others than the dependent peoples themselves is not to be interpreted in such ways as to remove needed protection for the areas' cultural and

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economic "community". Such access can therefore not be unrestricted. It is to take into account all elements. But once equitably defined it is to be open to all who use it fairly.

11. There have been three principal motives, each of them complex, involved in the taking and holding of most dependent areas: (a) expansion of territory; (b) production of wealth; (c) increase of prestige. It is impossible to disentangle and separately assess accurately these elements - and indeed other elements which are present, such as the humanitarian.

(a) Expansion of territory has often included strategic and security considerations. Even where these were not at first seen they have frequently later appeared. Never have they appeared in more new connections than in the present war. Security considerations will continue to influence a nation's attitude toward territorial expansions until global security becomes a genuine international responsibility, equitably discharged.

(b) Production of wealth has in some dependent areas been developed to a point of yielding profitable returns on present capital and operational investment. In other areas it has not. The overall picture has yet to be clearly drawn. Some careful students incline to believe that when all expenditure and income in all areas in all years is estimated, dependent areas appear collectively as a financial liability.

But another element has been strikingly demonstrated in this war - another security and economic element: that in a global war the production of essential materials by dependent areas, often at costs prohibitive in a normal economy, can sensibly affect the balance between extinction and survival. Security considerations therefore will continue to influence national attitudes toward the raw materials and wealth production of dependent areas until a nation's security can more confidently be entrusted to fully cooperative international action.

(c) Increase of prestige is the least tangible of the three elements. But it has its power precisely because it is so considerably in the realm of the emotions..

The "white man's burden" is not wholly divorced from prestige. An empire "on which the sun never sets" gives most free inhabitants of it a something obtainable in no other way, and it gives many inhabitants of other free nations that twinge of envy which is one of the curiously desirable effects of one's own prestige. A "Drang nach Osten", even on paper, gives sufficient prestige and emotional response to help make several other things eventually possible.

The security element enters here also. Until prestige connected with dependent areas is reduced and removed by widening international responsibility for the development and rise to self-government of dependent peoples, by increasing responsibility of the peoples themselves, and by freer international access to all the values of the dependent areas, prestige will continue to strengthen the urge for territorial expansion and increased colonial wealth production as means of strengthening national security.

12. It is thus seen that as a security measure alone international agreement on Proposal II above is to be desired.

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Proposal III. Progressive steps suitable for each area should be internationally agreed upon, at once begun and internationally backed for improving every condition of life of the dependent peoples and for drawing them progressively and as rapidly as competence develops into sharing responsibility for administering the affairs of their own areas and then for external relations, with the goal of eventual self-government as outlined in Proposal I above.

13. Perhaps only one principal comment is required on this. The basic human need of confidence, faith and trust is here involved. No realignment of responsibilities, no new organization, no pronouncement even though by the whole world will long suffice dependent peoples unless some such progressive steps as these are undertaken and pursued with sincerity and effectiveness. Whether under internationa organization or under continued unilateral national responsibility, now dependent peoples will be satisfied with nothing less. And they must clearly see, believe in and share the steps being taken.

Proposal IV. (a) International collaboration, regional and global, should be secured with respect to dependent areas. (b) Administration should in most cases continue to be primarily a national responsibility but should be subject to international agreement and top control more effective than any yet attempted. (c) In some cases some form of international administration might be politically and experimentally desirable.

14. With regard to (c) above it is to be said that multilateral international administration has had no trial on a significant scale. It has been confined to small port areas of which Tangier and Shanghai are examples. There were special political and other rivalries and fears which operated in each such case not so much in favor of international as against national administration. Bilateral international administrations are established in the New Hebrides (Anglo-French) and in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A sort of international administration may be said to have occurred in the early case of the Congo Free State which was given to King Leopold II by international agreement, left open to a certain continuing international action, and staffed by administrative officers from a dozen countries. The results were in many ways not good, and it was only when a Belgian national administration took over in 1908 that major improvements occurred.

15. Experience in international administration is not extensive or impressive. It would appear as necessary and in some respects about as difficult to secure international agreement on the international administration of a single important colony as on the principles of national administrations of a regional group of colonies. An international staff would present problems of language, history, educational systems, legal codes, etc. Currency and exchange would present other problems unless there is an applicable international monetary agreement.

16. Some of these and other difficulties are also present in the principle mentioned in (b) above of national administration. But on balance it would seem that national administration under international agreement and top control would be preferable except perhaps in some special cases (1) where for political reasons a further experiment in international administration might be desirable, or (2) where self-government is to be so soon attained that any international intervention would be unnecessary and undesirable.

17. No full treatment is given here with regard to details of desirable international collaboration suggested in (a) above. The bibliography attached as Appendix A herewith gives considerable material on this and most other subjects raised in this brief statement.

18. The suggestion in (a) above of having both regional and global international collaboration with respect to dependent areas has four major considerations to commend it:

(a) Regional councils while broadly international would still presumably be close to their responsibilities, knowledgeable, practical and active.

(b) Regional councils could be created region by region if necessary and could get underway at the most advantageous moment for each, without necessarily waiting for full overall world agreement.

(c) Regional councils properly begun could both stimulate and help complete a general world structure.

(d) A general world structure with dependent areas as one of its major concerns and a series of regional councils integrated in that structure and yet very close to their area responsibilities, would perhaps give the best organizational form.

Churches' Responsibilities.

19. But form is only form, hollow without spirit and will. It is a part of our task to help create the spirit and will so to shape and implement dependent area policies that those areas and their many peoples may fully join the world and contribute their best freely to it.

20. Several ways lie open to us to help discharge that task:

(a) Make unmistakably and repeatedly clear our Christian conviction: that no man can be the property of any other man; that no land can be the pawn of any other land.

(b) Re-examine and study the Christian missionary enterprise, in its educational, social and spiritual powers of stimulation and guidance as a very important factor in the final solution of dependent area problems, with all needed emphasis on requirements for better missionary preparation, for better financing, for better operational equipment and techniques, for better, vastly better, cooperation of all missionary forces in this task, both among themselves and with governments.

(c) Enlarge and strengthen our relations with Christians in other lands aimed (1) at securing the ends named in (b) above, and (2) at bringing greater influence to bear upon our respective governments for their support of international cooperation regarding dependent peoples.

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(d) In this country, seek the help of college and university personnel in introducing community discussion of dependent areas and their peoples.

(e) Try to get radio stations and networks, forums, foreign relations and service groups, clubs and others, nationally and locally, to put on programs with competent speakers dealing with dependent area matters.

(f) Endeavor to get commercial and educational motion pictures on these subjects produced and shown.

(g) Establish effective relations with national legislators and top executive officers of our government so as to get and maintain American decision to participate in shaping and carrying out suitable dependent area policies.

(h) Strengthen our Christian efforts through boards of publication, education, social action and others, and through increased support of the churches' foreign missions, in developing America's best Christian contribution to the advancement of dependent areas and their peoples.

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Foreign Missions Conference of North America

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CONFIDENTIAL

February 26, 1945

To all FMC Member Boards and Agencies
and to certain others:

Enclosed are two further documents with regard to dependent area policies in the postwar world:

1. Speech by Col. Oliver Stanley, British Secretary of State for Colonies, at the Foreign Policy Association dinner in New York on January 19, 1945.

2. Letter published in the New York Times on February 18, 1945, concerning certain aspects of Col. Stanley's speech and signed by John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate for President in 1924, Huntington Gilchrist, consultant on international organization to the State Department, Arthur N. Holcombe, chairman of the WPB Appeals Board, James T. Shotwell, chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, Quincy Wright, Professor of International Law at the University of Chicago and the writer.

There is deep concern in several quarters in this country with regard to proper international action relating to dependent areas and peoples. Col. Stanley's speech has done little to relieve that concern. It is an excellent statement of the progressive and helpful things which the British Colonial Office has been doing for the past four or five years in welfare and development in colonial territories.

But the speech, and the actions which lie behind it during the last two or three years, would indicate that in the political field there are some sharp divergencies of view with regard to possible international policy in this matter.

As you read Col. Stanley's speech there is another matter to be noted: on page 11 he says ". . . . . I believe education can be the foundation" for all the improvements and advances which he names as desirable. But nowhere in the speech does he make any mention whatever of the Christian missions which, in many parts of the British colonial world and in other areas as well, have been the pioneer in education and still carry a great deal of the educational responsibilities, sometimes with and sometimes without the financial and other aid of the colonial governments. In Africa, for example, it is estimated that perhaps 85% of the educational load is carried by Christian missions.

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In making no reference whatever to missions in British colonial areas, Col. Stanley seems to take a somewhat different attitude from that of some of his predecessors. Lord Lloyd, for example, three or four years ago made a very striking pronouncement as Colonial Secretary to the British Conference of Missionary Societies with regard to the place of Christian missions among colonial peoples.

I hope to have the opportunity of talking a bit with Col. Stanley about some of these matters in London.

Any expressions of interest and of opinion which you could send to the Secretary of State in Washington, or to the President or to members of Congress (with copies perhaps to the Secretary of State), might help strengthen the American Government's influence in getting this matter carefully considered at the San Francisco Conference beginning April 25th.

Faithfully yours,

Emory Ross

Dictated by Dr. Ross on
February 20, but transcribed
and signed in his absence.

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
AN AGENCY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

PRESS SERVICE

8/11/48/47

FOR RELEASE AT 9:00 P.M., E.W.T.,
FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1945--R.4286
PLEASE NOTE FUTURE RELEASE DATE
TEXT SHOULD BE CHECKED AGAINST DELIVERY

COLONEL OLIVER STANLEY

TEXT OF SPEECH TO FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Following is the text of the speech to be made by the Rt. Hon. Col. Oliver Stanley, M.P., British Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the dinner of the Foreign Policy Association to be held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Friday, January 19, 1945.

I felt it a great honor to receive your invitation, an invitation from a body whose reputation has spread far outside your own country. It was an invitation that I had the greatest pleasure in accepting. In the first place, as I am afraid you will find before the evening is over, I am one of those bores who is always glad to talk about his own job. I find it of such absorbing interest and believe it to be of such permanent importance that I am only too anxious for others to share the interest.

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But I was particularly glad to have an opportunity of talking about the British Colonial Empire to an American audience. I am one of those, and I believe they can now be numbered in legions on both sides of the Atlantic, who believe that Anglo-American co-operation is the most important thing in the post-war world. It is not because of our common ancestry, that has worn a bit thin by now; not because of our common language, that may only enable us to quarrel more intelligently.

It is because of our common way of life. Whatever the differences, however deep our disagreements, you and we agree on the fundamentals, on the rule of law, on the liberty of thought, and on the dignity of the individual, fundamentals which after the war will be needed in this world. It is therefore the greatest task of each one of us to do what we can to eliminate the causes of difference between us; and I realize that at some times and among some people, British Colonial policy, or what is believed to be British Colonial policy, is just one of those differences.

Now let me begin by defining the scope of my responsibilities as Colonial Secretary, for that will also define the scope of my talk. I have nothing to do with the great self-governing Dominions; our relations with them are the affair of the Dominions Secretary. Nor have I anything to do with the semi-Dominions of India and Burma, which are the affair of the Secretary of State for India. I am responsible for what is known as the Colonial Empire, a collection of 63 million inhabitants, spread all over the world in more than 40 administrative units.

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There is one of these units to which I would make special reference now. It is an accident of administration that it should have become the responsibility of my office: it does not share the general problems of the Colonial Empire. It will not fit into the general picture I am going to draw. Yet I would not have you think that I am shirking its problems or by my silence minimizing its importance. The unit to which I refer is Palestine. In the unhappy country, feelings today are tense on both sides, and an incautious word might cause an explosion which could only harm the war effort of the United Nations.

Yet I would have you realize that we in Great Britain share many of the emotions that I know stir you so deeply over here. Our imagination too has been struck by the terrible fate of the Jews in Hitler's Europe. Our sympathy has been evoked by their suffering. We have been glad to see in Palestine a sanctuary where some of these unhappy people may find safe refuge. On the other hand, you too must see that we must recognize and respect the feelings and the rights of that Arab population to whom for so many centuries Palestine has been home. When the war is over, it is the earnest hope and the firm determination of all in Great Britain that a solution shall be found which will be regarded as just and fair not only by Jew and Arab, but by the world as well.

I will, if you will permit me, in order to give you some picture of the Colonial Empire, adopt the well worn device of asking myself questions and then attempting to answer them. And the three questions I am going to ask are: 1)--What is the Colonial Empire? 2)--What have we done for it in the past? and 3)--What do we hope to do for it in the future?

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Now, for the first question, "What is the Colonial Empire?" The first thing to realize about it is the immense diversity which exists between one Colony and another; diversity in size, in climate, in resources, in history and in their association with others. Let me give you just a few examples. First as regards the size. On the one hand we have Nigeria with 372,600 square miles and a population of 20 million, and on the other hand St. Helena with 47 square miles and a population of 4,000. Of course I have given extremes, but in between them lies an infinite gradation. Even the four Colonies that I have been visiting in the past few weeks range from a population of over a million to a population of under 40,000.

Again, take the difference in resources. On the one hand you have Malaya with a wealth of tin and rubber which produced for the government of that country in pre-war days a revenue of 18 million pounds. On the other hand Gambia with no mineral resources of any kind and no production save that of peanuts.

The histories which lie behind these Colonies are as diversified as their size or their resources. You have the West Indian Islands with their centuries of association with Western influences; you have Ceylon with an ancient culture, swamped, it is true, by periodic Indian invasions, but still leaving its mark behind. On the other hand you have those great areas of Africa, in which incidentally over two thirds of our Colonial Empire lives, where life has gone on for centuries outside the stream of world development and where only within the lifetime of man today have windows been opened to Western civilization, Western culture and Western thought.

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But it is not only this great diversity between one Colony and another. You will find an equal diversity inside the Colony itself: differences in race and creed and language. The problem is not essentially, indeed not mainly, a problem of European and native. In great areas of the Colonies such a problem does not arise at all, but hardly anywhere will you find within a Colony a homogenous mass. How many for instance will realize that in Malaya the Malays are in a minority and that a mere counting of heads would give the Chinese and Indians over the heads of the Malayans the control of Malayan lands. How many realize that in Fiji, Fijians are only 50 per cent of the population.

Let me take as another example the great territory of Nigeria which I recently visited -- the Housa, the Ibo and Yoruba, three groups which have nothing in common, neither race, religion, language, customs or constitution; in fact in olden days the only connection between them was when they raided each other. In fact, throughout the greater part of the Colonial Empire it is, for the present at any rate, the British presence alone which prevents a disastrous disintegration, and British withdrawal today would mean for millions a descent from nascent nationhood into the turmoil of warring sects.

Now all these things of which I have only given a few examples are facts, facts which have to be known and appreciated if our difficulties and our objectives are to be understood. It does not mean that those objectives are altered; it does not mean that their attainment is postponed, but it does mean that there can be no general solution and that the problem of each Colony must be regarded as different and the solution for each Colony must be differently planned.

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I know that there are many in this country who have a genuine and quite understandable desire to see us produce for the Colonial Empire some kind of charter which would give a universal blueprint and some kind of schedule which would give a universal timetable. I should like to be able to do something of the sort. We do do something of the kind when it is practicable. But it is not practicable to find the lowest common denominator or the highest common factor throughout territories varying so dramatically.

What we can and do have instead of a universal charter or a universal schedule is a universal objective -- that is, the achievement of the fullest possible measure of self-government within the Empire. If you ask me when it will be achieved I can only answer, as soon as practicable. Some are nearly there already, some are still a long way back. To all we are trying to give impetus and help along the road.

Now let me turn to the second question, "What have we done in the past for the Colonial Empire?" I have not come here tonight to apologize for our record in the Colonial Empire. I am not standing here tonight in a white sheet. As I look back over the years I find much has been done, great services given, great sacrifices made. But if I speak of our record entirely without shame I also speak entirely without complacence. If I think that we have done much in the past, I also feel that we have even more to do in the future. Where we have done well, so much firmer will be the foundations on which to build. Where we have made mistakes, it will be all the easier to learn from them in the future.

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What then are the main achievements of our past record? You must realize that in at least three quarters of the areas I am describing our past is a comparatively short one and our connection with the areas is to be measured in terms of years, not centuries. The first, of course, is to bring to many millions a security of life and property which they had never known before in their history. Security, the greatest of all boons, but one which when we enjoy it we soon take for granted and one whose value we only realize when we have lost it. But to many millions in the Colonial Empire this gain has been and still seems a reality.

Take Nigeria, not only the biggest of our Colonies but one where our administration has been most recently established. There are men and women still alive there who in their youth did not know the meaning of the word security, whose lives were a long history of tribal forays, of slave raid incursions, and of chiefly persecutions. When I got back from a recent trip there, a man in the House of Commons asked me if I had visited a particular city. He was interested to know what it was like now as when he entered it with the first British column he marched into the city between hundreds of human sacrifices fixed to the trees which bordered the road.

What happens today? You can travel the length and breadth of the country with no more danger, in fact less danger, than you would walk through the streets of a great city here or in Great Britain. And that security is now maintained largely by the people themselves. There were battalions of the Nigerian regiment, but most of them have gone off to fight in Burma. There is a Nigerian Police, some of the officers of which are European, but their stations are usually at least 100 miles apart; throughout the rest of this vast area law and order is ensured by the police of the native administrations officered by Nigerians, manned by Nigerians, controlled and directed by Nigerians.

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The second great thing that we have brought to these territories is the rule of law. No longer are a man's life and property at the mercy at worst of violence, at best of the capricious decision of a tribal chief. Law now is administered according to rule, and administered often by the people themselves.

Next I feel we have given political development -- in some places still in a rudimentary form in others more advanced. I will deal with this point in more detail later, but I should like to make one general observation. I do not believe that there is just one road to democratic government, the road that we ourselves happened to travel and which has brought us our Parliament at Westminster. That road was laid out for us by our own particular circumstances and our own particular characteristics. Other people's characters, other people's traditions, other people's instincts may lead them to the same goal by a wholly different road. It is therefore our policy whenever possible to build upon existing institutions and existing authorities, to mold them in modern thought, to give them modern ideas, but to encourage them to develop upon their own historic lines.

Finally, we have brought to these different peoples social developments, schools, hospitals, communications, and indeed all the essential accessories of a modern state. The extent to which we have done it varies enormously, varies according to the wealth of the Colony concerned. In Malaya for instance, before the war the richest of our Colonies, an advanced state of social services had already been reached. Let me give two figures. There was a hospital bed for every 250 of the population; 75 per cent of Malay boys were receiving a proper elementary education. They may not be very striking figures compared with ancient and wealthy Western nations, but if you compare them with the figures for the Philippines, say, I do not think you will find that Malaya comes out badly.

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Now let me make a slight digression. I have told you something of what we have done. Let me just tell you one or two things that we have not done, but which popular opinion attributes to us. In the first place no Colony makes any contribution to the British Treasury. No British taxpayer finds his burden relieved to the extent of a single cent by the efforts of a Colonial population. On the contrary, in the past we have always given grants from our National Treasury to any Colony unable to maintain a minimum standard of government, and the new development to which I will refer later will impose new and heavy burdens on the British taxpayer.

In the second place there has been no closed door to trade in the Colonial Empire. Imperial preference may be a matter for argument; it is among some a matter for criticism, but do not believe that its effect has been to shut out from the Colonial Empire the trade of the world and to reserve it entirely for the merchants of Great Britain. In fact, in the years before the war, the Colonies in satisfying their own requirements took from Great Britain under 25 per cent of their imports and over 75 per cent from the rest of the world, while in the disposal of their produce they sent only 35 per cent to Great Britain and 65 per cent went to the rest of the world.

Now let me turn to what to me is far the most interesting point. "What are we going to do in the future?" As I have said, our objective is the advance of these Colonies to the fullest possible measure of self-government. That, you will realize does not merely mean the devising of new constitutional machinery. It means also those social developments which are necessary to produce a responsible community. Unless we can do that we may in handing over our power only hand it to a local oligarchy no more democratic and much less disinterested than an alien bureaucracy. Unless it is to be government by the people, it had better remain government by Britain.

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And secondly, there is the economic development which is necessary to enable territories so to develop their own resources that out of them they can meet the reasonable claims for social standards. There can be no true self-government if it is allied with permanent financial dependence upon others.

Let me therefore deal with all three of these lines of advance, Political, Social and Economic. First then with regard to political advance, an advance which is dynamic and not static, continuous and not spasmodic, which in fact throughout the Colonial Empire is constantly progressing. In the two years in which I have been at the Colonial Office there is, I think, hardly a Colony in which some political advance has not been made or is not under consideration. These advances are not always dramatic. Sometimes they are only a slight extension of the elective principle, sometimes an increase in the number of independent members of a legislative council, sometimes an extension of the powers of a native administration.

But some are striking, dramatic and almost revolutionary. Let me give you one instance. I have just come from Jamaica where I attended the opening of the first Parliament elected under the new constitution. It is a Parliament elected on the basis of complete adult suffrage, an adult suffrage not only in name but also in practice where in fact everyone can and does vote. This House elected by this adult suffrage has also elected five of its members to seats in the Executive Council, half of the total number. Each member is associated with a group of subjects. In other words, it is the beginning of a ministerial system. It is a great experiement which like all experiments has its risks but I know that the people of Jamaica mean to make it succeed and I believe that it will succeed.

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4/8/28

On the side of social and economic developments, we have a new and potent weapon. In 1940, at a time when our future seemed blackest, an act, The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, was passed. By this Act, Parliament placed at the disposal of the Colonial Secretary a sum of 20 million dollars a year for development and two million for research for a period of ten years. This year, when victory seems assured, Parliament is to be asked to extend that period and largely increase those sums. On the basis of that assistance, combined with the resources of the Colonies themselves, I am asking each Colony to prepare a ten year plan for social and economic development.

This assistance is not intended to be a permanent dole. It is intended to provide those fundamentals which are the necessary preliminary for each Colony to develop its own economic resources including the greatest of all economic assets, the health, the industry and the skill of its people. There are many objects for which this money will be required: education, health, water supplies, communications, development of agriculture and of secondary industries. It is difficult indeed to accord priority among so many claims.

I, tonight, am only going to deal with one; the one which I myself regard as the most important -- education, for I believe education can be the foundation of all the others. I want to see in the Colonial Empire a development of education in all its aspects; higher education, primary education and the mass education of illiterates. In regard to higher education I am expecting on my return the report of two commissions: one to study the help which universities in Great Britain can give to Colonial Universities, a commission which incidentally has considered the provision of a University in the West Indies; the other a commission concerned with provision of university facilities in West Africa,

(more)

As regards normal education this is to be given a prominent place in all the 10 year plans, an education which in accordance with modern educational theory must be fitted to the environment of the particular people. With regard to mass education, a terribly difficult problem where government alone cannot succeed, where the community itself must play its part -- a comprehensive report of suggestions and schemes has been sent to all Colonial governments.

Of course, all these things cannot be done at once. Indeed, under war conditions, it is difficult to do anything at all. Shortages of imported material, a shortage of labor and, above all, a shortage of technical staff must, of course, delay the realization of these projects: but we can plan, and we are planning now, that we may be ready when the time comes.

So far I have spoken only of the relations of the Colonial Empire to Great Britain. I want to close with a few words about its relations to the world. We had in the Permanent Mandates Commission after the last war one experiment of such relations. It was on a limited scale, but within its scope no doubt it did good work. But it suffered from one fundamental defect. It could tell you you must not do the wrong thing, but it could not help you to do the right thing. It was a conception which belonged more to the old theory of colonial trusteeship than to the modern conception of colonial partnership; more to the passive era of colonial administration than to the present dynamic age.

We have, therefore, recently proposed another method, another experiment, which we believe should be tried out: that of regional commissions.

We believe that all colonial powers in any given region and other countries who have a particular interest in the region should meet together in order to discuss their common problems, and to help each other to find their common solutions. So many problems today -- economic, health and transportation --transcend the frontiers of individual units, and can only successfully be dealt with on a regional basis.

(more)

OE/CB/04

Our belief in some system of this kind is not based merely on theory. We have a practical example before our eyes in the Anglo-American-Caribbean Commission, an outstanding instance of Anglo-American cooperation. That Commission, in the short years of its life, has already achieved practical results which are felt by the ordinary man and woman in their daily lives. For its success we owe much to the interest and enthusiasm of my friend Mr. Taussig (Mr.Charles W. Taussig, American Co-Chairman of the Anglo-American-Caribbean-Commission), to meet whom was the primary object of my visit to America. We want to see that practical example repeated in the future on a wider basis and in further areas.

We cannot share with others the administrative responsibilities which are ours alone. We believe that to attempt to do so would be impracticable, inefficient and undesirable. But in discharging those responsibilities we do want from others cooperation, we do want advice and we do want and shall welcome criticism, if that criticism is constructive and informed. Informed, that is the secret! It is our duty to keep the world informed of what we are doing, to make full, accurate and unbiased reports of the way we discharge our responsibilities. But there is a duty, too, on the other side, a duty that the information, when available, should be studied and used. For the old slogan of "No taxation without representation," one mightwell substitute the new slogan of : "No criticism without study."

I apologize for the length of this address. I warned you when I started that when I began on a subject so near my heart, I found it difficult to stop, and it is near my heart. I suppose all of us, however busy, have dreams of the future. I have one. It is a dream to which I can only make a transient contribution It is a dream, the complete fulfillment of which I may never live to see, but it is a dream that in the end I know will come true.

(more)

4286

40(v)/31

It is a dream of a British Commonwealth of Nations in which these colonial peoples will have their rightful place; a Commonwealth which in time of peace will enshrine the fundamentals of life on which you and we agree, and which in time of crises will give its whole resources of men and material to a world organization for the defense of right.

But it is not merely a dream of empires, it is a dream also of human beings and 60,000,000 of them from all continents and of all creeds, rich and poor, strong and weak, marching along a straight highroad, starting it may be at different places, moving it may be at different rates, but all certain to reach their journey's end -- dignity and contentment and security.

End

NOTE: Colonel Stanley will broadcast an abbreviated version of this speech over the Columbia Broadcasting System at 11:15 P.M., E.W.T., tonight (Friday).

01195

40/8/0/32

(Copy of a letter appearing in the New York Times February 18, 1945)

Matter for the Agenda

Status of Mandated Territories Requires Consideration

The writers of the following letter are, in the order in which their names appear, the Democratic candidate for President in 1924, consultant on international organization to the State Department, chairman of the WPB Appeals Board, executive secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, former Under-Secretary of State, and Professor of International Law, University of Chicago.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In his speech at the dinner of the Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Jan. 19, Colonel Stanley, British Colonial Secretary, referred to the mandates system in the past tense as representing the "old theory of trusteeship." It might be inferred from his address that he favored the abolition of this system. We believe that this is the first public intimation of such a policy on the part of any of the mandatory powers, and as it was made here in New York, we hope it will not be considered inappropriate for us to point out here the significance of any such development.

The mandates system, it will be recalled, was set up at the end of the last war for the government of those fourteen dependent territories, including Palestine, Tanganyika and many islands in the Pacific, which were taken away from Turkey and Germany. It embodied the principle of international responsibility for the government of dependent peoples and was one of the forward steps in the Covenant of the League of Nations of which the American people wholeheartedly approved. Although it rejected membership in the League, the United States continued its interest in and partial responsibility for the future of these mandated territories because of its role in the winning of the war which took them from their former owners.

It seems pertinent and proper to ask whether we have correctly understood the policy of Colonel Stanley and whether he is now perhaps in favor of the annexation of the mandated territories by the powers administering them. We also believe it pertinent to ask what is the policy of our own Government and the Governments of other powers on this point. We might add that, in our opinion, the Pacific islands formerly mandated to Japan should not be annexed to the United States but should be governed by this country as trustee for the United Nations. Suitable strategic arrangements should, of course, be assured.

Colonel Stanley quite properly outlined the truly remarkable achievements of the British Government in the development of its colonies and proposed for the future a system of international regional advisory commissions like the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. We support this proposal and hope that such commissions will do much to raise standards of agriculture, public health, education, etc., in the various regions concerned.

This system Colonel Stanley calls "partnership". To us, it supplements rather than supplants the "trusteeship" system of the mandates which the British Government in the past has loyally supported and which, in the opinion of many experts, might well be extended to other dependent territories.

"Trusteeship" represented the first and a reasonably successful attempt to put into practice the principle that "the well-being and development of such (dependent) peoples form a sacred trust of civilization". Under the mandates system, national and international machinery was set up to carry out this trust. International colonial experts, for instance, reviewed and criticized the conditions which brought on the rebellion against the French in Syria in 1925, raised serious questions as to Japanese fortifications in the Pacific islands as far back as 1932, and dealt with many hundreds of other matters involving native welfare and the open door for all nations in the development of these territories.

The abandonment of the gains which were inherent in this system might imply a step toward the division of the world into several great power zones of exclusive domination. It would weaken the system of international responsibility for dependent peoples which was actually practiced between the wars. The continuance and development of this principle and its extension to other dependent territories, especially those to be taken from the enemies at the end of this war, would imply just that much more confidence on the part of the United Nations in the success of their new venture.

It would seem desirable politically (if not necessary legally) that any fundamental change in the status of the mandated territories, including the Pacific islands formerly under mandate to Japan, should be made only with the consent of that "civilization" in whose trust they were placed. This would require the consent of the League of Nations (and the United States), or of the new United Nations, and not merely a decision by a small coterie of great powers, most of whom might be directly interested in the result.

Nothing on this subject was contained in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and presumably this situation has been given further consideration since that meeting, perhaps at the time of the Crimean Conference. It is to be hoped that this important matter will be placed on the agenda of the San Francisco Conference and that the peoples of the world will be given an opportunity to express their views before any binding decisions are made.

John W. Davis
Huntington Gilchrist
Arthur N. Holcombe
Emory Ross
James T. Shotwell
Sumner Welles
Quincy Wright

New York City
February 14, 1945

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
Incorporated
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 22 EAST 38 STREET, NEW YORK 16
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-5740 *Cable Address: Forpolas*

November 28, 1944

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-4-169

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter addressed to Mr. Blair Bolles in our Washington Office has been referred to me for reply, since questions of policy are handled in our New York office. The Foreign Policy Association is not an action group and therefore cannot join with other groups in taking action on the question which you raise. I am glad to refer your comments to our Research Department for their consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy F. Leet

Dorothy F. Leet
Secretary

DFL:SCH

[FOSDICK]

THE RIVERSIDE CHURCH

RIVERSIDE DRIVE at 122ND STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Ministers
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
C. IVAR HELLSTROM
NORRIS L. TIBBETTS

January 11, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-4-186

I have received your letter and I plainly see that my reply is going to reveal a dismal ignorance on my part of which doubtless I ought to be ashamed. The plain fact is, however, that I have not the faintest glimmering of an idea concerning what your letter means. Evidently the word "Colonies" in your title and in your letter has some special connotation, whose significance I cannot even guess at.

You speak of "colonial conferences" of representatives of each colony, "of representatives of the chief colonial powers, if possible with authorization from their governments, etc." and all this means absolutely nothing to me. I cannot get even the dimmest idea as to what you mean by a colony.

Under the circumstances, as you see, I have no means of passing comment on your plan.

Even if I could I fear that I might not be able personally to make any contribution worth while. Past the age of retirement, I am going on with some of my major tasks here at the church, especially preaching and teaching, but I do it only by giving up administrative and pastoral responsibilities, personal consultation service, and all itinerant ministry, and spending a considerable portion of each week out of the city altogether. This means that with deep regret I have to refuse my friends any promise of any commitment whatever of time and thought to further enterprises beyond my present schedule. I am sure you know how deeply I am concerned about the problem in which you are a leading specialist, and how sympathetic I am with what the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands for. I should like to help, and yet the situation is as I have just described it.

Meantime, I shall be curious to know the answer if you can take time to explain to me what your letter really is about.

Cordially yours,

Harry Emerson Fosdick

17 January 1945

My dear Mr. Fosdick:

I have your letter of January 11. I am enclosing a list of the colonial possessions in the world in order that you may realize that seven hundred and fifty million people on this earth live in colonies which have rights which no white nation is bound to respect.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick
The Riverside Church
Riverside Drive at 122nd Street
New York City

20-15-02

[FOSDICK]

THE RIVERSIDE CHURCH

RIVERSIDE DRIVE at 122ND STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y.

January 19, 1945.

Ministers
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
C. IVAR HELLSTROM
NORRIS L. TIBBETTS

20-4-128

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter, and I confess I am somewhat taken aback to find that you meant by the word colonies what is ordinarily signified by it. I had no idea that your proposal was on so ambitious a scale. I must confess that you are far beyond my depth here. I had no idea that it would be possible to assemble a colonial conference representing colonies of the type you name all over the world, living in or near New York, that would have any large significance. If you can do it, you better than I can judge the worthwhileness of the plan.

I must confess that I feel utterly incompetent to pass any judgment on it. Personally, I cannot promise you any expenditure of time or energy. Past the age of retirement, I have demitted my pastoral and administrative responsibilities on my colleagues here in the church, and am going on with my parish preaching, only by dint of spending a considerable portion of each week out of the city altogether. I have to give up all outside commitments, and so I cannot be an active participant in your plan. It looks interesting, however, in view of what you evidently expect to do. I had no idea that such a conference was a practical possibility, or that anything that could be done through such a conference would have sufficient representative power to wield influence. It is evident, as you see, that you are moving in a realm where my experience does not go.

Most cordially yours,

Harry Emerson Fosdick

[FRANCE - MINISTER OF FINANCE]

May 7, 1945

20-19-11

Monsieur Rene Pleven
Minister of Finance and National Economy
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

My dear Monsieur Pleven:

May I repeat to you briefly in writing the prosposals which you were kind enough to listen to when Mr. White and I visited you yesterday?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wants to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris in September, 1945. The object of this conference is for consultation and cooperation. It wishes to bring all peoples of Negro descent to a knowledge of the problems which each face in order to work out by methods of peace and reason the betterment of their conditions. For this purpose they wish to consult not only with each other but with as many representatives of colonial powers as possible. What we are asking then is that we should have the privilege of meeting in Paris in September, and that this could be done with the approval of the French Government.

I should be under deep obligations if you would lay this matter before the French Government and let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Ph.D. (Harvard)
Member, Institute of Arts & Letters
Director, Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Consultant to the United States Delegation

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DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT

20-23

January 31, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are cordially invited to be our guest at a Sponsors' Luncheon of the Willkie Memorial of Freedom House on Saturday, February 17th, at 12:45 PM, the day before Mr. Willkie's birthday. The luncheon will be held in the North dining room, Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd Street. We will take this occasion to make a complete report on our progress and plans for the Memorial building.

The program will include brief talks by Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, President of Freedom House; Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein; Roy Wilkins, Acting Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Dr. William Agar, who will preside. Herbert Bayard Swope, Father George B. Ford, Harry Scherman and other directors and sponsors of this project will attend.

Please reply if you are coming, and we will mail your ticket of admission.

Sincerely yours,

George Field

Executive Director

gf
bp

20-20-82

FREEDOM HOUSE 16 EAST 48 STREET · NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

PLAZA 8-0923

Request to write article

June 6th, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I understand from Mr. Wilkins that you have just returned from the San Francisco conference. So I am writing to ask you whether you will write a one thousand or eleven hundred word article for our next issue of the Freedom Digest on the conference from your point of view as an American Negro leader.

We will be interested in anything you have to say but hope you will deal in part with the problems concerning colonial peoples as they affect the chances for peace.

I will telephone you about it in the morning. The deadline for the article will be June 11th, if necessary, June 12th.

Hoping you can do this for us.

Most sincerely,

William Agar

William Agar

WA:lw

Telephoned and I told him you would not return until after the middle of June.

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21 June 1945

20-8-12

Gentlemen:

With the consent of the French Minister of Colonies I am trying to assemble in Paris late in September a Pan African Congress. This will involve the travel of perhaps twelve persons from the United States. I am writing to ask if so far as you now know there will be at that time any passenger boats running between here and France. If so what would be the cost and accomodation per person? I should be glad to have any information or advice that you can give.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The French Line
17 State Street
New York City

French Line

CABLE ADDRESS: TRANSAT · TELEPHONE HANOVER 2-8300

June 28, 1945

41-8-2C

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Att: Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois

Gentlemen:

In answer to your letter of June 21st, 1945, we wish to advise you that for the time being we have not resumed our service to France. Only the United States Lines carry passengers to Le Havre.

Very truly yours,

ACTING PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER

PR/erh

8 March 1945

20-4-57

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

I am enclosing the invitation which we are going to send out for a Colonial Conference and a note concerning the information which we wish. I write to ask if you could give us the names and addresses of any natives of French colonies resident in or near New York whom we could invite to this conference. We will, of course, be glad to have you attend if you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

New York, March 14, 1945

20-4-S3-02

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Colonial Conference

My dear Dr. Dubois,

I have read with pleasure your letter of March 8 for which I thank you.

I believe I shall be absent from New York at the beginning of April, but should I be here, you may count on my presence, as you know of my interest in all colonial questions.

On the other hand, there are, to my knowledge, no French colonials in the United States at the present time, with the exception of some West Indian soldiers training here, and I doubt very much that the military authorities would permit them to take part in public discussions; however, should I learn of the presence of French colonials in this country, I will not fail to inform you.

I have just read with emotion Mr. Walter White's book, and particularly the chapter devoted to Governor General Eboué. I am very grateful to him for these very beautiful and truthful pages. Governor General Eboué will have been one of the instruments of the new liberties French colonials will, I hope, enjoy soon and on which work is now being done in Paris. It is only fair that tribute should be paid to him; it is so seldom done.

Very sincerely yours,

Laroche

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
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501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

New York, March 28, 1945

Mr. W. D. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-4-59

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I wish to thank you for your invitation to the colonial conference to be held on April 6, and sincerely regret that prior commitments will not permit me to attend this interesting discussion.

However, my assistant, Mr. M. de la Fournière, also a colonial administrator, will represent me at this conference.

Sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

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New York, April 4, 1945

Colonial Conference

20-4-60

Dr. W. D. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

I take pleasure in sending you herewith a photostat copy of the March 15 issue of "L'Informateur Colonial" which, I feel, you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

[FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE]

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
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New York, April 10, 1945

20-4-6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I wish to tell you how interesting I found your conference of April 6, to which you were kind enough to invite me, and how sensible I was to the atmosphere of the discussions.

Could you please send me a report of the conference and of the suggestions which were retained at the committee meeting announced for April 7?

Thanking in advance for your cooperation in this matter, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

M. de la Fournière

mdlf/jr

[FRENCH PRESS]

11 April 1945

21-6-28

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

I want in confidence to take up a matter with you in which I am deeply interested. Mr. Benson of the International Labor Office called on me the other day and told me that they would have a meeting in Paris in September at the invitation of the French Government. Also I learned from London that a conference of the new world labor movement will take place in Paris in September.

I am anxious to have a meeting of the Pan African Congress in Paris that same month. You perhaps have heard of the Pan African Congress. The first congress was convened in Paris directly after the armistice following the first World War early in 1919. The French Government was officially represented. Blaise Diagne and M. Candace presided at various meetings and we met by special permission of Premier Clemenceau. In 1921, a second session of the Pan African Congress was held. It was larger and more representative; we had sessions in London, Paris and Brussels. Some two hundred delegates attended representing the majority of the Negro groups in Africa and in America. Later a third congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923 and a small one in New York in 1925. Then the depression precluded further meetings.

It seems now that after the conclusion of the second World War that it is time for a Fifth Pan African Congress to be held. It would be attended by delegates from the various colonies in Africa and the various countries and colonies in America; its object would be to consider the present situation and the future of the Negro race and its descendents. My idea is that following the liberal program of M. de Gaulle and the late Governor Eboue, France would represent the most encouraging prospect of a solution for the problem of colonies and the development of black folk in the modern world.

It would be, therefore, of tremendous encouragement if we could receive from the French Government an intimation that such a meeting would be welcome in Paris in September or even something further in the guise of an official invitation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to call such a conference there and then.

Will you think this matter over and let me confer with you concerning it?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

New York, April 13, 1945

21-6-29

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have just read with the greatest interest your letter of April 11. It is difficult for me to say, off hand, what the French Government would think of a meeting of the Pan African Congress in Paris next September. Personally, I feel that Paris is the ideal place for such a conference, and the fact that France is determined to undertake the liquidation of her colonial system makes this city all the more suited to receive the American and African delegates. They will find there, as you know, the warmest welcome. The only objection might be transportation and lodging difficulties; but if arrangements were made sufficiently in advance, these could surely be overcome.

I am therefore at your entire disposal to put up the question non-officially to the Ministry of Colonies by cable, if you deem it necessary.

I appreciate your having come to me with this plan, and remain

Very sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

17 April 1945

21-6-30

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

Thank you for your letter of April 13. Providing, of course, that transportation is available, I should be very glad if you would put the question of a possible Pan African Congress in Paris next September up to the Ministry of Colonies and find out what their attitude would be. I think we could make arrangements far enough in advance to avoid difficulties of providing food and lodging.

I am leaving for San Francisco on the nineteenth but will be glad to have your answer at this office.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Roche, Jean de la

20-49-10

May 7, 1945

Roche

Monsieur Jean de Rouche
St. Francis Hotel
San Francisco, California

My dear Monsieur de Rouche:

Would you kindly see that the enclosed letter gets to Monsieur Pleven before he sails?

I shall be deeply obliged.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

Conference Headquarters:

98 O'Farrell Street
San Francisco, Cal.

San Francisco, May 15, 1945

20-19-14

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, Cal.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

I take great pleasure in sending you the special issue No. 3 of "Free France" devoted to the relations between France and Syria and Lebanon, which I think you will find of interest.

Very sincerely,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

...e of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

WU F14 NL PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF JUN 1

MR W E B DUBOIS=NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLES=

AM VERY HAPPY INFORM YOU HAVE RECEIVED CABLE FROM PARIS OF WHICH I GIVE YOU TRANSLATION QUOTE MINISTRY OF COLONIES GIVES ITS ENTIRE AGREEMENT TO DR DUBOIS PROPOSAL UNQUOTE SHALL SEE YOU AS SOON AS I RETURN NEW YORK=

9:15AM JUN 2 1945

JEAN DE LA ROCHE.910A. JUN 2.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 9, 1945

20-19-12

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

I received your kind communication concerning the attitude of the Colonial Minister toward the possible Pan-African Congress in September.

We are going to have difficulties, of course, about transportation and obtaining visas from the State Department, but I am working on that. In the meantime I would be very glad to see you and talk over prospects at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
501 Madison Ave.
New York, 22, New York

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

New York, July 10, 1945

20-19-13

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

I too would be very happy to see you. If you sometime come in our neighborhood, we could perhaps have lunch together and chat at leisure; would Thursday or Saturday of this week be convenient for you? If so, will you be kind enough to give me confirmation by telephone and I shall wait for you at my office. If you prefer, however, I shall go to see you at the N.A.A.C.P. I remain entirely at your disposal.

Very sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

20-8-21

New York, July 24, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

As I promised you, I am enclosing the exact addressed of the gentlemen I presume you will want to write to before you leave.

Have you any definite plans about your meeting?

Very sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

[ENCLOSURE]

Monsieur Henri Laurentie, Gouverneur des Colonies
Directeur des Affaires Politiques
Ministère des Colonies
27 rue Oudinot
Paris (7e)

20-8-22

Monsieur Saller, Gouverneur des Colonies
Directeur du Plan
Ministère des Colonies
27 rue Oudinot
Paris (e)

Monsieur Gaston Monnerville
Député de la Guyane
Président de la Commission Coloniale
à l'Assemblée Législative
Palais du Luxembourg
Paris

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

21-6-84

New York, July 30, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have just received a word from Paris asking me whether your Congress is going to be held in September. They would like to have an answer as soon as possible in order to start preparations for it. Will you be kind enough to let me know your decision?

Very sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

August 1, 1945

21-9-86

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

I regret to say that in all probability the Pan-African Congress will not be called in Paris this fall for two reasons.

(1) The difficulty of being sure of return passage from France. All means of transportation are so crowded by American soldiers that delegates might be held up for months.

(2) There has developed in the Association some opposition to a Pan-African movement. They want to expand it into a Congress of Dependent Peoples. I do not agree with this at all, but the feeling is there.

I have, therefore, given up the plan and I think the Association will not press it. I am very sorry indeed and appreciate your kind offer of cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

1 September 1945

My dear Mr. de la Roche:

I had the pleasure of talking the other evening with a French woman who is a well-known reporter although I did not get her name. She knows you and was part of the resistance movement and was in San Francisco.

20-19-17

This reminded me of you again. The Pan African Congress is being called in London by a Committee composed chiefly of colored British subjects. They think they are going to get a large attendance from the British colonies but I doubt it. I tried to get them to have at least a preliminary session in Paris but I do not think that it will go through. They have typical attitude toward French colonial policy.

Nevertheless during the next one or two years we will have a real congress in Africa where the French will be properly represented. I write to let you know that I appreciate very much the efforts that you have made and hope we can keep in touch. I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York City

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

September 4, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-19-16

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I wish to acknowledge your letter of September 1 to Mr. de la Roche.

Mr. de la Roche, after spending about two weeks in London, is at present in Paris where he expects to remain until the end of this month. I am sending him a copy of your letter which I am sure will interest him. He will undoubtedly get in touch with you on his return to New York.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanne Roudot

Jeanne Roudot

21-6-100

September 14, 1945

Mr. Jean de la Roche
French Press and Information Service
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

My dear de la Roche:

I presume this will find you in London but in any case, I am hastening to tell you that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has finally asked me to attend the Pan African Congress called for London, October 15th to 21st. It is pretty late for me to do anything but I am going to try.

If you are to be in London during the meeting of the Congress, I hope we can get together and possibly arrange for another and more representative Congress in Paris in the Spring of 1946. At any rate, let me hear from you if you get this in time. Of course, I may find it difficult and perhaps impossible to get transportation and a visa but I am trying.

I remember our last meeting with great pleasure and hope I shall see you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

FRENCH PRESS AND INFORMATION SERVICE
An Agency of the Provisional Government of the French Republic
501 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4361

December 26, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-19-15

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I received your letters during my stay in France and I thank you very much for them.

It was good to feel that you are still very much interested in French colonial affairs. I deeply regret having been unable to reach you and I am looking forward to seeing you very soon.

Very sincerely yours,

Jean de la Roche

jdlr/jr

STATEMENT OF THE
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
on the
DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

JANUARY 13, 1945

A paramount question of our time is the development of adequate institutions for a world community of nations made neighbors by science and technology, but divided in spirit and torn by war. A secure peace must be rooted in the abiding principles of the moral law and in faith in the fatherhood of God under whom all men must find their brotherhood. We firmly believe that no institutions of peace, of themselves, can avail unless men are gripped by a faith in their common heritage and their common destiny. A successful world organization must rest also upon widening the area of consent and minimizing the elements of coercion. It must depend upon calling forth the support and developing the confidence of the peoples of the world; for no peace settlement will endure that does not challenge mankind as being directed toward justice and worthy of confidence and sacrifice.

We are deeply conscious of the moral breakdown of our time, the denial of fundamental human rights, the rise of totalitarianism, the breaking of compacts and treaties, the persecution of individuals for racial or political reasons, the arbitrary use of violence by nation states, and the tragedy of a global and devastating war.

Mankind must now turn to the overwhelming task of upbuilding—relief and rehabilitation for the victims of war, homes for the displaced and dispossessed, ethical as well as technical training for the world of tomorrow, and the painful task of creating or enlarging our political institutions.

Peace must ultimately rest, if it is to last, not upon the concentration of military force in the hands of powerful nations, but upon the confidence and faith of peoples that their political institutions are dedicated to, and striving for, the promotion of the common welfare and not to the maintenance of power politics, empire, or imperialism. Even an international police system will not be truly a police system until nations are willing to relinquish national armies. We would press for the time when the aims of the Atlantic Charter might be realized and when the nations for realistic as well as spiritual reasons would come to the abandonment of the use of force as the basis of an international society. We can look only with apprehension upon the potential domination of the projected United Nations organization by the Big Powers, and upon the disproportionate emphasis given the Security Council over the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

We believe the United States should strive virogously for the development of an adequate world organization. While we think that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals fall far short of what is required and contain serious dangers, we nevertheless recognize them as opening the way for progress and would encourage our government in cooperation with the other nations to proceed with the task of developing them into a democratic and satisfying system for achieving international peace, justice and good will.

Changes that are being made in the Charter of the United Nations should be in the direction of making it more effective for use by all peoples of the world as an agency for developing friendly understanding and cooperation with each other, for promoting the common welfare, for removing the causes of strife, and for adjusting differences through conciliation. To that end we recommend changes along the following lines:

That the General Assembly be used for the progressive development of international government and justice, through and under law.

That it be recognized that no nation, great or small, has the right to set itself above the law and constitute itself a judge in its own cause.

That the General Assembly be given fuller opportunity to function in all matters, including those before the Security Council.

That provisions be made regarding areas, now colonies or under mandate, with a view to their development to independent membership in the world community.

That effective provision be made for the early limitation, reduction, and the eventual abolition of armaments; and that provision be made for the elimination of conscription as a means of maintaining armed forces.

That it is important to make the Charter as nearly perfect as possible at present, and that, on the other hand, it should be made less difficult of amendment, to keep it expressive of the democratic will of the people and adaptable to new situations.

That an international Bill of Rights be included, assuring, among others, the rights of people regardless of color, race or creed, and the right of petition.

That the United Nations seek to include all nations in its membership.

(This preliminary statement is an expression of the thought of the Friends Committee on National Legislation at its session in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 11 and 13, 1945, on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in their present form. It commits neither meetings nor individuals in the Society of Friends. It is issued to encourage further thinking and discussion, and to request our government to strive for modification of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals along the lines suggested.

The general purpose of the Friends Committee on National Legislation is to assist members of the Religious Society of Friends and other like minded citizens to contribute effectively in the process of shaping important decisions that are being made by Congress and other agencies of the Federal Government in those areas which touch upon the concerns and causes that Friends have at heart.)

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION,
2111 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

No. 5—10M—2-45—DP

SOME PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO, OR CHANGES IN, THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

The following suggestions for improvement of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are among those made by governments, private organizations, church bodies or individuals which should receive the thoughtful consideration of the San Francisco Conference.

1. Re-affirmation of the purposes of justice and human welfare set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

2. Renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

3. Development and codification of international law under which the Charter of the General International Organization would operate. Mexico has proposed a pledge by all states to incorporate international law into their national law.

4. Provision for early limitation, reduction and the eventual abolition of armaments; elimination of conscription as a means of maintaining armed forces; the progressive subordination of force to law.

5. Recognition that no nation, great or small, has the right to set itself above the law and constitute itself a judge in its own cause.

6. Inclusion of an International Bill of Rights, assuring among others, the rights of people regardless of color, race or creed, and the right of petition; that a special Commission of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms be established.

7. Provisions regarding areas now colonies or under mandate, with a view to their development to independent membership in the world community.

8. Perfecting the Charter as much as possible at present and making it less difficult of amendment to keep it expressive of the democratic will of the peoples involved and adaptable to new situations.

9. All nations willing to accept the obligations of membership should thereupon be made members of the Organization.

10. Giving the General Assembly fuller powers, or equal opportunity, to function in all matters, including those before the Security Council.

11. Provisions designed more clearly to protect and defend the smaller nations from the arbitrary power of the great powers.

12. The Netherlands Government stressed the lack of definitely declared principles governing the way in which the great powers are to use their authority, and the lack of any appeal from the decisions of the Security Council.

13. The Polish Government in London among its 29 amendments proposed that the Council shall be obligated to investigate incidents on the request of any member and carry out its own decisions and the decisions of the proposed court of international justice.

14. Provision for revision of treaties between nations at least at ten-year intervals to assure that the peace settlements are dynamic and not static.

Summarized by the Friends Committee on National Legislation
2111 Florida Avenue N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
April 23, 1945

20-15-83

[FRIENDS SERVICE COUNCIL]

FRIENDS SERVICE COUNCIL

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1.

Telephone : EUSton 3606

19. 11. 45.

Dear D. Dubois,

Social Menus

We are looking forward to your meeting with us on Thursday next at five o'clock. The meeting is at the Friends International Centre, 37, Gordon Square, (about two minutes walk behind Friends House.)

We haven't announced any subject for you to speak about, as we would like you to tell us just what is in your mind.

Yours sincerely,

John A. Fletcher.

The Frontiers Of America

107 NORTH MONROE AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO
TELEPHONE MAIN 5373

20-16-2

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May
Tenth
1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Consultant to the American Delegation
San Francisco Conference
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In answer to your telegram concerning the designation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as one of the forty-two national organizations which has a right to appoint consultants to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference, I am now in position to say to you that the Frontiers of America, Inc., support most heartily the suggestions made to the United States delegation by the NAACP, to-wit:

1 - Equality for all races
2 - A bill of rights for all the people of the world
3 - Abolition of the colonial system in favor of an international agency to which the colonial powers would report.

I congratulate you upon this fine work that you are doing for racial minorities.

Very truly yours,

N. B. Allen

N. B. Allen
President

NBA:ms

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

March, 21, 1943.
Poston Arizona.
(write for Mrs. Fujisawa who is Japanese.) my
L. J. Miss Free
Welfare.

Request for information

20-020-65

Dear Sir:

Your name has been given me as the one person whom I might write to obtain certain information for material I am gathering for a paper.

I understand that during the first World War certain mental tests and measurements were given. These were called the "Army Alpha" tests and the results showed the North Negro is a place much higher than the southern caucasian.

I must obtain copies of these tests can you assist me or tell me where I can obtain them?

Thank you so very much.

Colo. River Relocation Center. (over)

(Mr) Mutsuo Fujisawa
317-3-A. Poston Ariz.

Otto Klineberg

Characteristics of the American Negro

Harper 1944

30 March 1945

20-20-66

My dear Sir:

You will find a statement concerning the Army Alpha tests and the Negro in Otto Klineberg's CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, Harpers, New York, 1934.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Mutsuo Fujisawa
Colorado River Relocation Center
317-3-A
Poston, Arizona

Amy Ashwood-Garvey
101 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

66-83-19

February 1, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dep't. of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to thank you for your important communication of January 24th in connection with your proposal for a conference on the colonial question.

I think that your plan is worthy of immediate consideration, and pledge my efforts to insure the success of the conference. However, I take the view that the technical organization of the conference will require some study preliminary to its convening.

I suugest the following names:

Mr. H. P. Osborne of the West Indies National Council
360 W. 125th Street, N. Y. C.
The Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street, N. Y. C.
Mr. W. Adolph Roberts of the Jamaica Progressive League
2286 - Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C.
Mr. Cecil Holmes, Sec., United Mutual Life Insurance Co.
360 West 125th Street, N. Y. C.
Mr. George Weston
100 St. Nicholas Ave., N. Y. C.
Mr. George Harris, Pres., Etheopian World Federation
Lenox Avenue, N. Y. C.
Dr. Charles A. Petioni, Chairman, West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street, N. Y. C.
Mr. Herbert Seale, c/o Advertising Dep't., People's Voice
210 West 125th Street, N. Y. C.
Att'y Joseph C. Morris
209 West 125th Street, N. Y. C.
Rev. Ethelred Brown, Secretary; Jamaica Progressive League
2286 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C.

With assurance of my highest consideration.

Very sincerely yours

Amy Ashwood-Garvey

AAG:BC

[c FEB. 1945]

5048 Van Dyke

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I am very sorry that I will be unable to hear you today, but I want you to meet the "better half" and tell him how long you will be in the city. I hope long enough for me to see you.

20-15-47

Best Wishes,

Sincerely,

Mary Menafee Lavin

26 February 1945

20-15-48

My dear Mrs. Garvin:

I was so sorry not to be able to call you up while I was in Detroit but I had to hurry away. I am glad to know where you are.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mary Menafee Garvin
5048 Van Dyke
Detroit, Michigan

17 January 1945

20-6-18

My dear Mr. Gates:

I thank you so much for your letter of December 20. As I said in that speech on Jacob and Esau, I have been for over sixty years trying to get my opinion of Jacob off my chest. I am glad to find that I had a fellow sufferer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Herbert W. Gates
38 Kenwood Avenue
Newton Center 59, Massachusetts

[GAYDEN]

3852 Calumet Ave,
Chicago, Ill.
Dec. 10, 1945.

Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Chicago Defender,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

For many months, I have been following your Column in the Chicago Defender with a great deal of interest. I am also reading Color and Democracy as well as some other material on Africa. and I am interested in the coming Pan African Conference, to be held in 1947.

I should like to know how an individual like myself could be of service to the movement. If there is an organized group in the Chicago community working for the conference, would you please advise me! If there is not such a group, may I affiliate with any other group who is working in behalf of the Conference.

I do not possess any distinguishing quality which would fit me for any particular work. I am a Negro, of mid western origin, 35 years old, and a professional social worker. Most of my experience has been in the child welfare field.

Very truly,
(Mrs) Vera Gayden.

20-8-60

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

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20-20-36

March 14, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry I do not have the exact facts concerning the arrangement of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for accrediting Negro colleges and secondary schools.

I am sure, however, you can secure these facts from Dr. Henry Highsmith of the State Department of Education in Raleigh, North Carolina, or from President L. S. Cozart of Barba-Scotia College, Concord, North Carolina. Dr. Highsmith is secretary of the Committee of the Southern Association which directs the program of accreditation. He was also very active in getting the Association to recognize the need for including Negro institutions in the program of the Association. President Cozart has been the Secretary of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes which represents all of the schools and colleges meeting the standards of the Southern Association.

Sincerely yours,

Fred McCuistion

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

[Georgia]

GEORGIA DRIVER'S LICENSE

EXPIRES JUNE 30, 1945

Print or Type Full Name: W. E. Burghardt DuBois
(First / Middle or Maiden / Last)

No. and St. or R.F.D. No.: Atlanta University

City or Post Office and State: Atlanta, Georgia

Usual Signature: W. E. B. Du Bois

Carry Your License When You Drive.

Birth Date Mo.	Day	Year	Sex	Color of Eyes	Weight
Feb.	23	1868	M	Brown	160 lbs.
			Race: C	Color of Hair: Bald	Height: 5 ft. 6½ in.

Restrictions

GEORGIA
DRIVER LICENSE NO. 10357

RENEWAL STUB

GEORGIA
DRIVER LICENSE NO. 10357

Birth Date Mo.	Day	Year	Sex	Color of Eyes	Weight
Feb.	23	1868	M	Brown	160 lbs.
			Race: C	Color of Hair: Bald	Height: 5 ft. 6½ in.

Restrictions

GEORGIA DRIVERS LICENSE CERTIFICATE
AUG 24 1944

Print or Type Full Name: W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
(First / Middle or Maiden / Last)

No., St., R.F.D. No.: Atlanta University

City, P.O., and State: Atlanta, Georgia

EXPIRES JUNE 30, 1945

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
C. A. Williams, Director

OATH OF APPLICANT

I do solemnly swear that the statements on this application are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

W. E. D. Ross

Signature of Applicant

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13

day of July, 1944.

R. E. Pudlow

Notary Public or Authorized Officer

My Commission expires.

20-17

DATE	OFFENSE	COURT	DISPOSITION

The Above Space Is Reserved For Use By the Courts (Only) of This State

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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8 March 1945

20-4-150

My dear Madam:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation for a Colonial Conference and a statement of the kind of reports which we wish to collect. I am writing to ask if you know of persons in or near New York representing especially colonies in Asia, outside of India, with whom I could get in contact. I should be very glad of any addresses or any advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Talitha Gerlach
Foreign Division
National YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York City

HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York
April 2, 1945

461-h-02

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I very much appreciate your invitation to attend the Colonial Conference on April 6. This appears to be a particularly busy day for me but if I can drop in for at least a short time, I shall try to do so.

Yours very sincerely,

Huntington Gilchrist

HG:FS

Box 97, Palo Alto, Cal.
May 7 1945.

Dr W.E. Du Bois
San Francisco, California.

Dear Dr Du Bois:-

20-6-16

The unexpected meeting with you the other night in town, was the chance I have long wanted to thank you for your interpretive power. Most of Us who returned to earth in these dire days for special missions can so little utter, after we get here, the only real Life there ever is, that of the Spirit, not the flesh in which we are encased. Having dared the dual veil it is indeed a rare quality of Being that has enabled you to pierce through both atomic layers.

To me, your masterpiece to date, is that brief bit ~~xhichxxix~~ now included in my collection of interracial "bridge" material- in which you so aptly ~~use the pane of~~ glass similie. Those whose earth embodiments are lived in intense pain feel so like that, too. Perhaps that is why it so appealed. But the crudity of our mis-understanding of those beside us whose capacity for feeling is so rich, so sensitized to the flow of the spirit-is a veritable pain which apt words like yours help to at times assuage. You may not have realized that we, too, on that side of the pane which excludes us from the knowledges we can sometimes perceive going on behind the other pane, wish often that we might be as ably articulate as you have been.

In New York, some years ago, a niece of Napiers was such a friend as I miss more than most. Together we went about and dared what, in those days, took at times a "bit of doing". But we had each the saving grace of a quick sense of humor, and she was tact incarnate to offset my own blunt way of insisting that it was my right to have a friendship that belonged to me, regardless.

But what I want to talk over before this Conference ends is our mutual responsibility to step up in print and otherwise, the public knowledge of the race man's contribution to the economics of America, and the earth, through inventions. The world now appreciates the art, the music, the drama. But when I filled a down town store window here, the first year of my effort to educate, with pictures, posters and facts re race devices now used in transportation, in every day life, in mass production of shoes etc(the National Shoe Machinery people were most cooperative and sent out fine Matzeliger photographs and later a half-finished shoe now shown at our Junior Museum or in the schools each year during History week)- it was amusing to hear the pontifical exclamations of he "great minds" we are supposed to have at Stanford and in this town of "intelligentsia"(? "Why I didn't know"- "I never dreamed" etc etc, It was a good chuckle. Each year while I had strength to add to this small educational collection, the town got another ear-and-eye-full. Of course I got more education out of trying to gather the material on a budget of precisely nothing, and was sorry when it had to be suspended. Most of the material is now packed away, some of it is still loaned to our Junior Museum- where, by the way, you would be very welcome , as the woman in charge has done a splendid work in each year extending the scope of the display- her effort being to educate the younger generation especially. She would welcome you- Mrs Josephine O' Hara. There are some people out at Stanford who foster inter-racial affairs now, who appear to have an eye on some objective of their own. She and I do whatever we can do- and it is all too little- just because we want to It has been a regret to each of us that we have not been able to loan the little educational collection re race achievement to more of the now quite well organized race groups hereabouts- one of which now numbers some 500. But-sad to say- the element of irresponsibility prevents I have had some trying and amusing experiences trying to break down barriers and gain confidence. If there is time and occasion when am in town Thursday next, with a woman Army Dr-psychiatrist who is driving me in, I'd like to have your advice re this problem of increasing appreciation re inventions. Am convinced it's the best approach to labor-management better relations. Sincerely,

Marion R. Gibson

20-6-17

May 17, 1945

Miss Marion R. Glen
Box 97
Palo Alto, California

My dear Miss Glen:

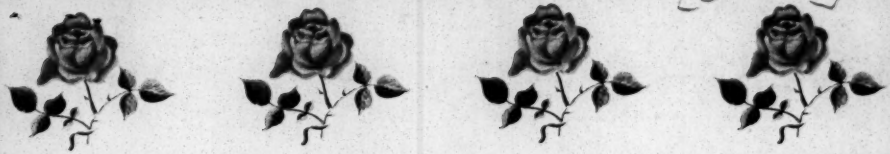
I am very sorry indeed not to have had opportunity to talk with you but I am sure you will realize how busy I have been, and still am.

I appreciate the work that you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[GOENS]



Pauline Young

503 E. 10th. St.
Wilmington, Del.
Sept. 1, 1945

20-2-30

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

Thanks for the unexpected pleasure and compliment of breakfasting with you in your most attractive apartment.

I regret so much that I left without offering to assist with the dishwashing which you detest so much. Forgive me — it was the Benedictine — perhaps?

Pauline and I (she has returned unmarried) shall be happy to have you stop in Wilmington on one of your jaunts up and down the Pennsylvania R. R. for a day or night with us.

Perhaps we shall dare to call on you in a week or two when we come up to New York.

Sincerely,

Grace Goens

20-3-31

64 Poplar Street
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

February 26, 1945

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Thank you for your very kind letter. I am sorry for this delay in replying to your letter, but I have been away on an extended lecture tour, and returned to the city only a couple of days ago. I do hope that this letter of mine is not too late.

20-4-37

I think your idea of a conference of colonial peoples is an excellent one. As far as India is concerned, there are in this country no accredited representatives of any Indian political organization, except Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, who came here to take part in the Institute of Pacific Relation's conference. Mrs. Pandit will be here for a few months, and it would definitely be a good idea to invite her to such a meeting as you propose. Mrs. Pandit is a sister of Nehru, and has been a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. She can be reached through Mr. Richard Walsh of John Day & Co., 40 East 49th St., New York City, N. Y.

As far as I am concerned, I shall be only too glad to do all I can to help. I will be delighted to meet you and discuss this matter further if you so wish. I will be in the city for the rest of this week and after Thursday next week.

Very Sincerely yours

Kumar Goshal

Kumar Goshal

7 March 1945

20-4-32

My dear Mr. Goshal:

Enclosed is an invitation to our Colonial Conference and a statement indicating the kind of information that we are seeking. I am writing to ask your advice as to what individual Indians should be invited to take part. I should like to have as wide a variety of representation as possible representing perhaps several of the Indian provinces and native states and the leading religions. Would you kindly give me your best advice?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Kumar Goshal
64 Poplar Street
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

64 Poplar Street
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

March 16, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have just returned from another lecture trip, hence this delay in replying to your kind letter.

I shall, of course, be very happy to attend the conference, and am looking forward to it eagerly. As far as inviting other representatives besides Mrs. Pandit, I learn that you have already gotten in touch with Mr. Panth. It seems to me that in the course of <u>six hours</u> it would be more confusing than clarifying to have too many speakers. I can assure you that if the representatives are fewer in numbers but are qualified people, all sides of the problems of a particular country can be discussed with a minimum of time spent on them. Besides, not all of those from foreign countries who are here qualify as authorities on their lands. If this were at least a three day conference, it seems to me then numerous representatives speaking their minds would have been of some value, since it would then have given sufficient time for discussion and analysis. However, I am sure the conference, whichever way you arrange it, would be worthwhile if only to make the various peoples with similar problems familiar with one another's opinion.

Very sincerely yours,
Kumar Goshal
Kumar Goshal

20-4-39

[GOSHAL] Col. Ltr.

The King Cotton

HATTWOOD DUKE MANAGER

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Copy sent to both.

April 24, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have been out of town on a long lecture tour, and mail has been very delayed. It finally caught up with me yesterday. I am sorry about being so late in writing to you.

Anyway, your final draft is quite fine and I am glad something came out of the conference. I hope you will try to get the signatures other representative people before sending it on to San Francisco.

Thank you for your work and best regards

from

Sincerely yours

Kumar Goshal

20-13-68

SERVIMUS

55 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York
November 13, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Belfield House
Greenhill Park
New Barnett
London, England

20.23-20

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Shirley has told me that she has written you about the proposed publication of my manuscript tentatively called "God Pican" and that you have kindly consented to do the foreword. All of us feel that no other authority's approval could mean as much as yours.

The publishers, Reynal and Hitchcock, hope to have the book ready for Christmas sale but it does appear that the art work will take some time.

The foreword could be the last item prepared so there is no great rush but complying with your suggestion, I am enclosing a copy of the manuscript.

You will recognize the phrasing of the Liberian peasant with "pican" for child or son and "dash" for gift and with the holding of the foot as an act of humility, the presentation of new rice for honor and the definite heart action in expression of emotion.

I do hope you will like it and please believe me when I say that your contribution is appreciated beyond measure of words.

Accept my congratulations on your work with the Congress. Perhaps some day as my work becomes known I shall be able to render further service to Africa.

Thanking you again for your favors, I am

Respectfully yours,

Lorenz B. Graham

LBG:jd

[ENCLOSURE]

Long long time past
Before your papa live--
Before him papa live,
Before him pa's papa live --

Long time past
Before them big tree live
Before them big tree's papa live--
That time God live.

And God look on the world
What he done make
And Him heart no lay down;
And He walk about in the town
To see the people
And He stand in the market
To hear the people
And He sit down in the palaver house
To know the people
And He vex too much.

20-23-21

And God say,
"Nev' mind---
The people no hear My word
The people no walk My way!
Nev' mind--
I going break the world and lose the people
I going make the day dark
And the night I going make hot;
I going make water that side where land belong
And land that side where water belong;
And I going make a new country
And make a new people."

Now this time
God's one small boy hear God's word
And the pican' grieve for people
So He go 'fore God's face
And make talk for Him Pa.

"Pa, I come for beg You", So He say,
"I come for beg You,
Don't break the world
What you done make;
Don't lose the people
What You done care for;
I beg You
Make it I go
I talk to people
I walk with people
Bye-m-bye they savvy the way--"

And the pican' go down softly softly
And hold God's foot

So God look on Him small boy
And Him heart be soft 'gain,
And God say,
"Aye My Son,
When you beg me so,
I no can vex;
Left me now, but hear me good:
If You go You must born like man
And you must live like man
And You must have hurt and have hunger
And hear me good,
Men will hate You
And they will flog You
And bye-m-bye they will kill You;
And I no going put My hand there."

And the pican' say
"I agree!"

And God look about for all people
And Him call Virgin Mary
To be Ma for Him son.
Now Mary be new wife for Joseph
And Joseph fear,
But God say
"Nev,' mind Joseph,
This be God palaver."
And Joseph heart lay down.

And God see one king who try for do good
For all him people,
And God say,
"Ahenh, Now I send My Son
For be new King,"
And God send a star to call the king.

And in a far country
God hear a wise man call Him name,
And God say to the wise man,
I send My son to be new wise man,
Go now with the star."
And the star call
And the wise man follow.

And by the waterside
Men lay down for take rest
And they hear fine music in the sky
Like all the stars make song,
And they fear;
And all the dark make bright like day
And the water shine like fire;
And no man can savvy
And they hearts turn over,
But God's angel come
And God's angel say,
"Make glad, all people
God's pican' be born in Bethlehem."

And the people say "O."

20-23-22

20-23-23

And the wise man and the king
And the country people come to Bethlehem.
And the star come low and stop
But when they go for mansion house
The star no be there;
And when they go for Big Man's house
The star no be there;
And bye-m-bye when they go for hotel
The star no be there 'gain--
But the wise man say,
"Ahenh, the star be by the small house
Where cattle sleep!"
And it was so.

And they found Joseph and Mary;
And the small small pican' was
Fold up in country cloth.
And the king brought gold for dash,
And the wise man brought fine oil
And the country people brought new rice.

And they look on the God pican'
And every man heart lay down.

September 21, 1945
5 o'clock

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Mr. Browning just left. I am sending you letter which arrived from the Congressman this morning. Mr. Browning says for you immediately to fill out blank and mail it in. You must make application for passport here in New York. If you cannot get back within the week I will call at office for blanks and mail them to you. Meanwhile Mr. Browning will have contacted both the offices here and in Washington. He assures me there will be no delay. He can also do something about your transportation. He will be in New York until Saturday afternoon at Theresa - then in Detroit - but back at his desk in Chicago Monday morning.

20-23-19

Do not worry about anything up here. Perhaps it would be a good idea to send me keys. The entire office joins in wishing Mrs. Du Bois a speedy recovery.

Sincerely,

Shirley Graham

20-23-18

as from : 58 Oxford Road,
Manchester,
England.

18th October 1945.

Miss Shirley Graham,
3111 Broadway,
Apartment 1 J.
NEW YORK.

Dear Shirley,

I arrive safely after a marvellous voyage and cabled you. Our meetings are in Manchester instead of London but they are of excellent quality.

I wonder if I forgot to tell you to get my Bank Book and deposit all cheques that arrive. If not do so.

I am quite well and comfortably housed. I hope the Mathematics Exam was all right.

Yours with love,

Miss Shirley Graham
Apartment 1J
3111 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

29th October 1945

Dear Shirley,

20-23-17

I am quite literally standing on my head wondering and worrying about America. I have had no word since I left. The Congress here was very successful; some 200 delegates enrolled and I presided at the meetings. They seemed very appreciative of my coming. We met in Manchester rather than in London where better accomodations could be secured. Now I am back in London waiting to get home and God knows when I'll be able. I am very nicely housed with every comfort but the weather is a steady drizzle with a few lucid intervals. I am meeting some plesant people and am going to lunch with Herbert Agar soon. I saw Sylvia Pankhurst the other day and shall call on Laski Meantime, do get me some news about America. How are your books, how are the mathematics and how is my office? And has Miss Diggs arrived?

I am very well and am getting more rest than I need.

Yours with love,

[W. B. GRAHAM AND ASSOC.]

June 26, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

20-23-26

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This letter will confirm our agreement regarding your use of office space in Suite 1338 at 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York, now occupied by W. B. Graham & Associates, Inc.

It is agreed that you will have the exclusive use of one furnished private office including local telephone service from July 1, 1945 to September 15, 1945, inclusive, and that during the period your secretary will have the use of desk space in the foyer; it is further agreed that in consideration of these benefits you will pay W. B. Graham & Associates, Inc. at the rate of One Hundred Dollars ($100.00) per month.

It is mutually understood that this agreement does not automatically renew itself and that neither party to the agreement is bound beyond the terms set forth above.

If this concurs with your understanding of our agreement please sign one copy of this letter for our files.

Very truly yours,

W. B. GRAHAM & ASSOCIATES

Lorenz B. Graham

LBG:jd

Lorenz B. Graham
Associate Director

APPROVED: _____
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

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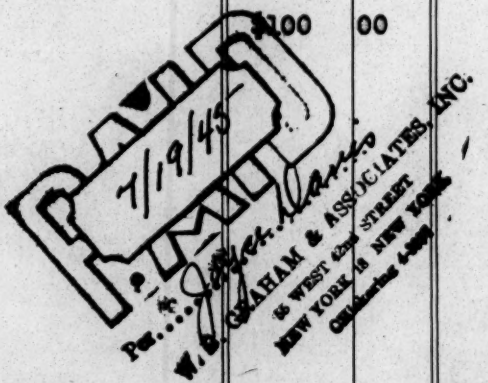
55 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Rent for the month of July, 1945	$100	00



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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
55 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

August 1, 1945

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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
55 West 42nd Street
Room 1338
New York City

September 4, 1945

Office Rent for the month of September, 1945	$100	00

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20-23

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

November 2, 1945

		Rent from October 15, 1945 to November 1, 1945				$50	00

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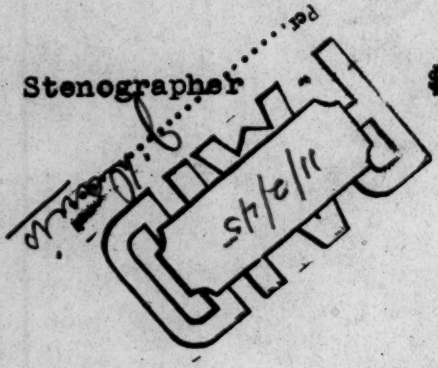
FROM THE DESK OF

William B. Graham

20-23

November 2, 1945

Stenographer $3.50



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FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR
MRS. EDMONIA W. GRANT, DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

March 3, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I should like to continue our discussion about your proposed conference on colonies. I regret that I could not remain in the New York area and help contact people who may be useful to you. But here are additional suggestions.

An Indian whom you should find very useful is Dr. Bohle Panth, a graduate of Teachers' College, Columbia University, now employed by General Electric. Dr. Panths' telephone number is Academy 2-2896. He should be able to help you get additional people from other colonies since he was a student at Columbia until last June.

In the group of sponsors of the conference, may I suggest that you include the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. Miss Talitha Gerlach, in the Foreign Division of the National Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, is a good person to contact about this. Miss Gerlach served as a Y. W. C. A. secretary in China for a number of years and is interested in the problems of colonial people.

If I return to New York early enough to help in getting people from other colonies, I shall be glad to do so. I discover that most of my friends have moved from International House and are scattered over New York City and nearby places, and it would take some time for me to locate them. You may get much help from Mrs. Mott, Director of International House, although you cannot depend upon her judgement as the maturity for point of view of these foreign and graduate students.

Best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education

ewg-es

20-4-34

20-4-35

13 March 1945

My dear Mrs. Grant:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation and statement for our Colonial Conference. I hope you can attend and that you can help us. We especially want names of proper representatives. We have at your suggestion written Dr. Panth and Miss Gerlach. If you think of anyone else I hope you will let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant
Social Science Institute
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

April 4, 1945

20-4-36

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I shall be glad to attend the Colonial Conference to be held April 6, 1945 in the Auditorium of the 135th Street Public Library.

Sincerely yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division

ewg:dr

[ANNA GRAVES]

P.O.Box 308, Westminster, Maryland

January 13, 1945

20-23-34

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

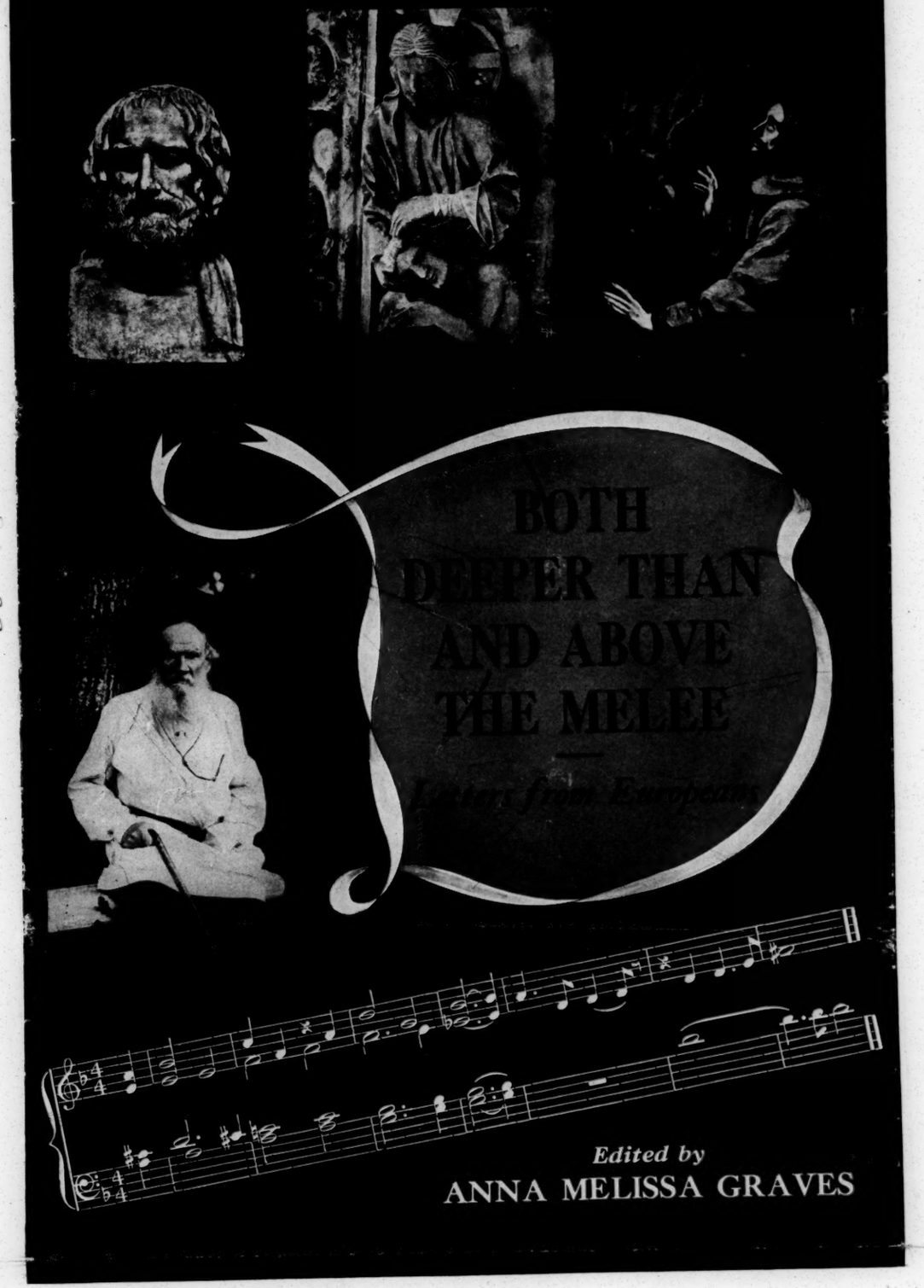
Forgive my not sending back to you as I said I would the manuscript of the appendix to the letters from Germans in my book of Letters from Europeans I had hoped the book itself would be out by this time, and even though typewritten manuscript is not hard to read, it is less handy, and since I was - and am - going to send you a presentation copy of the book - I waited. But now the book will not be out until towards the end of February, perhaps not until March, and I am sending you again the German letters and also the Russian letters (both of which I had made several type-written copies, besides the one given up to the Waverly Press) I am sending these (type-written copies) by Railway Express, for the Russian part is decidedly bulky for the post. In March - when you get the book you might give these back to me for I shall possibly use them as advertisements - or stimuli to buy - for the book. But don't mail them. I shall come to N.Y. in March But here enclosed are copies of the jacket and one or two pages of the book, which will give you an idea of what I am after. You will see that I linked Europe with Africa in one way by choosing as the French letters these of my adopted daughter who married a Mulatto. Of course the main theme of the book is the necessity of breaking down frontiers in Europe and the lack of any reason in those frontiers, by showing through the letters I am giving (as well as the photographs) that all such frontiers are obstacles to brotherhood, and that the frontiers themselves are senseless.

Do send me anything you write on colonialism and economic colonialism; for my next book is to be made of letters from Liberians. I have very interesting series both from Americo-Liberians and from Natives. I think this book on Liberia will be worthwhile from two or three points of view. First and foremost: the (proofs these letters give of the) real mingling of Americo-Liberians and of Natives in the Liberian land, and the lack of any fundamental dissension except when stirred up from outside (any fundamental dissension as between Americo-Liberians as such and Natives as such

there is as elsewhere
though dissension between members of the Government and those opposing the Gov-
- Americo-Liberians and Natives
ernment's policies, but in those dissensions there are members of both groups in
in both the Government and in the dissenting group, so the dissension is not funda-
mentally different from dissension between any Government anywhere and the Oppo-
sition.) Second it will, I hope, give proofs that the "iniquities" of the Amer-
ico-Liberians or rather of the Governing group in Liberia are not as bad relative-
(as compared with the iniquities of governing groups in imperialist lands
ly as Mr. George Schuyler and others in the United States have made the American
public believe, making that public utterly, or very nearly utterly, uninterested
and unconcerned at the actual enslavement of another country, Third it will show
that economic imperialism is really as bad and perhaps more dangerous, for more
veiled, than political imperialism, Fourth (and if economic imperialism lasts
there for a generation or two more this will no longer be true, but it is still -
true,
or was when I was there), there is a dignity and poise and self-respect which is
easier to maintain and is more general in a land where there is no governing class of
another group, alien and sovereign, and which shows disregard of the dignity of the
people of the land. In other words I found in Liberia more (examples of
- what shall I call it
- unselfconscious poise (and dignity) as a matter of course, - not as something maintained in the
face of terrible obstacles (when, of course it is more admirable and more wonder-
ful and splendid, but cannot be so general) than I found in any colony. I have
many plans for the book, and I am going to try and get the history of a few, at
any rate, of the Americo-Liberian families in the United States before their emigra-
tion. I feel giving these experiences of mine covering over twenty-one years in
the shape of letters written by others to me makes them much more authentic as historical
documents than if I gave only my own accounts à la Vincent Sheean. Don't you ?

My Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze has sold out, and I
think this book of letters from Europeans will probably have a wider appeal. I hope
it will have at any rate as wide a one, for I am terribly out-of-pocket because
of the cost of bringing it out, and not meeting some of its cost will seriously
handicap me in so far as further publishing is concerned

Very cordially yours
Anna Melissa Graves



This is to be on brown not black paper. a very lovely rich brown

[1945?]

Duplicate Proofs

Send on for chart

Dramatic Pieces

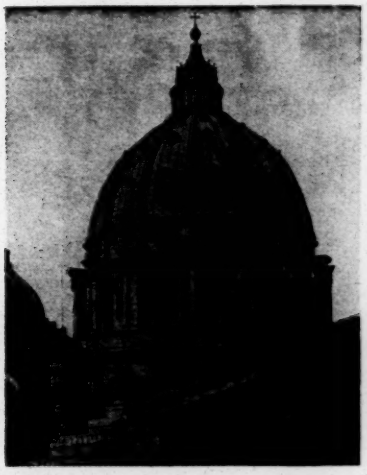
PROOF LY 43

20-23

"More Light!"
Supposed to have been the last words of Goethe

WILDE Gal p-f-70

p ii
p 1 Blank



Explanation

of the Jacket Illustrations

In spite of the torture chambers and dungeons of the Middle Ages, and the even more ghastly fratricide of today, there runs through European history the silver thread of tenderness and compassion. Mrs. Browning calls Euripides "the human", and says he touches "things common till they rise to touch the spheres"; Gilbert Murray calls "*The Trojan Women*" a great expression of the spirit of pity for mankind exalted into a moving principle." Over the portico of the north door of Chartres Cathedral is this figure of God modeling man into which the unknown sculptor put his conception of God's tenderness—and revealed his own. St. Francis had compassion even for wolves, and El Greco of Crete, Italy and Spain was able to interpret St. Francis. Tolstoy could not be happy because he suffered with suffering humanity; and *The Promise* motive in Wagner's Parzival is "Made wise through compassion, the guileless simple one, wait for him, whom I have chosen." The silver thread, unbroken, though sometimes very thin, runs from Euripides to Wagner, and there are in Europe today many guileless simple ones, made wise through compassion, who are striving to exalt pity for mankind into a moving principle.

There is another thread of hope:—the belief that Europe is really one. Perhaps the mosaic in Rome of St. John Lateran, or the fresco in Florence of Santa Maria Novella would have been a better choice as a symbol of the idea of unity than are the pictures of St. Peter's Dome and Durer's Charlemagne; for in both the mosaic and the fresco the idea of the holiness of unity is represented, and the equality in holiness is symbolized by the equal honour of the position of Emperor and Pope, when one is being given the banner and the other the keys by either Christ or St. Peter. But these pictures did not lend themselves to reproduction on such a small scale, and those chosen are also symbolic. To make real the unity represented by Charlemagne was the great aim of Dante; and though at the end the "Holy Roman Empire" was called "neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire"

(continued on back flap)

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WIDE GALLEY PAGE C—60

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Back Flap

WIDE GALLEY PAGE C—60

(continued from front flap)

(and it was just as well that it should have ceased to be Roman and Imperial), yet the idea it symbolized was still holy:—the idea of a frontierless Europe, in which wanderers might be ignorant of, or ignore, all division lines—as once could "The Little Brothers of St. Francis" —an idea not only above all nationalism, but far older and far deeper.

Today most Europeans seem hysterical dupes, allowing themselves to be blindfolded; yet the scientific spirit until 1914 was supposed to be very especially European:—the scientific spirit which refuses all bias, which must investigate, must probe, demanding always more and more light. Nikolai, the great German physiologist, in 1915 refused to be blindfolded. If today there are no European scientists without bias, no European scientists working in the brighter light "Above the Mêlée", the future of Europe is indeed dark. Goethe—the great European calling for "more light" seems to symbolize what European science was, and what it may be again. His picture, at the moment when he last uttered the cry of his whole life, is the frontispiece of this book.

But science is not enough. Knowledge acquired by scientific unbiased research must be pondered over. Man must be a Thinker. European thinkers have contributed greatly to the thought of the world. Tolstoy, who, besides having compassion for humanity, pondered over its agony, said: "All that separates humanity is absolute bad and is ugly. All that unites man is absolute good and is beautiful." Kropotkin,—a great scientist, making investigations and discoveries equal to Darwin's,—could not be happy when millions were in want, and thinking over what his scientific investigations had revealed, discovered that Mutual Aid was the great factor in evolution, not struggle between different members of the same species, and that this was true of Man—that voluntary cooperation for mutual aid was inherent in the human species—that Man needed no chiefs, and that archism always meant want for the many. Rodin's Thinker symbolizes the thinkers of Europe—and the world.

(continued on back of Jacket)

$4.00

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(continued from back flap)

AND Europe has been besides a great lover of, and a great creator of, Beauty. This is symbolized in the drama of Euripides, in the Gothic sculpture of the townsmen's cathedrals and halls, in Michel Angelo's triumph: St. Peter's Dome (showing the link between European architecture and Byzantine and Moslem); in El Greco's painting and Durer's drawing, in all that Goethe was, in the Art of Tolstoy's novels, in the music and poetry of Wagner's operas, in the bronzes and marbles of the peasant Rodin. And this love of Beauty is shown too in the colour and design of the peasants' costumes, in the folk songs and dances, and also in the pure joy of the simple European in listening to the lark and the nightingale.

And the pity of the wreck of Europe today! What heights might not Europeans have attained if some of their chiefs had not wished to enslave their brothers of other continents, if some had not themselves incited,—or allowed others to incite them into—fratricidal strife. But deeper than and above the mêlée of enslavers and of brothers slaughtering brothers there is the real Europe, so wonderful and so dear, over whom one yearns today with almost unbearable pain.

The Letters from Europeans

are not from those whose names are well known. The writers belong to almost every group except the conspicuous:—two boys from the Volga—orphan waifs living in a Children's Colony—Lubimoff and Tamsintinoff; from Moscow—Lydia Nekrasova, the wife of a professor of biology, herself delightfully cultured and vivid—a translater from French, German and English for a publishing house, (the news has just come—too late to comment on in the text—of her death in a concentration camp in Siberia); Mme. Mamonoff, of an old noble family, and after the Revolution a teacher of classes in English and then holding a post in the University; Irene Gruzinskaia, a University student, who grows up, marries and becomes a professor; Ernestine Maximovna Krymgoltz—a Jewess from the Ukraine, but living in the Caucasus, really a saint, though she would have flouted the idea; Hildegarde Nonne, Erika Drewing, Emilia Ritter all from Eisenach. The first chiefly interested in the old legends of Thuringia, the second in a lover from Latin America not acceptable to her father, and the third devotely religious; "Natalia Meister" now living in America, but who grew to maturity in Germany and left it in 1930—one of the most beautiful characters among all the correspondents; Judith Vieira of Portugal, a teacher in the schools of Lisbon, in great distress over the terrible destitution and the exploitation of her people; Edwige Majoli, a charming Italian girl, a student in Florence and then a bride there, interested chiefly in music and poetry; Klaas Storm, a Dutchman who ran away from a good post in Batavia because he could not stand seeing the horrible exploitation of the Natives, when he felt he could do nothing about it, yet becomes a very successful sales agent in France, marries a Russian emigrée in Paris, but loses her because she refuses to live in Holland; Charles Baumann—Swiss—an employee in the Post Office at Geneva, with an unusual love for and appreciation of the beautiful, in Nature especially, but also in Art; Germaine Carmantrand, French of the "petite bourgeoisie" another saint who has an unsuccessful love affair, tries to be content as an "aunt", and develops tuberculosis and dies; Andree (Carmantrand) Etienne—Germaine's sister who marries a Mulatto from the French Guiana and has two adorable children. The correspondence with Andrée Etienne makes the longest series in the book and hence reveals more completely her character and her life story than do the letters of the writers of the shorter series, and she is, perhaps, the dearest of all to the editor.

Bertram Wolfe read the part of the book devoted to Russia and said: "The letters, as usual with those you are publishing, are deeply interesting and profoundly human documents. . . . Let me congratulate you on the general promise of your book. Its chief contribution will be to remind readers that Russians are human beings and that, besides a regime and an army and a physical weight among great powers, there is a vast land full of human beings, fallible, lovable, capable of joy and sorrow, like Americans and Englishmen and Germans and Italians, human, perhaps all too human, beings. When all the others are treating Russia as pure dehumanized politics and making pro-Russian equal pro-regime and anti-regime equal anti-Russian people, it is a relief to see a work that makes your approach."

Pages of this book give reviews of Miss Graves's earlier ones and comments on her work. The originals of these letters as of those in the former books are on file in the Jane Addams Peace Collection of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

WIDE GALLEY PAGE C—60

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20-23

[1945 ?]

15th. of August. Nanie is coming back, and the two of us are to spend a week in the pretty house of my cousins at Porcheville, a delightful locality near Mantes in Seine et Oise. I am very happy over it, for there are flowers and trees and peace.

Olivier will stay for a month on a farm in Loiret, as a member of the family, working for his board and lodging. He has already been working there for a week. That interests him, and he gets extremely good and nourishing food, but naturally, as he lacks ardour, the work seems hard to him. I believe it will be a good school.

I am going to take advantage of my vacation also to go on with the fixing-up of our little lodging and to organize myself better for the winter.

I had news of you through Mme. Martrou in January, and was very happy to learn that you were in good health. I hope that it still true.

In spite of two succesive cards I have heard no more from her. I don't know what to think of it. I want to believe that they are all three well, and that nothing bad has happened to them.

I leave you with regret, Mummy darling, I hope with all my heart for a long letter soon.

And I embrace you with all the strength of my so grateful affection.

Your daughter,

Andrée.

NOTE: This was the only letter which Andrée seemed able to get out. It was evidently carried by someone to Pau (unoccupied France) and posted there.

PROOF EY C87

Graves 9865

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You need not read this now

Of course I hesitated about publishing these letters of Andrée's. It almost seemed as if I were betraying confidences poured out to a "mother-confessor", and besides, perhaps, not being true to my child, also, perhaps, wounding her delicate sensibilities. My reasons justifying the publishing may all be rationalizations, and if the possible wounding of her sensibilities and the betraying of her confidences are evil, am I not doing evil in the hope that good may come if it?

Before here

Before giving my possibly not valid excuses for publishing the letters when I myself was in doubt whether I should or not, and before summarizing my reason for choosing Andrée's as the French letters in my collection from Europeans, I should like to say a little about Andree's exaggerated estimation of my "goodness", and also to make quite clear the absolute "right" Andrée had to call on me. I am not especially generous, quite the reverse. My own failures to come to the help of even those who have given me the tribute of affection fill me with shame. When Maria Steinhaus wrote me that her sister, my dear friend Ernestine

You need not read this now

PROOF BY 687

Maximovna Krymgoltz had died and that their younger sisters were alone and penniless in Austria, I did not even write to them. I put it off until I was ashamed to do it. I still cannot understand my not attempting to find Lubimoff and Tamsintinoff. My response to Andrée's appeals were no more due to generosity than are the responses of any mother to the appeals of a child. And Andrée's appeals to me were perfectly natural, as natural as they would have been to her own mother. An "adopted" daughter, who is a real one, in affection given and received for fourteen years,* has as much right to appeal to an adopted mother as to a real mother. I am only ashamed that I did not give more, and that I did give hesitatingly, and let Andrée feel my hesitation. That was not gracious and it was not kind. Whether I approved of Andrée's stand or not, I knew that her desperation and her anguish were real, that her courage was magnificent, and that her giving of her own utmost strength to the task she felt obligatory was no delusion, for she was really giving it. She was not "lying down on" me, or on anyone else. And neither was Armand. That she should have appealed to me was not "shocking", or to be compared to the appeal addressed to Monsieur Rochefordiere which shocked her. Then her intellectual integrity was such that she immediately saw the tiniest deviation from her own code—in herself. Her operation and Armand's illness and death came before any settlement with the creditors—which at that time was still dragging on, and which was never made. That she should have used what I sent her for one purpose, when she had obtained it for another, was something which burdened her soul (As a matter of fact I was only too glad it went as it did, in service to her, and not in a contribution to what I felt was, in her case, a mistaken sense of obligation.) And, though it may seem a large sum to American readers, because the difference in the significance of the numbers is hard to carry in one's head, when one remembers that the franc was worth only five cents one can see that I really gave very little: as I have said—so little that I am ashamed.

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You need not read this now

Graves 6895

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I had other very interesting series of French letters I might have chosen. One from a man, who, though I met him in France, had lived for five years in Chile, had become a member of the Socialist Party there and had married a Chilean. He lived at Chevreuse, though originally from Haute Savoie. He was a man of much broader horizons than the average French man, and had read and thought deeply. His letters were exceedingly interesting. There were not many of them but each one was long. Then there were two or three letters from a man who had an art gallery on rue de la Boétie, who had married a Russian, but who was himself a

Begin again here

* From 1919 to 1933. She did not make an appeal until 1933.

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PAGE P—19

friend of my Georgian boy. One of my best correspondents was a friend whom I met first in Paris, but visited at her home in Angoulême. She was the most vivacious and also the most "spirituelle" of my friends—loving and understanding all creative art, but especially that which was "fin" and herself often using words with the combined spontaneity and skill of an artist. The early Romain Rolland was a passion, but her really great passion was for animals, especially two dogs. Her letters about the deaths of those two old "friends" revealed thoughts which belonged to philosophy and religion. One of the French women to whom I got closest was a teacher in Brazil. I have never known a clearer thinker, or one whose intellectual integrity was greater, or one more sensitive to fine shades of feeling, or to fine feeling, nor one who was in more perfect control of the expression of her own feelings. And there were not a few others I might have chosen—among them another member of my "foyer" at Puteaux:—Claudia Fontaine, who faced, and thought deeply on, social-political questions which Andrée shunned. But I chose Andrée's letters, first because they give a more complete picture than do the letters in any other series—a more complete picture of a family representing a type common to the whole world:—"la petite bourgeoisie," where the mother, as well as the father, has to go out to work, but all come back to their "petit intérieur" in the evening, where in spite of poverty, there is regard to the niceties, and unless the poverty is too great, too heavy, there is gaity (in the France I knew, not hoydenishness) where there are problems and sometimes clashes, but a certain fundamental loyalty. And if we could only think of every people as composed of hundreds of thousands of such families clustered around the lamp in the evening could we drop thousands of tons of bombs on them? For as Armand and Andrée and "Mimi" and "Nanie" were clustering around their lamp, there were in Spain, in Germany and Russia, in Norway and Belgium, in Yugo-Slavia and Greece—all over this Europe divided by hate-mongers into groups dropping bombs on each other—families comparable to the Etienne family.

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Graves 9895

Then I also chose Andrée's letters frankly because Andrée proves that we can openly, honourably, unselfconsciously, purely,—build the cosmic race. As I have said, when I left Switzerland, some friends and I, gathered for the last time in my "pied-au-ciel", drank this toast: "To a classless society, to a frontierless world, to a cosmic race." Unless we face that last and are willing to do all we can to break down the obstacles to the building of that race in honour and cleanliness, we are ourselves the screens behind which the conspiracies for pogroms and lynchings are hatched and grow. We are no less guilty than the actors in the criminal tragedies, for we foster the psychology which makes possible the lynch-

ings, the pogroms and that terrible thing—imperialism:—*esclavage en gros*.

Another, and possibly the chief, reason why I chose Andrée's letters rather than those of any other French correspondent, is that Andrée's picture of herself is also a more complete picture, and is one which is, it seems me, the picture of a very lovely person. And it also seems to me that the knowing anyone so fine, so also in the French sense "fine", so courageous and so loyal, not remarkably perspicacious (not able, for instance, to see through the macchinations of "nationalists" and "imperialists"—really only hate-mongers for the sake of their own interests), yet having remarkable intellectual honesty, it seems to me the knowing of this fine human being should help to keep alive in us our faith in humanity.

And the reasons why I am publishing Andrée's letters in spite of my fearing that perhaps the publishing was not being true to the code of a "confessional", or true to her, in that it might wound her,—are these: First I do not believe that Andrée is still living. She was quite tiny, and could not have weighed, at the beginning of the war, more than 110 pounds. For her to have lost 20 pounds must mean that she did not weigh more than 90 pounds. In 1941 she had had the grippe which had forced her to stay at home for two weeks, and had a cough which was hanging on, and all this was before the real starvation began. There have been three winters since her last letter. If she got a letter out once, by getting it mailed in Pau, I am sure she could have got another out somehow by getting it mailed in Marseille or Pau while that part of France was unoccupied, and that she would have repeated her attempt, in case one letter were lost. If she has died she will not be wounded by the publishing of the letters, and the publishing of them will be the most beautiful tribute I can give her, for they will be a better memorial to her than any words of mine alone could be, and her children could not but be proud of them.

Sometimes I think that perhaps the whole family has been wiped out, I cannot prevent myself from hoping that Andrée herself went soon, before the great starvation, and that she did not have to see the suffering —or feel it. But the children? My second reason for publishing these letters is the hope that perhaps, someone who reads this story will be moved to try and do something for the children when the blocade is lifted. I should not wish them brought to America, for I could not stand the idea of their being Jim-crowed, and insulted and wounded. But perhaps they might be helped to Brazil and given a start there. Is that too much to hope?

Here I am repeating the picture of the two children in which I put in the afterword of Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze.

I shall have had no word from Andrée though I have written many many cards + letters since the American-British Occupatio

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20-23

(Graves 9895

[ANNA GRAVES]

P.O. Box 308, Westminster, Maryland

February 3rd. 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I ordered 200 extra copies of the jacket of my new book (200 more than were needed as covers of the book) to use as advertisements before any reviews came out which I could send as advertisements. The Waverly Press hurried the jackets for me, but the book will not be out until towards the end of this month. I hope you will review it somewhere. I believe you will like it. Since it is not yet out I shall have to put off my visit to New York until March. In the mean time I am sure you will have read the Russian letters in the type-script and the books I lent you on colonialism (Felicien Challaye's, Andree Viollis' and Marcel Sauvage's) and perhaps your book will have been nearly completed. It will probably be what I should have liked to have written myself if I could write as you can.

But I am sure that Mr. George Schuyler will not approve. What is the matter with him ? I wish you would write a short article in The Crisis refuting his articles on Liberia. I always feel like asking him how much Firestone gives him for them, for he certainly plays right into Firestone's hand and stabs his own people in the back. Apparently he would rather have Liberia a colony and since that is what he likes he will not like what you write or what I write.

Of course the whole human race can be looked on as both comical and pathetic. I do not know that top-hats are any more comical than tall fur caps three feet high, or for that matter any more comical than either derby hats or than crowns of gold and jewels (which Alice through the Looking Glass taught us were ludicrous!) But as to the top hats in Liberia there are two things to be said. When there was some formal occasion in Geneva an American paper - I think the Pittsburg Courier - said that all the other delegates went in morning jackets and only the Liberians in top-hats and frock coats. Mr. Grimes said to me: "It would have been rather difficult

for me to wear my top-hat, for the only one I possessed or ever wore was in Monrovia and it could not very well have flown through the air to me in Geneva, and as a matter of fact I went in morning clothes and right from the dentist's chair, and had on clothes I did not mind wearing in the dentist's chair. I never saw Mr. Grimes in a top-hat during all the three years I tried to help keep Liberia's autonomy when Mr. Schuyler was doing all he could to discredit the Liberian Government. I also lived in Liberia a longer time than Mr. Schuyler did and I was very much impressed with the true dignity of the Americo-Liberians. I do not think Mr. King was honest, but we at the moment were having presidents who had to commit suicide in order not to be impeached, and certainly every dishonest act of Mr. King was both met by and matched by dishonest acts in Washington. Why should we expect Liberians alone to meet temptation in ways that no other people on earth are able to meet it? Both Raymond Leslie Buell and Frederic Starr were greatly impressed by the Americo-Liberians (Raymond Leslie Buell compared them with the Africans in other parts of Africa and put them at the top.) Only in Liberia is there little or no animus between the Native as such and the "Creole" element. Mr. Grimes's wife is pure Native, President Barclay's wife is pure Native. The present Attorney General is a pure Native, when I was there the Postmaster General was a pure Native. As for dignity, as in most other countries, the actual Americans - white - and the Europeans travelling agents or silly would be diplomats chewing gum and always dishonest (weighing what they sold to Natives on scales deliberately made to make produce weigh more than it did and what they bought from Natives on scales deliberately made to make produce weigh less than it really did) these Whites I thought far below the the Americo-Liberians which Mr. Schuyler loves to discredit. Mr. King was dishonest (but you cannot affirm that Mr. Roosevelt is honest) but Mrs. King had far more grace and dignity than Mrs. Roosevelt. Bishop Campbell said to me that he had never known her to make a faux-pas. I remember dining with an Americo-Liberian one day at Bishop Campbell's and he was so

perfectly dignified and charming, and Bishop Campbell said: "Of course I cannot help feeling much closer to such men than I do to the American white people who come here." And the next day I went out with several others among them the American Financial expert who was a fat gross boor. Of course there were slaves in Liberia, but the forced labour which they made such a fuss about when the labour was Liberian in order to discredit the Liberian Government (and found such a willing ally in Mr. Schuyler) was labour forced to go to French and Spanish colonies and carried in European ships, of the forcing of that labour two thirds was not Liberian, and as for the slavery terrible as it always is it was far less terrible in Liberia than in the neighboring colonies, especially in the French ones, but bad enough God knows in the British. Ask Mr. Schuyler to read a little more, and not to trust himself, for it seems to me that a journalist's opinion after a short visit to a country is the least reliable opinion in the world of opinion. They do no

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know how to tell the truth, for a "story" that will "sell" is all they are after, even if deliberate telling a false story in order to carry out the propaganda of a power trust is not in question.

I cannot get my Liberian book ready for a year or more, but if you will read them I will bring you the letters from Mr. Grimes when I come to New York and let you read them while I am there so that you may have some data to enable you to give a different impression to the Crisis public than the impression whibh Mr. Schuyler insists on trying to give. I saw Mr. Grimes at the Assembly and the Council and I must say that in courtesy and dignity he was ahead of Lord Cecil. I also saw him with perfect lack of any self conscious and perfect dignity in the drawing room of titled people in London. (Baron van Lynden - a Dutchman who had married into one of the very high circles in England , and who had one of the most beautiful houses I knew in London). There are always some Americo-Liberian students here in the

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United States - one is getting her A.M. now at Columbia, whose sister in Liberia happens to be one of my correspondents - why did not Mr. Wilkins try to get one of them to review a book on Liberia instead of getting someone who has certainly proved himself no friend to Liberia? (and who, it seems to me, has proved himself also no friend to the African race and no friend to those who - of course making mistakes - are trying to prove that the wholesale slavery of Africa colonialism is, is not the right thing for humanity - whether those trying to prove it are Americo-Liberians or Indians of British India or Puerto Ricans or for that matter Icelandians who are now "Natives" in a British colony.)

Forgive my indignation, but if I was not snowed down with work about thi this book which seems to me is my job right now I should right now write a documented article and ask Mr. Wilkins to take it to offset the impression made by Mr. Schuyler's - it seems to me - most unjustified continual attacks.

Very truly yours Anna Melissa Graves

[GRAVES]

7/23/45

P.O.Box 308, Westminster, Maryland

July 18, 1945

Mailed book

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been anxiously waiting for the complimentary copy of your book on colonialism, which I hear is out. You remember that you promised me a copy. Do please send it soon. And I do hope you can review my book soon. So far, in spite of Pearl Buck's personal request that she should give a review to Both Deeper than and Above the Melee, Mrs. Van Doren says that she cannot promise one. because of the paper shortage!!

20-23-43

I hear that your book is rather rosy in its picture of the USSR of Russia. I satisfy no one in my description, which I believe to be absolutely objective, for I do not damn enough or praise enough. The anti-Stalinists think I am too easy, and the Stalinists, of course, think that anything but complete acquiescence is unbearable. However some who can be objective think my description "superb" (Oswald Garrison Villard) and one thumb-nail review in the Westchester Features Syndicate of Yonkers N.Y. said that the letters from Russians revealed more than all the news despatches that had come out of the continent. Please tell me what

you think, and give me the opportunity of telling you that you have done something very much needed in writing your book.

Very truly yours.
Anna Melissa Graves

When one has adopted children all over the world every mail brings news of agony. A great friend whom I have visited in Angoulême, France, wrote in a letter received day before yesterday of her house which I knew and loved having been entirely destroyed by American bombers in 1944, she herself wounded and her adopted child dying from the effects after four days of agony. Last week a letter from Damascus told of half the city being destroyed and of the soldiers bayonetting the women and children trying to escape from burning houses, so that one of the friends of my adopted niece, an Arab Syrian (Moslem), after trying to escape and being driven back, jumped with her children from a window into the river. And America, like the Romans in the amphitheatre who kept their thumbs down. What we are doing in Japan surpasses Asur-nazir-pal the Second., who said: "As I stand amid the ruins my face beams with gladness."

Now about your old friends in Germany!

for American faces, reading in Headlines and seeing in moving pictures - the agony of hundreds of thousands - beam with gladness. Don't they?

August 1, 1945

20-23-44

My dear Mrs. Graves:

I trust you have received the copy of my book which I sent you.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Anna Melissa Graves
P. O. Box 308,
Westminster, Maryland

(ANNA GRAVES)

P.O.Box 308, Westminster, Maryland

August 3, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please forgive me for not acknowledging your book before this. I wanted to finish reading it and to tell you exactly what I thought of it as a whole and of parts of it. But alas I have not yet had time. I have just been practically evicted and on August 1st moved to another apartment in Westminster after having been for six years in one. The eviction was not because of any political or racial question! Only my landlord married again very shortly after his first wife died and the wife number two did not want me because she could afford the whole house. But they made it very unpleasant for me and gave me very little time and so I have been obliged to take the only apartment available, much too large and much too expensive. I could of course have stayed until I was able to get more nearly what I wanted, and he would not have gone so far as to have me put o out by the sheriff (perhaps he wouldn't have, but I don't know!) At any rate I have been desperately

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searching and packing and moving and unpacking with everything in confusion, and when I stopped for a moment was too tired to read a book I want to read very carefully, as I have the first chapters.

Your quotations from my manuscripts are all right except that in which you said the Labour Party's voting for expenditure on the army was before the First World War. It was in 1934 or 1935 (I have not unpacked my papers and cannot remember which of those two dates it was) at the time of the propaganda for what was called "Rearmament" . I do not think such issues came up in Labour Party meetings before the First World War.

I had rather reserve my remarks until I have finished the whole book, except for two things. I do think that you swallowed without critically examining it the propaganda against Germans, and I am surprised. (Don't forget the Belgian children's hands which Lloyd George acknowledged was a pure fabrication, and the crucified Canadians - also fabrication.) I think the atrocity stories told against an "enemy" can never be believed no matter who tells them. James Bryce told lying atrocity stories: but the atrocites we are committing and ourselves gloating over in headlines and the radio are not told of us by an "enemy" for it is our own people who pro-

claim them. It is Admiral Halsey who says that it "was a joy to drown Japanese and is as great a joy to burn them" Another one of our leading military men said in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine "I do not hope that the American army may march in triumph down the main street of Tokyo. I hope that there will be no Tokyo and hence no Main Street down which to march." We speak of "bagging" human beings and of burning millions. (In Tokyo alone during the last few months we have boasted of killing more than the Germans could have killed of the Jews for we boast of killing more than all the Jews in the world.) I wish you would read carefully my introduction to and my collection of German letters and the afterword to those letters and then the appendix I added to the afterword (Appendix III) I don't think that "the most horrible thing which has happened in this war" - horrible as it was is the massacre of the Jews by some of the Germans (over 100,000 Germans protesting so that they were in the concentration camps and prisons) I think the most horrible thing in this war is the far more general "thumbs-downism" in America. There are not 100,000 protesting Americans in prison. Watch the faces of the

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average American as he reads the head-lines and comments to his neighbor on the train or bus. Is a maddened, desperate, frightened German doing unworthy things, because made mad by desperation, as guilty of whatever he says or does as an American woman who calmly announces that she would like to see the whole German people exterminated?

You know that I, of all people, am not apt to belittle the evil of colonialism as the cause of this war but I think reparations were also a tremendously potant factor. I think you rather belittle them. I think the men to whom war is what they wish: - all those whose profits are tremendously increased in war times, and the officers in the army, navy and air, did all they could in the way of buying governments in order to prevent peace, and they bought governments and then ordered the governments to make some people desperate. Do read in Van Passen's "Days of our Years" (Isn't that the title?) the account of the last plea of the Weimar Government to France and Leval's (I think it was Leval) refusal. Hitler came into power because of two things - both manoeuvred. The Germans were desperate and maddened and so would turn to anyone who might give them

but they were deliberately driven to desperation. -
matters

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any hope, and because Hitler was deliberately financed by the American British and French war industries. He would not have had money enough for his propaganda if he had not been financed. Of course on the surface the financing was done by German firms, but the controlling shares in those firms were not German. the Berlin munition firm which contributed so much to him -(I have forgotten the name, and my books and papers are still unpacked. Victor Marguerite told it in his introduction to a book called "Soldat! Jamais!)- was owned by Vickers. Skoda also contributed largely. But Skoda though in Czecho-Slovakia was really owned by Schneider Creusot (French) You see I lived in the thick of it, and I know that everything possible was done to thwart everything which might mean peace: Germans, Italians and Japanese were all deliberately maddened - not only for the sake of getting control of oil in colonies or slave labour there, but in order to make war profits and only a maddened desperate people go to war, so they must be maddened and made desperate.

Then you said something very remarkable: that only the Germans were rich enough to buy the plantations in in their former colonies. "Only the Germans were rich

enough!" You must know that the number of Germans who were able to keep investments abroad was very small proportionally, and that if the people of other countries some lost heavily during the first world war, fewer lost heavily and very many more gained heavily than was true of the Germans. I don't know who really bought those plantations. The owners on the books are often not the real owners, and I think (but I may be mistaken in this) that the Germans "managed" them, but the owners were British or French. Would you like to read the book I quote so often in regard to the conditions in Germany just after the end of the first world war? As ("An Unfinished Victory" by Arthur Bryant) As I said he is not an objective historian. He is as pro-British as an historian as William Pitt was as a politician. But when he gives his authorities and one know that they are trustworthy (as they are in his accounts of Germany) one can be thankful to him for having assenbled the information .

I am only half way through your chapter on Russia, and perhaps I better reserve my comment on that until my next letter when I have entirely finished it. But I think that you are inclined to swallow a very

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unlike-what-you-are-trying-to-force-yourself-unobjectively-to-believe-it-is - thing because of its one real virtue (still a virtue so far): refusal to discriminate on account of race. There were a great many virtues but those I knew in 1924-7 were fast vanishing in 1929-1930. In 1929-30 there was very decidedly not equal opportunity or any attempt to make opportunity equal and it was becoming less and less equal. But there has been since 1932 a terror far greater I believe than under Hitler until the war actually began, and and I am not sure that even during the years 1939-45 the terror was not greater in Russia. At any rate it was decidedly up until 1938. And there has been more than anywhere at any time a determination to kill outside. Not even Mussolini employed assassination to the extent that Stalin has. But read my part about Russia and especially the letter I wrote Carmen Saco, published as Appendix II in my book. Do you remember the Afro-American's foreign correspondent? (His name I think was Mr. William Jones. He died in 1939 or 1940 or 1941 I have forgotten which) I met him in Geneva when he came to report on the Ethiopian

situation. We were talking of Russmia - of the Stalinist point of view as contrasted with Lenin's and I read him this letter I had written Carmen. He said: "Oh! If someone had only written me such a letter at that time it would have saved me from many mistakes and illusions."

I am very anxious to have your opinion on my book especially on the Russian and the German parts. I know what you will feel about the wonderful series of letters from my French adopted daughter who married the mulatto from the French Guiana. One friend of mine (A Chilean woman) when she finished Andrée's letters put her head on the table and sobbed, and then she said: "If she and her children should want to come to Brazil, as you thought might be what you would hope they could do, you can count on me for $500. towards the expense." I know what you will think of Andrée's letters, but I want to know what you think of the introductions and afterwords to them Russian and German letters and of my appendices II and III. Do let me know and I also hope you will write a review for some paper. Dr. Hill has sent in his to The Crisis. You can ask Mr. Wilkins or Mr. Ivy to let you see my letter to them about the review Dr. Hill sent.

[Great Britain]

COLONIAL OFFICE

PROPOSALS FOR THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF NIGERIA

40/80/71

Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies
to Parliament by Command of His Majesty
March 1945

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I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the despatch from the Governor of Nigeria which is published herewith are set out detailed proposals which the Governor has prepared for the revision of the Constitution of Nigeria. The object of the proposed reforms is to set up a framework within which development towards responsible government can be planned and carried out on practical lines—a purpose for which it has become apparent that the existing political organisation is inadequate. The proposals have been designed to bridge the gulf between the people and the Government by a measure of decentralisation and by a widening of the basis of representation which will bring the established Native Authorities within the legislative machine. At the same time they provide, by the grant of unofficial majorities on the Legislative and regional Councils, for an immediate advance along the road to responsible government.

2. The Governor has had an opportunity of discussing his proposals personally at the Colonial Office, and he has been informed that favourable consideration would be given to reforms on the lines now put forward. But in view of the important place which Nigeria holds in the Colonial Empire, and of the far reaching effects which changes of such a fundamental nature as those now proposed are bound to have on the future development of the territory, it has been thought desirable that Parliament and the representatives of the people of Nigeria should be given an opportunity of examining and voicing their opinions on the proposed new Constitution before it is finally approved for submission to His Majesty the King. The Governor has therefore been authorised to lay a copy of his despatch before the Nigerian Legislative Council for consideration and discussion, simultaneously with its publication in this country, and it is hoped that it will be found possible to arrange for these important proposals to be debated in Parliament.

3. For the better understanding in the United Kingdom both of the proposals themselves and of the conditions which they have been designed to meet, it may be useful to add the following brief account of the existing administrative and political organisation of Nigeria.

4. The existence of Nigeria as a single political unit dates back only to 1914, in which year the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria were amalgamated with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria under one Government. Originally the historical circumstances of British penetration into this part of West Africa had resulted in the establishment of three separate administrations under three entirely different authorities: in the south-west, the Colony of Lagos, ceded by treaty in 1861, had been administered under the Colonial Office, together with the protectorate later established over the tribes in the immediate hinterland; in the Niger Delta and further to the east, the Oil Rivers Protectorate had been established in 1885 under Foreign Office control and had later been extended inland and renamed the Niger Coast Protectorate; while deeper into the interior, up the Niger and Benue rivers, certain territories had been brought under British jurisdiction by the Royal Niger Company to which a Charter conveying administrative rights had been granted in 1885. In 1899, however, the Royal Niger Company's Charter was revoked and their territories in the north, consolidated and extended, became the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In the same year the Foreign Office surrendered control of the Niger Coast Protectorate to the Colonial Office and in 1906 this territory was amalgamated with those administered from Lagos to form the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

5. When all the Nigerian territories were brought under one Government in 1914, the division into Northern and Southern provinces was retained for administrative purposes and each group of provinces was administered through a Lieutenant Governor responsible to the Governor whose headquarters were

at Lagos. In 1939 the Southern Provinces were divided again and the title of Chief Commissioner was substituted for that of Lieutenant Governor, with the result that the present administrative organisation consists of three groups of Provinces, Northern, Western and Eastern, under Chief Commissioners whose headquarters are at Kaduna, Ibadan, and Enugu respectively. Each Chief Commissioner has his own Secretariat and a staff of Residents, with subordinate Administrative Officers, in charge of the individual provinces. He also exercises a general control over the work of the technical Departments (e.g., Medical, Education, Agricultural, etc.), which operate within his group of provinces, but the departmental officers remain responsible in technical matters to the Heads of their own Departments, whose headquarters are for the most part in Lagos. It has not always been possible to determine this division of responsibility satisfactorily in the past and this has at times led to over-centralisation which, in a country the size of Nigeria, is bound to have an adverse effect on the efficiency of government.

6. The Colony, which comprises the island of Lagos and a small area of the mainland in its immediate vicinity, has by virtue of its special status remained independent of the provincial groupings and is administered by a Commissioner directly responsible to the Governor through the Chief Secretary.

7. Since 1924 that part of the Cameroons which is under British Mandate has been administered as an integral part of Nigeria, the southern portion being treated as one of the Eastern Provinces and the northern portion as part of the Northern Provinces.

8. It will have been observed that the tripartite grouping of the provinces for administrative purposes has roots in the history of the British occupation. In fact, these roots go very much deeper. Sociologically the peoples of Nigeria fall into three broad divisions, which may in turn be related to physical and climatic differences in the north, west, and east, which affected early tribal movements within these areas. Thus, in the open plains of the Northern Provinces (which cover nearly three-quarters of the total area of Nigeria and contain over eleven millions of its total population of some twenty millions) are to be found the highly organised Hausa Emirates in which the civilisation of Islam has been established for centuries. There are also in the north, in certain mountainous areas, a number of isolated but important pagan communities which have survived the Moslem invasion or have been only partially assimilated. In the tropical rain forests of the South-West, which formed an effective barrier against the horse-borne invaders from the north, are also to be found considerable native states, such as the kingdoms of Yorubaland and Benin, whose political structure is equally highly organised but differs entirely from that of the Moslem Emirates ; while the creeks of the Niger Delta and the hills and forests of the South-East are inhabited by tribes, numerically important, whose traditional social organisation recognises no larger unit than the family or kinship group.

9. Each of these areas presents different problems in administration. The policy of indirect rule, whereby the fullest possible use is made of the traditional Native Authorities in the administration of the country, was first systematised by Lord Lugard in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and has since been extended successfully to the Western and Eastern Provinces. Naturally the existence of well organised native states makes it easier to give effect to this policy, but where, as in the Eastern Provinces, no ready-made organisation exists, the attempt has been made to build one up on the foundation of local custom and tradition. The amount of responsibility which it is possible to entrust to any particular Native Authority naturally depends upon its efficiency. In many cases, particularly in the larger states of the North and

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West, a very high standard has been achieved. Hitherto, however, the Native Authorities have been concerned only with local government and, although they have been encouraged to look beyond their own particular boundaries by the holding of annual conferences of Chiefs in the Northern and Western Provinces (as has been explained, there are few traditional Chieftainships in the Eastern Provinces) they have not yet played any part on the central Legislature.

10. When Northern and Southern Nigeria were first amalgamated in 1914 the jurisdiction of the Legislative Council which then existed was confined to the Colony, though there was also a Nigerian Council whose membership included nominated representatives of the principal progressive African communities in the Northern and Southern Provinces. The Nigerian Council, however, had no legislative powers and its activities were confined to debating such matters as might be put to the Council by the Governor or raised by the members themselves from time to time. In 1922 both these Councils were abolished and in their place was set up the Nigerian Legislative Council which exists to-day. This Council consists of the Governor (who as President has a casting as well as an original vote) ; not more than thirty Official Members (including the Chief Secretary to the Government, the three Chief Commissioners, and certain senior Administrative Officers and Heads of Departments) ; three Elected Unofficial Members representing the municipal area of Lagos ; one Elected Unofficial Member representing the municipal area of Calabar ; and not more than seventeen Nominated Unofficial Members. These last at present include ten Africans, who have been selected by the Governor, as prominent members of their local communities, to represent particular areas or communities in the Southern Provinces, and seven Europeans, appointed to represent commercial, mining, banking, and shipping interests.

11. Apart from the representatives of commercial and mining interests there is no unofficial representation of the Northern Provinces on the Legislative Council and the Council's legislative powers extend only to the Colony and the Western and Eastern Provinces. The Governor in Executive Council is the legislative authority for the Northern Provinces. In practice, however, the position must be regarded as anomalous, since the annual Budget which contains the departmental estimates of expenditure covering the North as well as the South is passed by the Legislative Council ; and other legislation passed by that Council in respect of the Colony and the Western and Eastern Provinces may equally affect the Northern Provinces, e.g., laws governing the imposition of Customs duties. It is therefore obviously desirable that there should be proper unofficial representation of the people of the Northern Provinces on the Legislative Council.

12. The Executive Council is an advisory body which the Governor is required to consult in all matters of importance affecting any part of Nigeria. Its present membership is as follows :—

Ex-officio Members.

The Chief Secretary.
The three Chief Commissioners.
The Attorney General.
The Financial Secretary.
The Director of Medical Services.
The Director of Education.

Appointed Members.

Four appointed members, consisting at present of one official and three unofficials, two of the latter being Africans.

March, 1945.

II. DESPATCH FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NIGERIA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Government House,
Lagos, Nigeria.
6th December, 1944.

SIR,

I have the honour to address you on the subject of the political and constitutional future of Nigeria. I shall endeavour to set forth my conclusions and recommendations with a brevity which is no measure of the time and trouble taken to form them.

As you are aware, I studied a number of relevant documents in London during November of last year and I had the advantage of many discussions with officers of your staff. Since assuming office in Nigeria I have read all the local memoranda on constitutional questions. During the very extensive travelling which I have undertaken in the past twelve months, I have kept the subject constantly in mind and have, I hope, retained an objective outlook. The background of the different races comprised within the area known as Nigeria and the diversity of their languages, customs, beliefs, habits, and aspirations have been drawn by many pens, among the most notable being that of Lord Hailey, whose writings have been the foundation for my study of the subject. I also wish to record my indebtedness to my predecessor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon; during his period of office he gave profound thought to the problems of constitutional development and the conclusions which he formed have been of the greatest assistance to me in framing my proposals. I have also steeped myself in the writings and the thought of Lord Lugard, who has had no equal in knowledge of the people and in grasp of the principles and practice of colonial administration. He was confronted with the difficult setting of an artificial unity which existed only on the map. His problem was to build a system which would allow organic growth and make the unity originally superimposed from outside into a living thing which might progress from varying stages of adolescence to adult nationhood. If I may be permitted the observation, Lord Lugard never allowed principles to become divorced from practice and he held always before him the ideal of natural growth.

2. I have made these preliminary remarks because I feel very strongly that political progress must be planned deliberately and that, while allowance must be made for changes and any constitutional experiment must be flexible in its provisions, there must be some framework of design. We cannot leave all the difficulties to Time and Fate. As I see it, the main test to apply to new political and constitutional proposals is—will they work and, if so, how? The problem of Nigeria today is how to create a political system which is itself a present advance and contains the living possibility of further orderly advance—a system within which the diverse elements may progress at varying speeds, amicably and smoothly, towards a more closely integrated economic, social and political unity, without sacrificing the principles and ideals inherent in their divergent ways of life. The present system of Government in Nigeria has many inconsistencies and by its nature is unsuited for expansion on a Nigerian basis. A governing factor in my thoughts has been the physical size of Nigeria—one-third of British India or the size of France, Belgium and the United Kingdom put together—with a population double that of the Dominion of Canada. Planning for such a country should, therefore, be on an Imperial scale, far different from the small-scale planning which is adequate for a Colony of the normal small size. We have been urged to take some risks and I agree that we should do so. To refuse to take risks is to admit

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political insolvency. I have tried to avoid false analogies. It is not the Westminster model but the principles which lie behind it and make it work that I have tried to apply, and in doing so I have retained the fundamental principle of real and practical training by progressive stages based on Native Institutions.

3. In framing my proposals I have kept three objects before me ; to promote the unity of Nigeria ; to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country ; and to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs. At present no unity exists, nor does the constitution encourage its growth. The Legislative Council does not legislate for the Northern Provinces, so that more than half the population is outside its range. Even in the Western and Eastern Provinces, which are within its sphere, the mass of the people are insufficiently represented. What is wanted is a constitutional framework covering the whole of Nigeria and a Legislative Council on which all sections of the community are given representation. But however widely representative it may be, a Central Legislature by itself is not enough. Nigeria falls naturally into three regions, the North, the West and the East, and the people of those regions differ widely in race, in customs, in outlook and in their traditional systems of government. This natural division of the country is reflected in the machinery of administration, the three sets of provinces being grouped together each under a Chief Commissioner ; but this purely administrative arrangement, besides being incomplete in itself through the lack of an adequate regional organisation at each Chief Commissioner's headquarters, has no counterpart in the constitutional sphere. Apart from Chiefs' Conferences, no bodies exist at which public affairs can be discussed on a less narrow plane than the purely local or one less wide than the Nigerian. Nor is there any constitutional link between the Legislative Council and the Native Authorities. What are needed are bodies where the affairs of each group of provinces can be discussed, bodies which on the one hand are linked by membership with the Native Authorities, and on the other hand can send delegates to speak for each region in the Central Legislature. And these bodies must be so constituted as to be acceptable to public opinion in the regions where they are established. Having set up such bodies and widened the scope of the Central Legislature, it would still remain to secure a greater voice in their affairs for the Africans themselves. At present officials are in the majority on the Legislative Council, but I feel that the time has come to create unofficial majorities.

4. The recommendations which I put forward, with the support of all three Chief Commissioners, provide both for the widening of the scope and membership of the Legislative Council and for the establishment of Regional Councils for the Northern, Western and Eastern Provinces. The Northern regional Council would consist of two chambers, the House of Chiefs and the House of Assembly, while in the West and East there would be a single chamber in each case, the House of Assembly. The new Legislative Council would legislate for the whole country including the Northern Provinces. The whole range of Nigerian affairs would be open for debate, especially on the second reading of the Budget. The Legislative Council would be so constituted as to have an unofficial and an African majority and, while direct election would be retained where it exists at present, the majority of the unofficial members would be selected from their own bodies by the Northern House of Chiefs and by the unofficial members of the Houses of Assembly. Thus the regional Councils would act as electoral colleges for the Legislative Council apart from their other functions. The Houses of Assembly would themselves have unofficial majorities and the greater part of the unofficial members would be nominated

by the Native Authorities in each province from their own numbers. In this way a chain of representation would be created from the Legislative Council to the people through the regional Councils and the Native Authorities, and it would be a type of representation which would be in accordance with custom, would fit in naturally with existing institutions, and would be readily intelligible to the people themselves.

5. I do not propose that there should be any change in the constitution of the Executive Council, the functions of which are purely advisory, and which has recently been enlarged by the addition of three unofficial members.

6. The system of native administration would continue its evolution precisely as at present and the progressive devolution of authority and responsibility to Native Authorities would proceed. But if the Native Authorities are to play their full part in the constitutional framework, they must be prepared continually to adapt themselves to modern conditions. The system of indirect rule cannot be static; it must keep pace with the development of the country and it must find a place for the more progressive and better educated men. Only in this way can the Native Authorities retain the confidence of the people as education spreads and only in this way can local administration be effectively carried on. Progress in this direction has, of course, been taking place for some time. In the Eastern Provinces the absence of any traditional political organisation has made it possible to build up Native Authorities on democratic lines in the form of Councils on which all the individual family units within the larger tribal units have equal representation. These Councils include representatives of the political associations sponsored by the educated members of the community. In the Northern and Western Provinces also the traditional rulers have been encouraged to admit to their Councils representatives of progressive opinion. In the Western Provinces, in particular, only four of the Native Authorities consist of a Chief alone, the rest being " Chief-in-Council " or " Council " and the Councils include representatives of the educated element who are often in effect chosen by the local political associations. This progressive modernisation of the Native Authorities is an essential part of the policy which I put forward.

7. My proposals for constitutional development fit in well with the forthcoming reform of the judicial system, under which, instead of a Supreme Court for the Colony and a Protectorate Court for the rest of Nigeria, a single Supreme Court will be set up covering the whole country. The details of my proposals are set out in the paragraphs which follow.

Membership of House of Chiefs and Houses of Assembly

Northern Provinces House of Chiefs

8. I propose that the Chief Commissioner should preside and that the membership should be on the lines so successfully followed at present for the annual Chiefs' Conference. First-class Chiefs would sit as of right and other Chiefs would select a representative panel from among their own numbers, subject to the approval of the Governor acting on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. For the present Conference all First-class Chiefs (13) are invited. Second-class Chiefs are grouped Provincially and one from each group is invited, which results in an annual attendance of about ten out of a total of twenty-nine Second-class Chiefs.

Houses of Assembly

9. I propose the following membership :—

NORTHERN PROVINCES

Official Members

Senior Resident (President)
All other Residents (12)—including Secretary, Northern Provinces
Deputy Financial Secretary
Deputy Director of Education
Deputy Director of Agriculture
Deputy Director of Medical Services
Deputy Director of Public Works
Crown Counsel

= 19.

Unofficial Members

Fourteen Provincial Members to be selected by Native Authorities from their members other than major Chiefs.

Six Members to be nominated by the Governor to secure adequate representation of the Pagan community, smaller Native Authorities, the Sabon Gari community, industry and commerce or any other important aspects of life not otherwise represented among the unofficial members.

= 20

WESTERN PROVINCES

President. The Chief Commissioner.

Official Members

Residents (7)—(the Secretary, Western Provinces, being raised to status of Resident.)
Deputy Financial Secretary
Deputy Director of Education
Deputy Director of Agriculture
Deputy Director of Medical Services
Deputy Director of Public Works
Crown Counsel

= 14

Unofficial Members

Three Chiefs. (To be nominated by the Governor after consultation with Western Provinces Chiefs.)

Seven Provincial Members to be selected by Native Authorities from their members, other than major Chiefs.

Five Members to be nominated by the Governor from prominent citizens representing important aspects of life not otherwise represented among the unofficial members.

= 15

EASTERN PROVINCES (INCLUDING CAMEROONS)

President. The Chief Commissioner.

Official Members

Residents (6)—(the Secretary, Eastern Provinces, being raised to status of Resident.)
Deputy Financial Secretary
Deputy Director of Education
Deputy Director of Agriculture
Deputy Director of Medical Services
Deputy Director of Public Works
Crown Counsel

= 13

Unofficial Members

Nine Provincial Members to be selected by Native Authorities from their members.

Five Members to be nominated by the Governor from prominent citizens to represent important aspects of life not otherwise represented among the unofficial members.

= 14

The President of each House would have an original and a casting vote, but there would be an unofficial majority in each. All the unofficial members would be persons of African descent domiciled in Nigeria. Nominations of unofficial members would be for three years.

Functions of House of Chiefs and Houses of Assembly

10. Although as stated below the regional Councils would not in the first instance have any responsibility for the enactment of legislation, they would be concerned with both legislation and finance in addition to their deliberative functions. The Houses of Assembly would debate motions and resolutions whether brought forward by the official or the unofficial members, although, in accordance with the usual practice, the unofficial members would not be entitled to propose money resolutions. The House of Chiefs in the Northern Provinces would equally have the right to originate motions and resolutions other than money resolutions.

11. In the first instance I propose that the Legislative Council of Nigeria should remain responsible for the actual passage of all legislation pending consideration by a committee whether legislative powers, and if so what powers, should be devolved on the regional Councils. Meanwhile all bills, other than purely formal bills or bills introduced under certificates of urgency, would be laid on the table of the regional Councils, before submission to the Legislative Council, for general discussion on the lines of a second reading debate and for the submission of advice by resolution should any amendments be desired.

Annexure I.

12. I propose to devolve upon the regional Councils a large measure of financial responsibility. Each would have its own regional budget, on which would be borne the cost of all Government services in the region, including the salaries of Government personnel. The only exception would be the cost within the region of services declared to be central services, such as the railway, posts and telegraphs, income tax and audit which would continue to be carried on the Central Estimates as at present, together with the central organisation of Government, the headquarters and central staff of all Departments and such charges as interest on public debt, pensions, etc. Regional revenue would consist in the first place of the share of the direct tax at present payable to the Central Government together with any receipts from fees, licences, etc., which might be allotted to the regional budgets, and in the second place of annual block grants from central revenue. The Houses of Assembly would debate the regional estimates in detail before passing them with such amendments as they desired to suggest. In the Northern Provinces the estimates would also be considered by the House of Chiefs, which would have the power to delete or amend items, but not to insert new ones. After passing the regional Councils the estimates would be submitted to the Governor, who would have the right to amend them if he thought this necessary in the public interest. When approved by the Governor they would appear in the central estimates as block votes, full details being given in the form of

appendices. A statement is attached giving in greater detail my proposals for the financial procedure of regional Councils and their relations with the Legislative Council on matters of finance.

13. The arrangements which I propose for dealing with regional revenue and expenditure would in no way detract from the responsibility of Native Authorities for operating their own local services and financing them from their own revenues. These revenues are mainly derived from the share of the direct tax retained by the Native Authorities, a share which the Governor has power under the law to increase or decrease. In order to simplify the system and to encourage Native Authorities to adopt progressive policies, I have recently frozen their contribution to central revenue from the direct tax at the amounts paid in by them during the year 1943-44. The remainder, and the whole of any additional proceeds from any increase in the direct tax, is to be retained by the Native Authorities themselves. They will thus be in a position to play an increasing part in the development of their own areas and the recent correlation of Native Authority and Government salaries will make it easier for them to secure the trained staff which they need for this purpose and will also help to prevent over-lapping between Government and Native Authority spheres of work.

14. I have referred to the financial functions and responsibilities of Native Authorities because I regard their relations with the regional Councils as equally important as those of the regional Councils with the Central Legislature. Under my proposals the Native Authorities and the regional Councils would share the direct tax as a source of revenue and the presence of Native Authority representatives on the Houses of Assembly should ensure a proper co-ordination between regional and purely local expenditure.

Meetings of the House of Chiefs and Houses of Assembly

15. The House of Chiefs and the Houses of Assembly would meet annually in January for their budget sessions. The place of meeting would be Kaduna for the Northern Provinces, Ibadan for the Western Provinces, and Enugu for the Eastern Provinces. The language would be Hausa in the North and English in the West and East. The present annual conferences of Residents and of Chiefs in the Northern and Western Provinces and of Residents in the Eastern Provinces would cease to take place. At first one annual meeting of the regional Councils would probably be sufficient, but the possibility of additional meetings would not be excluded and, in order that the members of the Houses of Assembly might keep in touch with administration and to obtain practical experience in special subjects, committees of the Houses would be formed to deal with such matters as education, development, etc. Finance Committees of the Houses of Assembly would also be established.

Membership of the Legislative Council

16. I recommend that the Legislative Council of Nigeria should have the following membership :—

President. H.E. The Governor.

Official Members

Chief Secretary

Chief Commissioners (3)

One Senior Resident each from Northern Provinces, Western Provinces and Eastern Provinces (3)

Attorney General
Financial Secretary
Development Secretary
Director of Education
Director of Agriculture
Director of Medical Services
Director of Public Works
Commissioner of Labour
Director of Marine
Comptroller of Customs and Excise
General Manager of the Railway
Commissioner of Police
Commissioner of Colony

= 20

Unofficial Members.

Four Emirs (to be nominated by the House of Chiefs, Northern Provinces).

Two Chiefs from the Western Provinces (to be nominated by the Governor from the three Chiefs who are members of the House of Assembly).

Five Members from the Northern Provinces (to be nominated by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly, from their own body).

Four Members from the Western Provinces (to be nominated by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly from their own body).

Five Members from the Eastern Provinces (to be nominated by the unofficial members of the House of Assembly from their own body).

One Member for Calabar (to be elected from the township area as at present).

Three Members for Lagos (to be elected from the Municipal area as at present).

One Member for the Colony (to be nominated by the Governor after consultation with the Native Authorities).

One Member to represent	Banking	To be nominated by the Governor.
One ,, ,, ,,	Shipping	
One ,, ,, ,,	Industry and Commerce.	
One ,, ,, ,,	Mining	

= 29

The Governor would have a casting vote only and the Council would thus have an unofficial majority of twenty-nine to twenty, and, on the assumption that the four members representing banking, shipping, industry and commerce, and mining would as at present be Europeans, an African majority of twenty-five to twenty-four. The Governor would be provided under the Constitution with the usual reserve powers to be exercised, if necessary, in the interests of public faith, public order and good government. Nominations of unofficial members would be for three years.

Functions of Legislative Council

17. The Legislative Council's functions would be the same as at present, with the essential difference that it would legislate for the whole of Nigeria including the Northern Provinces. The Finance Committee of the Legislative Council would continue to operate as at present.

Meetings of the Legislative Council

18. The Legislative Council would meet for the budget session as at present in March, with other meetings during the year as required. The Budget Session would be held in successive years at Lagos, Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu to demonstrate the Nigerian character of the Council. All other meetings would take place at Lagos.

The Position of Lagos and the Colony

19. Lagos itself, comprising its present town limits divided into urban and suburban areas with a population of about 210,000, would become a Municipality with extensive powers. The rural area of the Colony, with a population of about 200,000, would remain directly under the Legislative Council and would continue to be administered by a Commissioner, three District Officers and Native Authorities. Departmental activities in the Colony would remain as at present organised. The Colony budget, a small matter if the municipal area is excluded, would form part of the central estimates. The Lagos municipal budget would form an appendix to the central estimates like the regional budgets, only a block grant of such subsidy as might be considered suitable being included in the body of the central estimates.

Annexure II.

20. The Lagos municipal area would continue to elect three members to the Legislative Council and the Calabar township area would continue to elect one. The system of election by ballot is not, in my view, a suitable method in Nigerian conditions for securing the proper representation of the people, nor would it be understood by the mass of the population. I should therefore be opposed to any extension of election by ballot at present, but at the same time I do not propose any variation in the existing electoral arrangements either at Lagos or at Calabar, although the small number of voters in proportion to those entitled to vote does not indicate any great attachment to this method of selecting members. A note on the qualifications required for entry on the electoral roll at Lagos and Calabar is attached.

21. I have not overlooked the possibility of introducing municipal government in places other than Lagos, but I do not consider the time ripe for this development and indeed in the Northern and Western Provinces the municipal system has not yet taken the public imagination and runs counter to established ideas.

Administrative Machinery

22. I regard it as essential to the success of the regional Councils that adequate administrative machinery should be established at each regional headquarters. The constitutional proposals involve the creation of regional Deputies to the Heads of all the principal Departments and it is my intention that the Chief Commissioners, in consultation with these Deputies, should settle all local matters in the regions, only referring to Government on questions of policy and to departmental Directors on major questions affecting their departments. Regional Deputies would refer to their Directors where necessary on technical and departmental questions, but would be responsible to Chief Commissioners on all local questions. The Chief Commissioner and the regional Deputies would in fact form what would amount to a regional executive council, responsible, under the Government, for the co-ordination of all activities in the region and for its general welfare and development.

23. The appointment of regional Deputies is in any case long overdue. Excessive centralisation of authority in Lagos has left the Chief Commissioners without authoritative guidance on technical questions at their headquarters and has so over-loaded the Heads of Departments that they cannot travel as they should or give that full attention to major issues of policy which the interests of the country increasingly demand. It is impossible to overstress the difference which would be made to administration by the courtesy of an occasional call on officers in the field, if Heads of Departments had time to travel, and by sympathetic discussion and explanation of policy and practice with local Chiefs and Administrative Officers. Under my proposals the principal Heads of Departments, with three Deputies in the provinces and another at headquarters, would be able to travel and to think.

24. I feel moreover that the interest of the Service would be stimulated by the establishment of regional Councils where all the Residents would be free to take an active part in the financial dispositions of their own Provinces and in the discussion of legislation affecting them. Although Nigerian policy would be settled at a higher level, the chance of public contribution to the making of such policy would always be present in the debates of the regional Councils.

25. My chief difficulty in considering how best to promote Nigerian unity and political progress has been the patent diversity of outlook between the different parts of Nigeria. As I have already said, it would be useless to pretend that unity exists at present, nor would clumsy attempts to achieve it result in anything but opposition. The individualism and the craving to paddle their own canoes, which distinguishes the people of the Eastern Provinces, finds no counterpart in the disciplined and conservative north, where respect and affection for their Chiefs is a very real factor. Progress is in the air and the pace can be accelerated, but too great haste or too little regard for ingrained sentiment and belief can only defeat its own object. In the Northern Provinces a very large section of the community has up to now shown no signs of the awakening of its political consciousness in the modern sense. The constitutional system which I propose will provide an outlet for political thought so far as it has emerged, and the representative character of the Legislative and regional Councils will be a safeguard against the domination of public affairs by any section of the community which may happen temporarily to be in a favoured position. This representative character should also ensure that political development will be in accordance with the wishes of the people themselves and so be of lasting value. But if the mass of the population are to play an effective part in the constitutional scheme, it will be necessary to foster more resolutely the formal meetings of village, district and, in some cases, Provincial Councils as part of the system of native administration. It is in these councils that the habit of political thought will be inculcated so as to make possible the wise choice of the provincial members of the Houses of Assembly. The encouragement of district and village councils will be particularly important in the Northern Provinces, where the main units of native administration are large, so that without these intermediate links there is a danger of the Native Authorities not being in close enough touch with the people themselves.

26. I propose that the new Constitution should remain in force for nine years and be reviewed at the end of that period; but that in the intervening years, at the end of the third and if necessary the sixth year, there should be a review of the system of direct nomination by the Governor for membership of the Houses of Assembly and of the Legislative Council, in those cases where

I have proposed this form of selection in the first instance, with a view to substituting a form of nomination by choice of the people represented wherever this might be found to be practicable.

27. In conclusion I ask for your authority to make these proposals public by laying a copy of this despatch on the table of the Legislative Council at the forthcoming Budget Session and by inviting a discussion in the Council.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

A. F. RICHARDS,

GOVERNOR.

Colonel the Right Honourable Oliver Stanley, M.C., M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies,
London, S.W.1.

ANNEXURE I

It is proposed that the financial procedure of the regional Councils and their relations with the Legislative Council on matters of finance should be as follows :—

(a) **Accounting Arrangements.**

The system of accounting would remain exactly as at present and there would continue to be a single accounting organisation for the whole of Nigeria and a single surplus and reserve. The regions would thus have no separate accounts and no separate surplus or reserve.

(b) **Regional Estimates.**

(i) *Expenditure.*—The regional expenditure estimates presented to the Houses of Assembly would consist of a detailed statement, in the usual form, of all items of expenditure borne on the regional budgets. These would include all the main services functioning in the regions, e.g., administration, medical, public works, agriculture, education, etc., but would exclude the cost within the region of services declared to be central services, such as the railway, posts and telegraphs, income tax and audit as well as such central expenditure as interest on public debt, pensions, etc.

(ii) *Revenue.*—The revenue side of the regional budgets would show revenue divided into two heads :—

(*a*) The revenue estimated to be derived from the regional Council's share of the direct tax (at present payable to the Central Government), plus any other revenue from fees, licences, etc., declared to be regional.

(*b*) The block grant from central revenue.

(iii) *Functions of Houses of Assembly with regard to estimates.*—The Houses of Assembly would consider the expenditure estimates presented to them and would pass them with such amendments as they desired to suggest. In accordance with the ordinary practice, the unofficial members would not have power to propose increases on individual items or heads of the estimates, but only reductions or deletions. In the Northern Provinces the budget, after passing the House of Assembly, would be considered by the House of Chiefs, which would have the right to veto or amend any of the items, but not to insert new ones. After passing the regional Councils the estimates would be submitted to the Governor, who would have the right to amend them if he thought this necessary in the public interest. When approved by the Governor they would appear in the central estimates as block votes, full details being given in the form of appendices. The regional Councils would at first not be given power to appropriate expenditure and the appropriation of regional expenditure would be in the hands of the Legislative Council. If, however, as the result of the recommendations of the Committee referred to in paragraph 11 of the despatch, it should be decided to devolve any legislative powers on the regional Councils, it might also in due course be decided to devolve upon the Houses of Assembly the power of legally appropriating regional revenue.

(c) **Central Estimates.**

(i) *Expenditure.*—All items of expenditure not included in the regional estimates would appear in the central estimates exactly as at present, while these estimates would include three block votes of expenditure covering the whole of the expenditure proposed for each region. The Central Council would be discouraged from discussing the details of regional expenditure.

(ii) *Revenue.*—The central estimates of revenue would remain exactly as at present.

(iii) *Future procedure.*—Should the Houses of Assembly at a future date be given the legal power of appropriating regional expenditure, as suggested under (*b*) (iii) above, a further change in the form of the central estimates would become necessary. If the Houses of Assembly appropriated their own expenditure, it would follow that the Central Council would cease to appropriate the *whole* of the regional expenditure and would appropriate only the block votes made from central revenue to supplement regional revenue (i.e., the difference between the total of regional revenue and the total of regional expenditure). Similarly the central revenue estimates would then exclude regional revenue, which would be shown on the regional estimates only.

(d) **Colonial Development and Welfare Expenditure.**

Colonial Development and Welfare expenditure would be shown in the central estimates divided up into central expenditure and expenditure in the three regions. The regional expenditure would also be shown, under a separate head, in the regional estimates, with a corresponding entry on the revenue side.

(e) **Supplementary Expenditure.**

Finance Committees of the Houses of Assembly would be set up to deal with supplementary expenditure. As wide as possible a devolution of power to the regions with regard to supplementary expenditure should be made. The exact arrangements would be a matter for consideration at a later stage, but as a general rule it should not be necessary to refer supplementary expenditure to the central Finance Committee unless an increase in the block vote for the region was involved.

ANNEXURE II

The qualifications for persons entitled to vote in Legislative Council elections are contained in the following Articles of the Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1922 :—

Elected Members.

" VI. The Elected Members of the Council shall be elected as follows :—

(1) Three Members by persons duly qualified as electors as hereinafter provided, who are resident within the municipal area of Lagos.

(2) One Member by persons duly qualified as electors as hereinafter provided, who are resident within the municipal area of Calabar.

Qualifications of Electors.

" XX. Every male person shall be entitled to be registered as an elector, and when registered to vote at the election of Elected Members of the Council who—

(1) is a British subject, or a native of the Protectorate of Nigeria ;

(2) is of the age of twenty-one years or upwards ;

(3) has been ordinarily resident for the twelve months immediately preceding the date of registration in the municipal area for which the election is being held ; and

(4) was during the calendar year immediately preceding, in possession of a gross annual income, from all sources, of not less than one hundred pounds.

Disqualification of Electors.

" XXI. No person shall be entitled to be registered as an elector, or when registered to vote at the election of Elected Members of Council who—

(1) has been sentenced by any competent Court in any part of His Majesty's dominions or in any territory under his protection, to death, penal servitude, or imprisonment for a term exceeding six months ; and has not either suffered the punishment to which he was sentenced, or such other punishment as may by competent authority have been substituted therefor, or received a free pardon ; or

(2) is, under any law in force in Nigeria, found or declared to be of unsound mind or adjudged to be a lunatic."

(41321) Wt.1516—322 3/45 D.L. G. 373.

[GREAT BRITAIN]

September 15, 1945

20-8-27

Passport Department
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am planning to attend the fifth Pan African Congress which is going to be held in London, October 15th to 21st.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I am an official, has sponsored four such Congresses in the past in London, Paris, Versailles and Lisbon. This present Congress is sponsored by African members of the Trade Union Congress and they have asked our cooperation.

I wish to inquire if there would be any difficulty in my obtaining a visa to my passport provided I get permission from the United States Government to make this journey.

I am known personally to Mr. Harold Laski and Mr. Creech-Jones and my biography will be found in "Who's Who in America".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

BRITISH PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICE
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Telephone: Circle 6-6300
Cable: "SUBSIDED," N. Y.

September 20th, 1945.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

20-8-41

Dear Sir:

Your letter of September 15th has been forwarded to this office for our attention.

Under our present regulations, it will be necessary for us to submit your application to London for authorization. Will you therefore be good enough to complete the enclosed card and return it to this office. It will not be necessary to submit a photograph.

As it usually takes approximately two months to clear applications of this nature, it is possible that a decision may not be reached in time for you to attend the Congress. We are prepared to submit this application by cable if you wish us to do so and shall ask for a cabled reply, but cabled applications also take from six to eight weeks. If, however, you wish us to cable will you be good enough to forward to us the required deposit of $10.00.

Yours very truly,

I. H. P. McEwen,
Assistant Passport Control Officer.

HA.

September 25, 1945

His Excellency Lord Hallifax
British Ambassador
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

20-8-43

Sir:

I am seeking the permission of Great Britain to attend the Pan African Congress which will be held in London, October 15 to 21, 1945. The present headquarters are 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London, N.W. 1.

I have organized four Pan African Congresses; two of which have had sessions in London in 1921 and 1923. The late Ramsay MacDonald, the late Lord Olivier, Mr. Harold Laski and Mr. H. G. Wells have assisted in these previous meetings.

I did not arrange the present meeting but have collaborated with a convening committee of the trade unions which has called it. On account of my previous interest in this movement, I should very much like to attend. I shall be in consultation with Mr. Acheson, the Under Secretary of State, on this matter next Tuesday at half past twelve. I should like to be able to assure him that, if he can arrange priorities for this journey, the British Government will be willing to give me a visa.

You will find my biography in "Who's Who in America". I am personally acquainted with Mr. Laski, Mr. Creech-Jones and Mr. E. W. Smith of "Africa". I have written them on this matter but there has not yet been time for reply.

If possible, I should be glad to have an appointment with you next Tuesday. I am sir:

Your obedient servant,

D:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

Pan African Congress

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

29th September 1945.

54-8-02

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Lord Halifax has asked me to thank you for your letter of September 25th and to tell you that he has passed it on to the member of his staff who deals with the matter about which you write and who will doubtless be communicating with you in the course of two or three days.

Yours sincerely,

J G Lockhart

Major J.G. Lockhart
Private Secretary

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Department of Special Research,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

BRITISH PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICE

630 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Telephone: Circle 6-6300
Cable: "SUBSIDED," N. Y.

October 6th, 1945.

20-8-51

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the Advancement of
Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

We wish to inform you that we shall be pleased to grant you a visa for the United Kingdom on presentation of your valid passport at this office.

The sum of $4.24, representing the balance due on the amount advanced by you to cover cable expenses, will be refunded when visa is applied for.

Yours very truly,

I. H. P. McEwen,
Assistant Passport Control Officer.

HA.

20-18-14

May 2, 1945

Colonel and Mrs. J. E. Green
559 Kenmore Avenue
Oakland, California

Dear Colonel and Mrs. Green:

I regret to say that I misunderstood the date of your dinner and thought it was to be April 29th.

Unfortunately on May 6th I have a lecture and dinner engagement here in San Francisco and therefore cannot have the pleasure of coming to your home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. C. L. Bruce
The Grey Castle
Pass Christian, Miss.

March 2, 1945

Dear Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois :

I don't know quite how to write what I have in mind without it degenerating into something typical of a Christian Scientist testimonial.

21-6-06

I want to be able to do something for and preferably in your organization, yet my technical qualifications, outside a genuine interest and will to act, are practically non existent.

I happen to have been born of white parents and am the wife of a soldier Stationed temporarily in nearby New Orleans. and am also the mother of two.

The Community here, the white part of it is as a whole bitterly prejudiced. This is Pass Christian where they speak of Lincoln, if they

speak of him at all, of having been fortunate to have died so soon.

Just what can a person like me do, Dr. Dubois, to further the much needed understanding between black and white?

In all sincerity,

Johanna Griggs

21-6-07

P.S.
Am mailing duplicate letter to Donald Jones who has written an article for December 'Common Sense.'

13 March 1945

21-6-58

My dear Mrs. Griggs:

There is no categorical or exact answer to your letter of March second. What one can do in great causes and in particular places depends on so many variables that the perfect answer is only possible for the person involved at the particular time and in the particular place. Generalities are only meaningless but I may say this: what is conspicuously lacking in race relations is courage in particular persons who have the right ideals to express themselves clearly when occasions occur. I do not mean speechs or harangues but I do mean that there come specific times when it is the duty of a person to say clearly: I believe in race equality; I do not subscribe to the color line; I think the conduct just mentioned was wrong and contemptible.

I am afraid this letter will not help very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. C. L. Griggs
The Grey Castle
Pass Christian, Mississippi

[EMMA GROVES]

March 21, 1945

Dear Emma,

I have been trying to write you sine I returned but have not been able. Nothing of course can be said by letter which is at all adequate to express my feeling and sympathy. But perhaps I can set down in cold type just what is the sensible thing to do, knowing at the same time that it is much easier to talk and advise than to act and help.

First, of course, you must strive to conquer your panic and retain your health. You can do this only by realizing that what has happened is a perfectly normal thing and a matter which in other days and other countries would be so regarded. That a young woman should fall in love is simply obeying a reasonable demand of nature.

20-23-38

At the same time under the circumstances which you face you have got yourself and with the aid of friends to drill it into Margie that she must save herself and her family from open disgrace and the only way to do this is to disappear from sight during the next five months; that this necessity is absolute; that she ought not to stay at home another week if possible otherwise her condition will be public property; that her measure of her love for you and Mason is her willingness voluntarily to undergo this punishment.

The next po nt is where to go. It seems to me that Gussie's home is the natural place and I hope you have already written her. Meantime I will talk with Dr. Wright and see if he has any suitable place in mind but of course a friend and relative would be the best. Just as soon as arrangement can be made, you ought immediately to bring Margie down and put her in the home chosen.

Then after that that there is nothing for you to do but to rest as completely as possible and simply to use every ounce of strength that you have to stop worrying. This is going to be terribly difficult but it can be done and you can do it. I think you ought not to hesitate just as soon as you have made plans to call up Esther Wilson and tell her just what you have done and indicate to her frankly how she can help. There are few of your friends with the ability to help that she has and the willingness and you ought not to leave her under the impression that you do not appreciate anything she would do.

This is a rather cold and heartless letter but it is good sensible advice and I hope you will write me just as soon as possible and tell me what you have done and let me know, of course, any way in which I can help.

With love to you and Margie,

[EMMA GROVES]

March 29, 1945

Dear Emma:

I think that what you ought to do is to write to the library people and then go to see them after you have brought Marjorie down and got her installed. You will feel then more settled in mind and you can come over to New York and you can go and talk to them.

I have just come back from Baltimore. Mrs. Du Bois was in the hospital for six weeks but has made a good recovery and will not be permanently lame. She is still, however, moving about very carefully and will suffer a good deal of pain and inconvenience for many weeks.

Yours with love,

20-23-39

3 April 1945

20-23-40

My dear Emma:

On re-reading your letter I realized that you are coming on Wednesday and not Thursday. Call me up by telephone Thursday night.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

May 9, 1945

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester
Boston, Massachusetts

26-23-41

Dear Emma:

I am rushing around in San Francisco and having a very pleasant time in its beautiful but rather singular climate - overcoats and roses, green grass and fog, and now and then very beautiful sinshine.

I dined at the Cliff House and saw the seals and have been speaking and writing and trying to fight for your people.

I hope you are resting and that all is well. I shall probably be here until near the first of June.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

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PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY
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TODAY

20-23-49

August 1, 1945

STRAIGHT WIRE:

MRS. EMMA GROVES
126 Barnegie Place
Vaux Hall, N.J.
Care of Mrs. H. Carroll

DID NOT HEAR FROM YOU LAST NIGHT. CAN YOU TELEPHONE ME TONIGHT AT EIGHT?

W. E. B. DUBOIS
Room 1338
55 W. 42nd St.

Chickering 4-3997

6 September 1945

20-23-45

Dear Emma:

I wrote to the YWCA and here is MaBelle's answer. I have also written to two persons about post graduate study for the master's degree in library science. I have not heard from either yet.

I hope you reach home safely. Here is a suggestion: Miss Diggs is looking for an apartment but as yet has not found one. It might be possible that she and Margie eventually could share an apartment. Miss Diggs is leaving for Cuba but will be back before October first.

My love to you and Margie.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

[EMMA GROVES]

Emma Groves

October 1, 1945

20-23-80

Dear Doctor

Yours just received. Of course I am shocked at the news of Mrs. Du Bois. I do hope she is improving. I had been hoping to hear from you. When you start on your voyage etc. Did you receive my letter. I had a nice letter from Miss Diggs offering to share her apartment with Margy. It is a lovely offer, but where do you find an apartment in New York? Margy went over Friday. Last night she called me up and said she was discouraged and felt sick and wanted to come home. She was in temporary quarters and had tramped the streets for three days looking for a room, without success. As a matter of fact I dont believe she is yet physically fit to work. I expect her home any time. Well enough of my troubles. Keep your chin up and do drop me a line to let me know how things are going. All my love. Emma

Am writing to Miss Diggs today.

20-23-47

October 12, 1945

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Emma:

I am very sorry but it was impossible to get to Boston. Indeed, I was not certain until yesterday that I was going to London. Tomorrow morning at eight, I fly, arriving Sunday noon. I shall think of you and see you as soon as I return which I hope to be the week of October 21st.

My love to you and Margie and to Mason when you write.

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.1.

19th October, 1945.

Mrs. Emma Groves,
30, Peacevale Road,
Dorchester,
Boston,
MASS.

20-23-35

Dear Emma,

I know it was unforgivable to slip away without coming up to Boston, but my coming was very uncertain. Indeed, Friday morning I was not sure that I was coming and Saturday morning, I flew dining in London Sunday afternoon.

I hope you are well and have good news from the Lieutenant and especially, I hope that Margie has found some work to keep her from brooding. Do give a lot of time to keeping yourself well. I shall certainly run up to Boston as soon as I return, which I hope will be by November 1st.

Yours with love,

[EMMA GROVES]

********** 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-23-36

My dear Emma:

I am going to telephone you tonight but I am also writing this letter in case I do not reach you. I landed by airplane at LaGuardia Field at 12:30, Monday, November 26. On Tuesday, the 27th, Mrs. Du Bois arrived from Baltimore and was taken by ambulance to the nursing home, Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx where she is resting comfortably and has been improving during my absence.

Then I came to my new office, 20 West 40th Street, where Miss Digs has started installation and where we are grappling now with the awful problem of getting settled. I wrote you from England and hope you received the letter although the mail deliveries from abroad are so bad just now.

How are you and how is Margie and of course what news do you get from Mason.

I am coming to speak in Boston at Old South Meeting House, December ninth. I shall get in Saturday, the eighth, so as to visit with you and if it will not discommode you too much stay at the house. I will return to New York on the tenth. Let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

********** 20 West 40th Street

20-23-48

5 December 1945

Dear Emma:

I shall leave for Boston, Saturday morning, December eighth, at eleven o'clock; arriving at South Station at four. I shall come out and have dinner with you and be glad to go to Dorch's at night. The Sunday meeting is at three or three-thirty and I think we are invited to dinner after that.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

5 January 1945

19-82-61

My dear Madam:

I am glad of the work you are undertaking but I am afraid that I have nothing further to suggest to you as source material beyond the book "What the Negro Wants".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Barbara Gutman
Frog Hollow Road
Rydal, Pennsylvania

[HAITI]

Le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat
des Relations Extérieures

Port-au-Prince, le 5 Janvier 1945.

Cher Docteur Dubois,

C'est avec un réel plaisir qu'à l'occasion de la nouvelle année, je vous envoie mes sincères voeux de santé et de bonheur.

20-15-50

Ici, nous sommes encore sous le charme de vos hautes qualités de coeur et d'esprit et éprouvons une réelle fierté d'avoir été honoré de la visite d'un si éminent congénère, considéré à juste titre, comme l'une des autorités morales et internationales les plus marquantes que la race noire ait produites jusqu'ici. Je veux vous remercier pour ma part de votre bienveillante visite en Haiti et vous exprimer ma profonde gratitude.

Je me suis fait le plaisir de vous expédier le No. des "Cahiers d'Haiti" comportant les communications faites aux cours d'Eté et espère qu'à la réception de la présente, il vous sera déjà parvenu.

Mademoiselle Antoine, ma soeur, se joint à moi pour vous envoyer, Cher Docteur Dubois, nos affectueuses pensées.

Jacques C. Antoine

Monsieur le Docteur W.E.B. DUBOIS,
New-York (U.S.A.)

17 January 1945

20-15-51

My dear Mr. Antoine:

I appreciate your kind letter of January fifth. I have received the numbers of "Cahiers d'Haiti" and have looked them over with great interest.

My best regards to you and your sister in which Miss Diggs joins me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

M. Jacques C. Antoine
Le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat
des Relations Extérieures
Port-au-Prince
Haiti

20-15-108

594 University Place, NW
Atlanta, Georgia
February 9, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was good to have the visits with you when I was in New York last month. I have a feeling that your suggestion that I go on to Chicago was a profitable one. Although I have had no definite word, Mr. Embree has assured me that I will know within a week or more what the Fund will be able to do. He seemed to be definitely interested, and wrote a very candid letter afterwards.

In the meantime we are "plugging" away. The enclosed press release from the Atlanta Board of Education is interesting because of its inconsistencies. The local press used very little of it.

By now your apartment must be almost finished. I hope you are enjoying it.

The family sends greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton

Grace Towns Hamilton

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1945 AUG 22 PM 5 08

1945 AUG 23 PM 2 45

NSH 69 FIFTH AVE. N.Y.

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NSH 69

. YC89

Y. HP128 DL PD =HAMPTON VIR 22 233P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

=DIR DEPT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH NAACP 69

DLR

FIFTH AVE NYK=

YOUR NAME HAS BEEN GIVEN AS REFERENCE FOR MISS SHIRLEY GRAHAM WE ARE UNABLE TO LOCATE HER PLEASE WIRE COLLECT HER PRESENT ADDRESS=

S J WRIGHT DEAN OF FACULTY HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

20-23-24

3111 - Broadway
Gut 1g

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[HAMPTON INSTITUTE]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

August 23, 1945

COLLECT

26-23-25

Mr. S. J. Wright
Dean of Faculty
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Miss Shirley Graham can be reached at 3111 Broadway, Apt. 1-J, New York City.

W.E.B. DuBois

RESIDENCE PHONE
AUDUBON 3-0924

WILLIAM C. HANDY
1587 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
CIRCLE 6-8843

February 8, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69-5th Ave.,
New York 3, N. Y.

20-2-18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Remembering how kind you were in permitting quotation of a paragraph from your book for our book- Unsung Americans Sung, I take pleasure in autographing a copy to you in appreciation.

I trust that the book reaches you in good shape.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

WCH:LMH

WILLIAM C. HANDY.

[HANSBERRY]

7 March 1945

My dear Mr. Hansberry:

I am enclosing a copy of a proposed invitation for a Colonial Conference and a statement of the kind of reports which we wish. I would be glad if you could be present. Please let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leo Hansberry
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

20-4-53

[HANSBERRY]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Zone 1

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

March 26, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

20-4-54

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your kind invitation to attend the Colonial Conference on April 6th. I am very sorry that the pressure of work here will make it impossible for me to be present. I am wishing for you, however, much success in this timely undertaking.

Very sincerely yours,

William Leo Hansberry

William Leo Hansberry
Assistant Professor of History

LBS.

24 January 1945

20-2-25

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

If you can spare them, may I have twelve copies of your spring announcemen? I want to use them along with a personal letter with the Negro newspapers. I think this would bring worthwhile response.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

26 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Woodburn:

1. Quotations: I want as far as possible in a small book like this to av id footnotes. In the few cases where perhaps reference should be made, I think it is quite sufficient to give the author's name with initials, the title of the book and date and place of publication. I do not think the name of the publisher is at all necessary.

2. Corrections in blue pencil which I have not changed are all right for insertion. Some of the suggestions ~~corrections~~ I have not followed for various reasons.

3. Pages 15, 16 - this quotation has been checked with the original. Please make no changes.

4. The quotation from William Phillips, pages 35 and 36, is from a letter sent to Drew Pearson which he showed to us at this office. I have wired Mr. Phillips asking permission to use it. I will let you know the reply.

5. I have used various quotations from Anna Graves writings and this is explained in the note appended to page 46. The matter used is still in manuscript but she has given me permission to use it.

6. Page 47 - I cannot get hold of Sauvage's book. It is quoted by Miss Graves.

7. Page 68 - I cannot locate exactly the quotation from Miss Kirchwey. I am, however, writing her.

8. Pages 69, 137 - I have quoted from speeches made by Sumner Wells on two or three public occasions in New York during the months of October and November. They were reported in the New York Times. I have the text but not the exact dates of the issues.

9. Pages 89-91 - These figures must be revised in accordance with the official report of votes cast. I have written to Washington for this and hope to have it in a day or so. Also on the map there will have to be some changes in figures but not in the outlines.

20-2-27

10. Page 135 - The quotation about New Zealand is from an Associated Press dispatch printed in the Times. I do not know the exact date.

11. Page 136 - I have wired Mr. Stokes asking for permission to quote this letter. I will let you know his reply.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

31 January 1945

20-2-26

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

I have the assent of Anson Phelps Stokes and William Phillips for using quotations from their letters in my book.

I am looking up exact references in the New York Times for the Sumner Wells speeches.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

16 February 1945

20-2-22

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

I have just been able to get hold of the official figures for the presidential election. I am, therefore, enclosing corrected pages for chapter four. I hope this will save resetting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

2 March 1945

Memorandum to the Editor:

On the map to be insert, galley 26, the figures are to be changed as follows

The New England States	27	3,531,014
Middle Atlantic States	92	11,596,592
The Border States	54	4,495,130
Southern former Slave States	94	4,164,052
The Middlewest	116	15,491,058
The Far West	49	5,825,177

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-24

South	4,164,052	94	44,298
Border states	4,495,130	54	83,243
Far West	5,825,177	49	118,881
Middle West	15,491,058	116	133,543
New England	3,531,014	27	130,778
Middle states	11,596,592	92	126,049
	45,103,023	432	104,405

20-24

20-25-17

21 March 1945

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

I tried to get you by telephone today but could not. With regard to the music which I am using at the end of three chapters: in my book The Souls of Black Folk published in 1903 and still in publication after having gone through over twenty editions, each chapter was introduced by a few bars of music from the Negro folk songs. This caused the publishers no difficulties and it has not deterred people from reading the book.

In the book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY I want three of the chapters, the first, fourth and seventh, to end with bars of music. I do not believe that any permission is necessary for you to reprint a phrase of music from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony or from Wagner's Lohengrin. If it is necessary, I see no reason why such permission should not be obtained. With regard to Go Down Moses, it is possible that it would be better to get Ricordi's permission in the case of the Burleigh edition. I have accordingly written this firm.

I am, therefore, still insisting that the music be used in these cases and that permission be secured if necessary. So far as the attitude of readers toward music is concerned I frankly do not give a damn.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

20-24-110

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

March 23, 1945

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Touche! I suppose I well deserve a little articulate asperity, and I am afraid I tend to be a little bull-dogged about something once I set my teeth into it. As it was, I became infatuated with the theory to the extent that it little affected the practice; the theory being, of course, that the reader who would recognize the music of Lohengrin et al from the word, would not require the bars of music, and the one who would not recognize the music from the word would not know what to do with it.

There, now that I have said that, I would like to capitulate with all grace. After all, it is your book, isn't it, and I really do see your point. The copyright problems involved in reprinting music are complex and sinister, far more so than when your earlier book was published. I really wasn't being over-meticulous about it. If you can procure copyright release from Schirmer and Riccordi, I can manage about the Lohengrin. I am not being over-meticulous about this; it is really a rigid rule.

Incidentally, requests have come for galleys for your book from various quarters, showing a lively growing interest, which bodes well for the book. Proofs have gone to the Labor Book Club, Book-of-the-Month Club, The American Mercury, and Tricolor.

Am I forgiven?

Yours,

John Woodburn

JW:BP

27 March 1945

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

I am sending herewith music for the three chapters which I have had copied. I do not think they will require any copyright whatsoever. The first is from Lohengrin and the copy was made sometime ago by a student of music. The second is from a Negro folk song set down many years before Ricordi published Burleigh's version. The third is from Beethoven and has been done fifty time. It seems to me that if you use these three, you will not need to secure permission.

Thank you for your agreement with me. All is forgiven.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

P. S. It is true that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has appointed me as their representative at the San Francisco conference but, on the other hand, I have as yet no permission from the State Department to attend and that may hold up my journey.

12 April 1945

20-2-23

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

You have perhaps noticed in the daily press that at last I have some small official status at San Francisco. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been named as one of the forty-two organizations which may appoint consultants to the American delegation. I shall leave, as I now plan, on the nineteenth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

12 April 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please send a copy of Dusk of Dawn to:

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

and send the bill to me with author's discount?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City

20-2-24

Harcourt Brace

July 11, 1945

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

This letter has come to me. I do not know anything about Mr. Preece or his syndicate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt Brace & Co., Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

20-2-20

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

July 24, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

20-2-21

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is merely to tell you that we have complied with Mr. Preece's request as of his letter of June 4. Let us hope some good will come of it. The book continues to arouse interest and controversy resulting in a healthy, if not spectacular, continuing sale.

I had lunch yesterday with an old friend of yours, Robert Morss Lovett, who said he used to take long walks with you in Botany fieldwork at Harvard. He asked to be remembered to you and send you his warm best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

John Woodburn

JW:BP
Enc.

August 1, 1945

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

Enclosed is a letter to me which might be of interest to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt Brace and Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

20-2

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.

PUBLISHERS

383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

hb

L

SOLD TO

W.E.B. DU BOIS
DEPT. OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
NATL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 - 5TH AVE
NEW YORK CITY

NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR GOODS SENT OR RECEIVED FOR ENCLOSURE. OR SENT BY MAIL. BOOKS SENT ON REGULAR ORDER ARE NOT RETURNABLE.

AUTHOR

ORDER NO.	DEPT.	VIA	TERMS	DATE
		WAGON	30 DAYS NET	SEPT 20 1945

12	COLOR & DEMOCRACY	2 00-40%		14 40	
		CHARGES		15	14 55
		1% TAX			15
					14 70

20-2

©

20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-24-112

My dear Mr. Woodburn:

I have finally suceeded in getting back from England. I landed at LaGuardia Field November 26.

While in London, I had lunch with Mr. F. J. Warburg of Secher and Warburg, publishers. I loaned him a copy of Color and Democracy at his request and he asked if any attempt had been made to have it published in England. He said after reading it, he was going to consider the possibility. I thought I would let you know about this and also ask about the current sale of the book and its possibilities.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John Woodburn
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

August 1, 1945

20-2-19

My dear Miss Harnett:

I appreciate your kind letter of July 29th and I am calling it to the attention my publishers.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Pamela Harnett
1447 East 68th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

19 January 1945

20-2-35

Sir:

Last September on the invitation of the Haitian Government and the cooperation of the State Department of the United States, I made a visit to Haiti for the first time in my life and spent nearly a month in lecturing, travel about the island and meeting various Haitians.

I was tremendously impressed and wish to write an article which will be as far as possible from the conventional picture of Haiti. I see in Haiti a land extraordinary and original in several ways: here is French culture with an African background and the two are being combined in modern science and art. This was illustrated by an art exhibit last summer and a philosophical congress this fall.

Secondly, in lines of economic development, here is a peasantry owning its own land, a Department of Education beginning to adapt modern technique to Haitian conditions; and finally the influx of American capital and European refugees. This points to extraordinary possibilities and to a picture of future integration of social effort and cultural progress on a small insular scale, as opposed to imperial control.

Would you be interested in such an article?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Editor of Harper's Magazine
49 East Thirty-Third Street
New York City

Haiti

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

February 6, 1945

20-2-33

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We can well understand your interest in Haiti and we realize that the subject is significant. Unfortunately however, our present schedule doesn't permit us to undertake the article you propose.

Sincerely yours,

The Editors

W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

JAK/ms

New York

July 11, 1945

Editor
Harpers Magazine
49 East 33rd Avenue
New York, New York

20-2-37

Dear Sir:

I spent five weeks in San Francisco as Consultant to the American Delegation. I bombarded them with a number of statements concerning the importance of the colonial system as a cause of war. I was greatly dissatisfied with the final draft of the charter as it said so little about colonies. Even the system of trusteeship for former mandates was made permissible only and not compulsory, and applies only to a few millions of the 750 millions of colonial peoples.

To my book, Color and Democracy, which Harcourt, Brace and Company has recently published, I wish to add a chapter on San Francisco and would like to contribute to Harpers an article which would be a preliminary statement of such a chapter.

I am writing to ask if there would be any chance of your being willing to read such an article.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

July 23, 1945

20-2-38

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am sorry to have to tell you that we feel we cannot use any further manuscripts about the San Francisco Conference, because we already have published one article about the Conference in our July issue and we have scheduled several other pieces which will deal with other aspects of the international security organization. While we recognize the importance of your subject, we simply do not think it would be advisable for us to print any more Conference articles. I hope you have no difficulty in placing it elsewhere.

Sincerely,

John Fischer

Mr. W. E. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

JF:hs

Harvard College Class of 1890

In Memoriam

HARRY EDWIN BURTON

May 29, 1868 - - - March 20, 1945

Survived by his son
Harvey Burton
New York City

Howard Corning, *Secretary*
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts

HARVARD COLLEGE

Class of 1890

HOWARD CORNING
Class Secretary
12 PICKMAN ST.
SALEM, MASS.

NOTICE

This coming June will be the 55th anniversary of our graduation. Owing to the war, reunions have not been held for the last two years. It seems to the Class Committee suitable to hold one this year.

Accordingly there will be a class dinner at the Harvard Club of Boston, Wednesday evening, June 27th, at 7:30 P.M. The usual charge of $3.50 will be made including cocktails. Please reply promptly on the enclosed card.

CHARLES B. BARNES
W. KINTZING POST
GEORGE W. WHEELWRIGHT
HOWARD CORNING, *Secretary*
Class Committee

Informal Dress

20-2

[Hathcock]

15 February 1945

My dear Jessie:

I am going to speak in Indianapolis, March eleventh. I could speak in Dayton, March ninth or twelfth. My charge would be fifty dollars.

Now don't get excite or do anything about this unless you or somebody else really wants to. I am just passing the word on.

How is the grandchild? An extraordinary person I am sure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock
407 West Fifth Street
Dayton, Ohio

(JESSIE HATHCOCK)

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(21)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

FEB 19 AM 9 23

CJ28 DL PD=DAYTON OHIO FEB 18 VIA NSH NEWYORK NY 19

DR W E B DUBOIS,CARE MRS MILDRED BRYANT JONES=

4809 INDIANA AVE=

2010-17

SHALL TRY TO ARRANGE LECTURE FOR TWELFTH PROGRAM ALREADY SCHEDULED FOR NINTH WIRE SUBJECT AND ADDRESS WHERE YOU CAN BE REACHED LATTER PART OF WEEK REGARDLESS OF OUTCOME MAKE DAYTON PART OF YOUR ITINERARY ANY WAY=

JESSIE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TIME RETURNED 1146a

MGR. BB

REASON N/A

Secure ~~[illegible]~~ passage & Lower berth
N.Y. to Indianapolis Saturday March 10 on
also 11a 730 p.m. arr also passage & Lower
Daylight & Mo. Pk. at 4 50 p.m. Tuesday March
13

Route Indianapolis

[Hathcock] [1945?]

Sunday P. M.

My dear Dr Du Bois,

Why haven't you answered my letter of several days ago? As soon as this note is sent I leave to be in Dayton Sunday or Monday A. M. Would like so much to be in Cincinnati Monday P. M. The A.K.A + A.P.A joint prom is Monday P.M. Do answer immediately — omit none of my previous questions!

As ever

Yours

J.

P.S.

Send reply to home address — 402 W 145th St as after close wed.

Hathcock

31-5-27

[Hathcock]

26 February 1945

20-10-16

Dear Jessie:

You will see from the enclosed letter that my plans are all changed and I cannot come to Dayton. I am very, very sorry.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock
407 West Fifth Street
Dayton, Ohio

OFFICE
MADISON ~~9681~~ 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

January 5, I945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I made the payment of $750 to theBaltimore Federal Building and Loan Association on acco nt of the mortgage on December I3th.

The unpaid balance on the loan is $I,I37.70
Less balance in the expense account 229.47
Net amount due on mortgage $ 908.23

The Building and loan will make a charge for releasing the mortgage. The amount of this charge is I believe $8 and some odd cents. It is set forth in the letter from theBaltimore Federal which I sent to you about a month ago.

I called your folks New Years Night. Yolanda answered the phone. I conveyed your greetings. While the weather was very very pleasant in Atlantic City, down here they had quite a bit of bad weather, snow, rain, andcold.

With best wishes, I am
Very truly yours,

Gregory Hawkins

20-2

908.23
8
916
500
416

5 January 1945

My dear Gregory:

Enclosed is my check for $500. Will you please make an additional payment on the mortgage and let me know what balance paid February first will settle the whole matter? Thank you very much for your cooperation. Send me your bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-8

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 0411

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

January 16, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

In answer to your letter of the 5th. instant with the inclosure of the sum of Five Hundred Dollars payable to the Baltimore Federal. would say: that the said sum was duly paid and credited to your account.

The balance due on the said loan as of January 31st. 1945 is $423.82, including the Release of Mortgage and the recording of the same. For each and every day after said date, the interest charge will be 8 cents. The above represents the exact figures, the securing of which occasioned the delay in answering, much to my regret. My fee for services in the matter is $35.00.

Trusting that you are well and with best regards from my mother, father and myself, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Gregory Hawkins

GH/s. Gregory Hawkins.

20-2

30 January 1945

Dear Gregory:

Enclosed is my check for $432.82 and another for $35 for you. This will finish up the mortgage. I am going to be in Baltimore from February second to February fourth. If it is possible to get the cancelled mortgage in my hands during this period I should be glad but of course this is not absolutely necessary. Thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-2

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

January 31st. 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

70-2

I am in receipt of your special under date of 1/30/45 with the inclosures in relation to the settlement of the mortgage on the above premises held by the Baltimore Federal. I have this day paid the mortgage off and have gotten the insurance policy and the tax bills or receipts, which I am herewith enclosing. Am also sending pass-book.

The ticket for the Release of Mortgage will be mailed to me so soon as your check to the Mortgagee clears; and so soon as the same reaches me I shall be glad to forward the same to you.

Thanking you for the business entrusted to my care and ever ready to serve you, I am, with kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Gregory Hawkins

Gregory Hawkins

GH.s.
encls. 5.

P.S. I beg to call your attention to the fact that your fire insurance expires April 8 next and should be renewed before that time.

27 February 1945

Dear Gregory:

Will you kindly have the enclosed insurance policy on my house renewed? I should imagine the same company would be safest but you will know about that.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-d

Attorney Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

2 March 1945

My dear Gregory:

I have not received the cancelled mortgage or receipt in full from the Loan Association yet. Will you kindly look this matter up?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-2

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

20 March 1945

Dear Gregory:

Will you kindly rush over to the Provident Hospital and see what I owe them, if anything? On February 28, I went there and paid them $50 as per enclosed receipt. I assume that this paid Mrs. Du Bois' indebtedness up to March 6. However, later I received a bill for $70 covering the period from February 28 to March 6 and March 7 to March 13. I sent them a check for $70 by special delivery March 19 but made the explanation according to the enclosed copy.

Meantime, Mrs. Du Bois went home sometime before March 19. Will you kindly get this straightened out and let me know if I owe them or they owe me? Also what their dated receipts are good for. Please return these enclosures.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

March 21, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-2

Your Special came to hand this day and I hasten to make a report.

I find that Mrs. DuBois left the Hospital yeaterday. The charge was made predicated upon the assumption that Mrs. DuBois would remain for the full time charged for; since she did not, there is a refund due you in the sum of Twelve Dollars, as per my memo on the bottom of the copy of your letter to the Hospital dated 3/2/45. The check has been issued to you and is to be in the mail today.

I visited Mrs. DuBois at the Hospital last Sunday and found her much improved. She reported that she had been walking around and told me that she was going home which fact greatly ~~inspired~~ me. The Doctor says there is complete union and that there will be no limp. This I was glad to hear.

Trusting that the above report meets with your approval, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Gregory Hawkins

P.S. Release of mortgage is within and the insurance policy will follow in due time.

27 March 1945

My dear Gregory:

I have decided to sell my car because I have no real use for it in New York and it stays in storage in Baltimore. Will you please find out what the OPA ceiling price is and what it ought to sell for and talk to Sam Rose? I am enclosing details from my last New York registration.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

28 March 1945

My dear Gregory:

I have not received the 1945 tax bill for 2302 Montebello Terrace. Will you telephone and see if Yolande has it and if not see that it is sent to her? She is going to pay it in June. Let me hear from you about it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-8

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

March 28, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The OPA ceiling price on a 1937 Buick Model 67 is $510. $10 more is allowed for the heater and $30 for the Radio, so that would make the ceiling $550.

I asked about the penalty for selling in excess of the ceiling price.

The OPA informs the buyer what the ceiling price is and helps him to recover the over charge and if the buyer cares to he may go resort to criminal prosecution.

I contacted Mr. Rose and he says that he has an offer of $700, has received a deposit and what the title - wanted to know whether you had it up there or whether it was here. Asked me to get it.

I told him that the OPA

ceiling was $5.50 and that somebody might get in trouble. He insisted that I leave it to him, that he knows what it is all about, that it is being done every day and that this party to whom he is selling would not make any trouble.

I told him that I would tell you what the law is and that it would be up to you to make the decision. Then he suggested that you sell the car to him at the ceiling price, and then he would re sell and make the profit.

I wouldn't advise selling above the ceiling price.

Very truly yours,

Gregory Hawkins

29 March 1945

My dear Gregory:

I am sending a letter to Mr. Rose, a copy of which is enclosed. Enclosed also is the license receipt and the signed transfer. The license plate must come back to me to be returned to authorities in New York. I am enclosing my gasoline mileage tickets. If Yolande can use them all right.

I want cash for the car.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-2

Mr. Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

March 29, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You will find enclosed the tax bills. If paid before July you obtain a discount. July is the due date, after that time their is a penalty for late payment.

20-2

Very truly yours,

Gregory Hawkins

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

April 3, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBios:

Yours of the 29th. ultimo, with enclosure, to hand. Contents noted with care.

I have collected from Mr. Rose the sum of $550.00 and am herewith enclosing my check to your order in the said amount.

20-2

It will be necessary for you to go before a Notary Public, sign and have notarized the with affidavit and return to me in order that he may get his title in Maryland.

He has promised to turn over to Yolande the items mentioned in your letter to him, a copy of which you sent me; and with best regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Gregory

Gregory.

4 April 1945

My dear Gregory:

Thank you for the check. Enclosed is the affidavit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-8

Attorney Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

April 5, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois,

You will find enclosed the bill for your fire insurance. I have the certificate of insurance. The insurance Company sent the policy to the wrong address. As soon as the policy is returned to the company it will be sent to me. Meanwhile the Company has sent me a certificate

Sincerely yours,
Gregory Hawkins.

20-8

10 April 1945

My dear Gregory:

Enclosed is my check for $47.25 for the insurance policy on the Baltimore home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-8

Attorney Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

OFFICE
MADISON 9681

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

September 5,1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W.40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

For legal service $35.00

20-2

Paid
Thank you
Gregory Hawkins

OFFICE
MADISON 0411

RESIDENCE
LAFAYETTE 2021

GREGORY HAWKINS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Payments on house - monthly

77

20-8

36.72
1.96 for F.H.A. Insurance
1/12 (1/12) of whatever taxes will be charged

3672
196
10.
4868

********** 20 West 40th Street

7 January 1945

20-2-13

My dear Dr. Hawkins:

I started to talk with you seriously while I was in Baltimore but hesitated. Now I am taking refuge in writing. Of course you know, as well as I do, that you are sick and I am convinced that you need careful and expert attention to know exactly what the trouble is. You ought to go to a hospital and there is no better one than Johns Hopkins and have a thorough and complete check-up, find out just what the trouble is and what should be done for it and then do it. There is no other way. Medicine and pallitive treatment by a general practicioner will simply prolong the trouble if not actually increase it.

I know you will pardon this interference with your affairs from an old friend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Mason R. Hawkins
1532 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore

5 January 1945

19-36-118

My dear Mr. Garrison:

I am very much ashamed of not having been able to give you an appraisement of the works of Francis J. Grimke, but I think, as I have written you before, I was suddenly and without notice retired from my work in Atlanta University in June and have been transferring goods and thoughts to a new job here in New York. This has taken every bit of my time. The Grimke books are still packed up but will probably be on the shelves sometime this month. I shall get you the appraisal as early in February as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Curtis W. Garrison
The Hayes Foundation
Fremont, Ohio

46-6-62

THE HAYES MEMORIAL

FREMONT, OHIO

January 15, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Assn. for the Advancement of
Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I did not understand the nature of your retirement and feel ashamed that such a thing could happen.

March will be plenty of time for the appraisement of the works of Francis J. Grimke.

I hope that you are much enjoying your present work.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis W. Garrison

CWG/hsg

Curtis W. Garrison

Director of Research

30 April 1945

My dear Mr. Garrison:

Enclosed is the statement concerning the works of Francis J. Grimke. If it is too long, do not hesitate to cut it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Curtis W. Garrison
The Hayes Memorial
Fremont, Ohio

[HAYES MEMORIAL]

THE HAYES MEMORIAL

FREMONT, OHIO

May 24, 1945

Request to write article

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I hope your work in San Francisco is coming along satisfactorily.

20-9-72

On a chance that you have returned or will soon return, I am asking if you would contribute a manuscript for an exhibition at the Hayes Memorial in Fremont, Ohio. In two large table cases, we are setting forth President Hayes and his problems of reconstruction. One section deals with the effect of his removal of the troops upon the plight of the Negroes in the South. I note that it was a blow to them, of course, and resulted in conditions which President Hayes deplored for the rest of his life. I mention this to indicate that I do not intend to take a hypocritical attitude. I am now trying to link it up with the present to show that the same conditions which confronted the government and the Negroes after the removal of the troops, exist in modified form today.

If we could have the manuscript of one of your books, even for a loan, it would make us happy, but I presume this is asking too much. There is a summary statement toward the end of your contribution in WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, edited by Logan, which summarizes perfectly what I want. Possibly you could write out a copy for us. Anny suggestions or advice which you can offer, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis W. Garrison

CWG/hsg

Curtis W. Garrison

Director of Research

[HAYES MEMORIAL]

July 9, 1945

20-19-73

My dear Mr. Garrison:

I am at last back at my desk and have your letter of May 24th.

I shall try to see if I can find and put in your hands the original manuscript of "What the Negro Wants". Give me a little time to look it up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Curtis W. Garrison
Director of Research
The Hayes Memorial
Fremont, Ohio

20 March 1945

20-19-53

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

I have known Hilda Weiss for four years. She is intelligent, absolutely honest and unusually well-trained. She has had a difficult time not only because she is a Jewish refugee from Germany but also because since coming to America she has been treated with condescension and lack of appreciation which characterises certain persons today. At Spelman College and Atlanta University she with two doctorates was paid at first only $50 a month with board and room and given no opportunity to work in the graduate school. As head of the Department of Sociology I would have been only too glad to have used her talent and knowledge but I was given no opportunity.

At Connecticut College she has done a good job and been appreciated but there again they feel that the head of the economics department must be a man and one with longer experience in teaching than Dr. Weiss has. I think that if she were given an opportunity to devote herself for a year or two to scholarly work she might gain standing and recognition.

Very sincerely yours,

20 March 1945

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL"

TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
PRESIDENT

[redacted] BENJAMIN E. MAYS
VICE-PRESIDENT

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CO-CHAIRMEN

GEORGE E. HAYNES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

February 8, 1945

20-4-203

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The only two Africans that I know of to certify to you are Mr. Nnodu Ocongwu of Infernational House, New York and Mr. Bizu of Harvard University. I am not sure of the sections of Africa from which either of these two young men come.

It seems to me that a small conference of the type you suggest would do much good. I would offer one suggestion; that the statement of a native representative or representatives and representatives of colonial powers be secured before such a conference and circulated to those who are invited to participate.

If you have in mind participation of representatives of the Federal Council in such a conference, I would suggest your writing to the Secretary of the Department of International Justice and Good Will, Dr. Walter Van Kirk; in view of the fact that the Department of Race Relations does not have the primary responsibility for international forces.

Yours sincerely,

George E. Haynes

George E. Haynes
Executive Secretary

GEH:dm

4735 Forrestville ave.
Chicago Ill.
Dec. 29, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois;

Dear Sir: —

My neice Miss Lillie M. Hubbard asked me to send you some sheets. at This time I am sending you two. 2 I guess you Thought I had forgotten them. I have not been well and it has been so cold to get out. I am sorry to have waited so long but please pardon my delay.

Yours truly

(Mrs.) S. E. Heard

20-2-48

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH • • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

BAPTIST TRAINING UNION DEPARTMENT
J. E. LAMBDIN, SECRETARY AND EDITOR
C. AUBREY HEARN, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

February 20, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to purchase an autographed copy of your book, The Souls of Black Folk about which I have heard so many good things. If you have copies for sale there, please autograph one for me and send it to me collect or with the bill. If you do not have them for sale, I will order one and send it to you for your autograph.

Sincerely yours,

C. Aubrey Hearn

CAH/mh

THE BROADMAN PRESS

1845 CROWNING A CENTURY FOR CHRIST 1945
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CENTENNIAL YEAR
TRAINING UNION THEME: BAPTIST PRINCIPLES FOR A BETTER WORLD

SIMULTANEOUS TRAINING UNION MEETINGS IN ALL ASSOCIATIONS, APRIL 24, 1945

27 February 1945

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of February 20, may I say that I haven't a copy of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK for sale but you can obtain one from

A. C. McClurg and Company
333 East Ontario Street
Chicago, Illinois

If you will send it to me, I will be glad to autograph it for you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. Aubrey Hearn
The Sunday School Board
161 Eighth Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

1/26/95-

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH • • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

BAPTIST TRAINING UNION DEPARTMENT
J. E. LAMBDIN, SECRETARY AND EDITOR
C. AUBREY HEARN, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

March 24, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avė.
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I appreciate your kind offer to autograph my copy of The Souls of Black Folk and am forwarding it to you today.

I am enclosing postage for the return of the book.

Thank you very much.

By the way, will you put your motto or the guiding principle of your life under your signature?

Sincerely yours,

C. Aubrey Hearn

1/29/47

THE BROADMAN PRESS

1845 CROWNING A CENTURY FOR CHRIST 1945
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CENTENNIAL YEAR
TRAINING UNION THEME: BAPTIST PRINCIPLES FOR A BETTER WORLD

SIMULTANEOUS TRAINING UNION MEETINGS IN ALL ASSOCIATIONS, APRIL 24, 1945

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH • • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

BAPTIST TRAINING UNION DEPARTMENT
J. E. LAMBDIN, SECRETARY AND EDITOR
C. AUBREY HEARN, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

April 16, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am indeed grateful to you for your kindness in autographing my copy of your splendid book The Souls of Black Folk.

Sincerely,

C. Aubrey Hearn

C. Aubrey Hearn

CAH-k

THE BROADMAN PRESS

1845 CROWNING A CENTURY FOR CHRIST 1945
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CENTENNIAL YEAR
TRAINING UNION THEME: BAPTIST PRINCIPLES FOR A BETTER WORLD

SIMULTANEOUS TRAINING UNION MEETINGS IN ALL ASSOCIATIONS, APRIL 24, 1945

[1945?]

Rt. 1 Templeton, Calif.

Dear Sirs!

Please find enclosed 2 Dollars for wich kindly send me the book: "Color and Democracy", by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, wich I find talked about in the Progressive.

Thank You!

Mrs. Margaret Heilmann

Rt. 1 Templeton, Calif.

31-5-9

20-15-145

Viscountess Simon

Apartment 3 A,
75, St. Nicholas Place,
New York City, N. Y.

September 15, 1945.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have just returned to this city from a stay of several months out West and found the enclosed letter from Viscountess Simon, among others, awaiting me.

Perhaps you will be interested enough to indicate to her ladyship where a communication may unfailingly find you, my knowledge in this connection being, of course, imprecise.

I trust it will not too greatly incommode you to cause the Viscountess' letter to be sent back to me.

Very truly yours,

Frank E. M. Hercules.

20-12-38

27 March 1945

My dear Dr. Higgins:

Thank you very much for your care of Mrs. Du Bois. Mr. Burgess is going to massage her at odd times and I have asked him to teach my granddaughter to take over. I am sure she could do it. Won't you impress the necessity upon Mrs. Du Bois?

As soon as you can, kindly send me your bill for services both for Mrs. Du Bois and for Yolande.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. I. B. Higgins
2243 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

********** 20 West 40th Street

20-12-57

5 December 1945

Dear Dr. Higgins:

Enclosed is a bill from the Provident Hospital for board for nurses. This is the first time I have heard of this charge but if it is correct and you will o. k. the bill and return it to me, I will send them a check.

I have been to see Mrs. Du Bois three times and yesterday I talked with Dr. Leiter, her special physician. He says that there are good prospects of her walking within a few weeks. By the aid of a supporting mechanism she took six steps yesterday. He says that the matter of the arm will take longer but that she does have some control of that. Especially she has the will to try to get better and seems to be comfortable and in good spirits. The hospital is an excellent one although it has the current scarcity of nurses.

May I thank you very heartily for the attention which you gave to Mrs. Du Bois and I shall be glad to receive your bill whenever you send it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. I. B. Higgins
2243 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

CONSULTANT SURGEON

PHONE: LAFAYETTE 1123

I. BRADSHAW HIGGINS, M. D., D. N. B.
2243 MADISON AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MD.

December 10,1945

Mrs. Du Bois

20-1-02

Dear Doctor DuBois,

I was glad to receive your letter of the 5th and to learn of Mrs Du Bois' satisfactory location.

The enclosed bill is a correct one and represents a routine charge for Special Nurses board. The accounting department informed that me that this was not submitted before because of your known absence from the country.

Please convey my warmest regards and encouragement t to Mrs Du Bois.

Yours very sincerely,

I. Bradshaw Higgins

I. Bradshaw Higgins

Doctor W.E.B.DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 3,
NEW YORK.

Request for information

PFC James Hodge 36792145
1935 ORD. AMM. CO.
6571st ORD. BAT. AF (OVHD)
APO 528 c/o POST N.Y.
3/1/45

20-02-45

Dear Sir Du Bois

I sincerely hope this letter finds you in the very best of health and prospering in all of your various undertakings.

Sir I am a negro, raised in Chicago and a former student of Doctor Mildred Bryont Jones. All my life I have wanted to do something for the race; I beg you to receive these opinions and consider them.

My theary deals with color, and the widely circulated myths that are connected with it. I believe all colors can be made equally attractive if they are supported by the right color shades.

I have seen beautiful black and brown cats, dogs sheep and horses. Also I have seen beautiful white animals. Now who will deney that each of these types or colors ~~is~~ of the field and barnyard is not beautiful.

Today the white world is more willing to do right by its darker brothers than

ever before. However they are blind and therefore ignorant to some facts that I believe once cleared up will rid the race of much persecution. I speak of the belief that kindness and beauty are an attribute of a white skin.

In a recent issue of Popular Mechanics there was an article that told of some remarkable new discoveries. It stated that Science has uncovered a million epciting new colors. In that case, there are thousands of various shades and hues of red, green, yellow, brown, and black. Also there is no doubt in my mind that their are shades that will detract as well as shades to glamorize any color, or skin color shade.

On the screen in magazines and in newspapers, their is an all out effort to glamorize a white skin but what

20-20-488

is done to make an extremley dark skin desireable. I speak of glamor and desirable because I have learned that people believe only what they can see. So as long as our color is subordinated to white or made to look undesirable we will always be looked upon as inferiors.

Why I am even tempted to believe that the very clothes we wear are dyed to beautify a white skin. Therefore if there are over a million different colors why then must we not seek to glamorize our colors. True brown is a happy medium, but as long as it is so undeveloped it will still be scorned.

Let us destroy this last myth and the truth will stand naked.

Our people need unity, but before they can have unity they must have pride. I believe the knowledge that all colors

..are equal will help to make this pride. For all ta often I have heard it said that were not the negro of America a mixed people he would be ugly ignorant and savage.

I believe if we prove that colors like minds can be equally attractive no one will dare deney us our rights.

For then the world of freedom loving people will be able to see the truth and the truth will make all free.

Has anything been done in this field, if so I would be very glad to know. Hoping to hear from you soon.

Respectfully Yours
James Hodge

July 11, 1945

20-20-49

My dear Mr. Hodge:

I have your letter of February first.

I think probably a good many of your questions will be answered if you read my new book, Color and Democracy, published by Harcourt Brace Company.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

PFC James Hodge 36792145
1935 Ord. Amm. Co.
6571st Ord. Bat. AF (OVHO)
APO 528
Care of Postmaster
New York, New York

8 January 1945

(4-23-61)

My dear Madam:

I am late in answering your letter because it was sent to Atlanta. My address is now New York. You will find the data which you wish in Who's Who in America and also in my autobiography Dusk of Dawn published by Harcourt, Brace and Company in 1940.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. C. Frederick Holst
302 Second Street West
Little Falls, Minnesota

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
Publishers New York
257 FOURTH AVENUE

May 31, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In accordance with your request of May 29th we are changing your address on our mailing list from Atlanta University to 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

L

20-2

16 March 1945

20-4-153

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing an invitation which we are proposing to send out for a Colonial Conference. Would you be able to suggest any persons from the Dutch colonies with whom we could get in touch? I would be under great obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Peter Honig
Dutch Information Bureau
10 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL SHIPPING MISSION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

BOARD FOR THE NETHERLANDS INDIES
SURINAM AND CURACAO

10 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
14th FLOOR
—
TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 5-8686
TELETYPEWRITER: N. Y. 1-2562

NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

No. 5206

March 23rd, 1945

Mr. W.E.B. DU BOIS,
Nat. Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

20-6-1

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

With reference to your letter of March 16, 1945

I would suggest that you get in touch with

Raden M.M.S. DJOEMENA,
c/o Netherlands Embassy,
1470 Euclid Street N.W.,
Washington 9, D.C.

who might be able to attend the conference of your organization.

Very sincerely yours,

P. HONIG

[HOTEL THERESA]

20-14-05

July 30, 1945

Mr. W. H. Scott
Hotel Theresa
125th & 7th Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Scott:

My daughter, Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams, is going to take the reservation which you have for her with a slight change. In order to avoid travel on Sunday she would like to come at noon Monday, August 6th, and stay until noon, Monday 20th.

Enclosed is my check for $25.00. Please apply this to her room rent and tell me what the balance for the two weeks will be.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

[HOTEL THERESA]

20-141-66

August 3, 1945

Mr. W. H. Scott
Hotel Theresa
125th St. & 7th Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Scott:

Enclosed is my check for $11.00, which added to the $25.00 already sent, makes $36.00. This is to be applied to the room rent of my daughter, Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams.

If the total bill amounts to more than this amount, send me a bill for the remainder and do not collect from her.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Va. State College
Ettrick, Va.
Feb. 19, 1945

20-15-112

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am here again this year and like it pretty well. Why don't you stop by and see me sometime?

I keep up with you through the press. I am very proud of the things I have been reading about you. I also read your chapter in

"What the Negro Wants".
I enjoyed it so much.

I was in Atlanta the first of the month, went there to sell my house. While there I learned that Mrs. Henry had died. I did not go over to the University because I was so busy.

I was thinking of Miss Digg the other day. Is she

in the States now?

Do you see Miss Prophet? I do not have her address. If you see her, please remember me to her.

I think of you very often, so please write a line if you ever have a moment. Don't forget to stop by to see me if you ever pass through.

Sincerely,
Camilla

20-15-113

26 February 1945

My dear Camilla:

Thank you so much for your birthday greeting. I got it last Friday night when I returned from the West. I know you will be coming to New York sometime and you must see my lovely apartment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Camilla Howard
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

5 January 1945

19-27-141

Dear Mr. Frazier:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have just sent to President Johnson. Please let me know how things are coming on. Did Smythe finally come to work with you and have the funds been transferred? What can I do to help?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

19-38-107

5 January 1945

My dear President Johnson:

I have been furiously at work finishing a book on Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace which Harcourt, Brace and Company have contracted for and very much wanted by January first for spring publication. I delivered it at their office January second.

With regard to the subject of your letter of December 20, I suggest that I be put down in your catalogue as consultant in the department of sociology for the Land Grant College projects; that my duties would be to consult with Dr. Frazier from time to time by letter or by visit; possibly I might deliver two or three lectures in a seminar or before the public. The details I will leave to you and Dr. Frazier and the compensation will be anything you think fair.

You will understand that my idea is simply to tie up my work on the project in Atlanta and at Howard so that there will be no real or fancied break. You are at liberty to make any other suggestion in accordance with the general purpose of this offer.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

January 15, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-2-3-4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The latest news that I have from President Johnson concerning the Project is that it is still in process of being transferred.

Mr. Smythe has consented to come to Howard for part-time when I need him. Since I cannot get Mr Smythe for full-time I have recommended the employment of Mr. G. Franklin Edwards here as my assistant. We are going ahead with the Project.

Very truly yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

E. Franklin Frazier

EFF:DMB

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

February 10, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. Smythe has informed me that you are in possession of some file material belonging to the Cooperative Social Studies Project. As I understand it, it was necessary for you to take this material with you upon closing out your office in Atlanta last Summer. The material includes, I believe, a file on each member institution. In the attempt to further the work of the Project, the information contained in this material will doubtless be of service to me.

20-11-2

I am writing, therefore, to request that you send to me at your earliest convenience this material, together with any other information which may be of help to me in carrying on the Project.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

E. Franklin Frazier
Coordinator

14 February 1945

20-11-3

My dear Mr. Frazier:

I have some file material here and I will send it to you by Railway Express within a few days. I am sorry that I did not think of sending it before.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

[Howard Univ.]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

March 24, 1945

20-13-71

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to transmit to you the following action of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Howard University held February 16, 1945:

> "VOTED: That Dr. W. E. B. Dubois be appointed Special Lecturer and Consultant to the Land Grant College Project, to deliver a lecture to and hold consultations with cooperating members of the project during their Spring Conference; and to deliver at a subsequent date two lectures -- one to the general faculty and one to the student body particularly in the Social Sciences; with an honorarium of $100 and expenses being given for the first lecture, and an honorarium of $150 and expenses being provided for the two subsequent lectures."

Since the first lecture is in conjunction with the Land Grant College Project, I am sending Dr. Frazier a copy of this letter, so that he may arrange with you concerning same. The arrangement for the succeeding lectures will be made as soon as we ascertain the most suitable time for them. This will be determined not later than the next ten days or two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:fed

CC: Dr. M. W. Johnson
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier

[Howard U.]

20-13-74

28 March 1945

My dear Mr. Frazier:

I have just received notice from Dean Thompson of the action of the trustees of Howard University, February 16, and have written accepting. Kindly let me know when you will want my services. I expect to leave for San Francisco, April 19, but of course I am not yet quite sure whether the permission of the State Department will be forthcoming.

I hope you received the files.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

28 March 1945

20-13-73

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have today received notice from Dean Thompson of the action of your Board of February 16, 1945. I am very glad to accept the appointment and terms.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

[HOWARD UNIV]

20-13-72

28 March 1945

My dear Mr. Thompson:

I have today received notice of the action of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, February 16, 1945. I should be glad to accept the appointment and to deliver the lectures as we can agree upon dates.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dean Charles H. Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 2, 1945

Lectures

Special Delivery

20-13-24

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge with many thanks receipt of your letter of March 28, accepting the appointment as Special Lecturer to deliver lectures at Howard University for the Spring of 1945.

I am attempting to arrange the time, place, subject, etc., for two of the lectures. It will assist me very much if you could let me have suggestions concerning the following:

1. Most convenient dates between now and May 15.
2. Possible subjects which you think might be interesting to and profitable for:
   (a) a group of our students
   (b) members of the Howard University staff and a few invited guests from Washington.

(We had thought that some discussion of the implications of the current situation for Negro college students and for Negro higher institutions of learning might be desirable.)

Thanking you for this information at your earliest convenience, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:fed

3 April 1945

20-13-24

My dear Mr. Frazier:

I have heard from Dean Thompson and enclose a copy of my answer. Please make any suggestions.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

3 April 1945

20-13-25

My dear Mr. Thompson:

I was just about to write you about dates for my speaking at Howard University. How would it do for me to speak this month, that is, one lecture April fourteenth, fifteenth or sixteenth and two lectures May thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth. Or if the San Francisco conference continues longer May twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second.

I suggest that one of these lectures be on a subject connected with Dr. Frazier's Land Grant College project; one could be as you suggest on the "current situation for Negro college students and Negro higher institutions of learning"; and one a "Report from San Francisco".

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Frazier and should be glad to hear from you both.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Chas. H. Thompson
The Graduate School
Howard Univessity
Washington 1, D. C.

[Howard U.]

CONFERENCE OF NEGRO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

FOR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIAL STUDIES

OFFICE OF THE
CO-ORDINATOR
[redacted]

[redacted]

Washington, D.C.
April 9, 1945

E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
N. A. C. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is partly in reply to your letter of the third which you sent to Dean Thompson of the Graduate School.

20-23-6

After consulting with Dean Thompson who, as well as myself, will not be here on the April dates, it was thought best to postpone your lectures until the fall. Our decision was based also upon the fact that we shall hardly be able to hold the annual conference of the Land Grant Colleges until fall. As you probably know, the transfer of the project was not completed until several weeks ago. As soon as I found out the names of the liaison officers, I wrote them concerning the advisability of holding the conference in April or May of this year. The responses which we have received to date have been unanimous, with the exception of one reply, that the conference be postponed until fall. Therefore, Dean Thompson and I thought that your lectures should be given in connection with the conference.

Very truly yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

E. Franklin Frazier

P

10 April 1945

My dear Dr. Frazier:

I wrote you the other day about coming to Howard for conference and a lecture on the Land Grant College project. I am sure you realize that the only way to keep this project alive and going is continuous and persistent correspondence with the persons in charge at the various institutions. I used to write from two to six letters a year to each one. The president also must be kept in correspondence with. Otherwise if they begin to lose interest they will not pay their $100 assessment and the movement will gradually disintegrate.

I suggest that we confer and get out a joint letter to the presidents and liaison officers; that plans be made for a conference this spring or perhaps early in the fall. Also I suggest that I speak to the members of the department of sociology and allied departments in history, psychology, etc. and point out to them the unusual opportunity which this project offers for cooperation in social study.

As I said in my previous letter, I can speak Saturday, Sunday or Monday, the fourteenth, fifteenth or sixteenth.

Please let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 10, 1945

20-13-27

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 3, in reply to my query concerning possible dates for your lectures at Howard University.

After reading your letter, I had a conference with Dr. Frazier who informed me that it was quite likely that the Spring conference of Land-Grant College Sociologists would be postponed until the Fall. Moreover, after canvassing the calendar, it did not appear desirable to schedule your lectures during April, because of our regular lecture series which is concluded on the 18th of April with Max Lerner. In addition, may I state that dates as late as the middle of May would be inadvisable because students are in the midst of preparing for and taking examinations. In view of all of these facts, I am wondering whether or not it would be agreeable to you to postpone the lectures until the Fall of next year?

I have tentative plans to be in New York this weekend. If it is possible to do so, I shall get in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:fed

20-23-7

13 April 1945

My dear Mr. Frazier:

We will put the lecture over until fall as you suggest but let me remind you: our colleges will not get their work started until November. You will find very few presidents who will be willing to release any teachers for a trip during October. The fiscal year of the project ends early in November.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 6, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of several days ago, informing me of your itinerary so that if I wished to get in touch with you, I would know where to write.

I am dropping this note to suggest that if and when you are in Washington during the period June 7 to 11 and it is convenient, it might be well for us to have a conference.

You might be interested to know that I am canvassing the possibility of having one or both of your lectures during the first term of the summer school. I will have this information by the time I see you. I wonder whether this would fit in with your plans. (The first term of our summer school runs from June 11 through July 20th.)

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:fed

20-2-16

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 15, 1945

20-13-28

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Since I talked with you last Wednesday I have had a chance to have a conference with Dr. Frank M. Snowden, Director of the Summer and Evening Schools, and Mr. T. J. Anderson, who is directing the cultural and recreational activities of the Summer School, relative to one of your lectures being given during the current summer session.

I am writing to state that they have decided that the best date would be the evening of Monday, July 16, at 8:30. I hope this fits in with your schedule. Will you kindly let Dr. Snowden know at your earliest convenience whether or not this date is agreeable? He wishes to begin publicizing the lecture immediately. If there are any other details about the matter which you would like to know, Dr. Snowden would also be glad to clear them up for you.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:fed

CC: President M. W. Johnson
Dr. Frank M. Snowden
Mr. T. J. Anderson

20 June 1945

20-13-29

Dear Dr. Snowden:

I shall be glad to speak at the summer school Monday, July sixteenth, at 8:30. Let me know what subject you would like to have me treat.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Frank M. Snowden
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 22, 1945

Lectures 1945

20-1-21

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am pleased to learn that you will be able to speak at the Howard University Summer School on July 16 at 8:30 P.M. Dean Thompson informed me that you had agreed to speak on the San Francisco Conference. Therefore, we have made a general announcement that you will speak on the San Francisco Conference. Will you please send us the exact title which will cover the subject of your lecture?

Sincerely yours,

Frank M Snowden

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director

FMS/mab

July 3, 1945

Dr. Frank M. Snowden, Jr.,
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Snowden:

I shall speak for you on July 16th at 8:30 P.M. on "The San Francisco Conference."

Thank you for the opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEB:D

[HOWARD UNIV.]

July 3, 1945

20-6-27

Dr. Mordecai Johnson
President
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Sometime during the summer I heard that you were thinking of appointing Mercer Cook to a professorship at Howard. I certainly hope that this is true. I have been associated with Mr. Cook for 10 years at Atlanta University and I think for straight-forward honesty, fundamental knowledge and capacity and desire for hard work, he is one of the best men I have ever met. His only difficulty at Atlanta was being held back from doing the work that he was prepared to do. He is a man of enthusiasm and he wants to do the right thing.

If there is any way of appointing him to Howard I hope you will do so. He has not asked me to write this letter and does not know I am writing it, but I do know that he is very much upset by conditions at Atlanta. I presume you have heard of the splendid job he has done in Haiti and how highly he is regarded by the Haitians.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

(HOWARD UNIV.)

July 5, 1945

20-6-24

Dr. Charles T. Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I have just sent the enclosed letter to President Johnson. I hope you will do what you can to land Cook if you agree with me as to his qualifications.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Copy

[HOWARD UNIV.]

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Zone 1

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July Eleventh

1 9 4 5

File under Mercer Cook.

20-6-15

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please allow me to acknowledge and to thank you for your letter so warmly commending Mercer Cook. I am glad to be able to advise you that he has been elected Professor of Romance Languages. He is expected to begin his duties in September.

All good wishes to you!

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai W. Johnson

Mordecai W. Johnson

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

August 23, 1945

My dear Dr. Thompson:

Enclosed is a letter I have just sent to Snowden.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Charles H. Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

20-7

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

August 29, 1945

20-2-64

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 23 with a copy of your letter to Dr. Snowden relative to a check for the lecture before the Howard University Summer School.

In reply may I state that the fault is mine rather than Dr. Snowden's. I have made a requisition to our Business Office for $150.00 which I think was the sum to cover the first lecture. This should reach you within a few days.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Charles H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:GGB

cc to Dr. Snowden

Personal

September 19, 1945

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

20-7

My dear Mr. Thompson:

Referring to your letter of August 29th, I beg to say that that check has not yet arrived.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

20-7-17

October 10, 1945

Mr. E. Franklin Frazier, Director
Conference of Negro Land-Grant Colleges
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Frazier:

I am flying to London Saturday but I plan to be back in time to attend your meeting November 2nd and 3rd.

With regard to compensation, I had an understanding with Dean Thompson that I was to be paid a fee for lectures when I came to Howard for this meeting. Will you consult with him about this?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

20-7-29

20 West 40th Street

5 December 1945

My dear Mr. Thompson:

I was sorry to miss my engagement to speak at Howard this fall but I was kept in Europe over six weeks but however, if any time in the spring, you should like my services, I should be glad to arrange for it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Charles H. Thompson
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

********** 20 West 40th Street

5 December 1945

File under
Howard University

20-2-17

Dear President Johnson:

I attended the final plenary council of the UNESCO. McLeish was unable to make me officially an observer. It seems there was some by-laws which prevented that but nevertheless the State Department did cable and the gesture was made. I am deeply grateful for your activity. I hope to talk with you about the whole trip.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Zone 1

December Eighteenth

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

1 9 4 5

20-13-70

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your letter dated December fifth. I am glad that you were able to attend the final plenary council of the UNESCO. I shall look forward to the talk which you suggest. Meanwhile, I wish for you a joyous Christmas and a Happy Hew Year!

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai W. Johnson

Mordecai W. Johnson

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

548 Oakwood Blvd.,
Apt. 2, Chicago 15, Ill.,
Sept. 18, 1945.

20-2-47

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing you just a line to greet you during my brief stay in the U.S.

I was called home hurriedly to the bedside of my dear mother who passed away Aug. 25th. I flew over from Lisbon and arrived in N.Y. Aug. 4th.

The saddest day of my life has come and unfortunately, I have not been able to

adjust my self, neither have I relaxed, and therefore I am undergoing a nervous strain.

Unless I receive another extension, I must report to the State Dept. for consultation on Oct. 5th. because I came home at govt. expense for one month's leave and consultation.

This is my first vacation since I was here in 1941, therefore, the "break" from the Dept., which at this time was most appreciated.

I sincerely hope that you and Mrs. Du Bois are well, also

Yolande and the granddaughter. My kindest regards to them all.

With all the best to you, I remain

most sincerely yours,

Lillie Mae Hubbard

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Ga.

Parkway Community House

5120 South Parkway

Chicago 15

ATLANTIC 1020

Office of the Director
HORACE R. CAYTON

January 27, 1945

20-4-178

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I think your idea of a colonial conference in New York in the near future is an excellent one. Unfortunately, I do not belong to any organizations which I feel would be helpful to you in organizing this conference nor do I know personally of any colonials that I might suggest your inviting. I am sorry I cannot be more helpful in this matter.

I am off again on an extended lecture tour which will be taking me down to Alabama and Georgia for Negro History Week, and later in the spring to Texas. It would be nice if our paths were to cross again as they did last year in Dallas.

Sincerely,

Langston

Langston Hughes

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W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

20-4-87

January 23, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research,
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish to thank you for your letter of January 8th. I have read it with a great deal of interest.

I believe the proposed colonial conference would serve a very good purpose provided that its frame of reference and specific objectives are clearly outlined in advance and understood and agreed to by all those participating. While I am not authorized to speak for the Council on African Affairs officially regarding its participation, since the matter has not yet come before the Council members, I feel certain that we would be glad to cooperate in developing the conference along the lines indicated. I shall hold myself personally available for whatever assistance I can give you in this undertaking.

It seems to me that in addition to representatives of religious and philanthropic bodies concerned with colonial matters, it might be well to invite also leading executive members of American labor organizations. While it is true that in the past American labor has lagged far behind British and other European labor movements in giving attention to the colonial question, today the situation is quite different. As you know, the C.I.O. has a special standing committee on Latin American affairs, and the A.F.L. is likewise becoming increasingly interested in South American labor problems. Likewise the World Labor Conference being held in London next month is, I believe, an index of the enhanced role which labor will play in shaping international policies.

Regarding suggestions of colonial representatives who might be invited to the conference, I would recommend the following:

Mrs. Amy Ashwood-Garvey, (Jamaica, B.W.I.)
101 West 125th Street, New York City

Mr. H. P. Osborne, (West Indies National Council)
114 West 131st Street, New York City

Mr. Jesus Colon, (Puerto Rico - President of the Cervantes Society, International Workers Order) 238 Pearl Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. F. Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah, (British West Africa)
Lincoln University, Chester County, Pa.

Mr. Kumar Goshal, (India)
64 Poplar Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Council has from time to time had friendly and cooperative relations with the following colonial officials resident in New York:

Dr. Max Horn, Counsellor for the Belgian Congo Government
630 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Mr. Jean de la Roche, Advisor on Colonial Problems, Provisional Government of the French Republic, 501 Madison Avenue, New York City

I shall await further word from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

WAH:jo

W. A. Hunton,
Educational Director

20-4-88

23 January 1945

20-4-86

My dear Mr. Hunton:

In planning for a possible colonial conference I want to consult with persons who are natives of colonies and have been recently in colonies or persons who have made careful study of their colony and kept in touch through correspondence.

Could you or Mr. Yergan furnish me with a list of a half dozen names of persons of this sort resident in or near New York. Of course I know persons like Mr. Orizu and Mr. Mbadwe and the more prominent Indians.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council of African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

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DOXEY A. WILKERSON

W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

20-4-89

February 21, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In the light of the proposal which has come to the Council from Mr. H. A. Wieschhoff of the University of Pennsylvania for an informal conference on colonial problems, I was wondering what further steps have been taken with regard to the conference which you were contemplating and about which you wrote me a few weeks ago.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

WAH:jc

W. A. Hunton
Educational Director

26 February 1945

20-4-90

My dear Mr. Hunton:

I am calling a meeting of a small preliminary committee of the proposed Colonial Conference, March third, in my office at 69 Fifth Avenue, at eleven o'clock. I am inviting Mr. Orizu, Dr. L. D. Reddick, Dr. Logan and a few others. Will you please arrange to come?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson
The People's Voice
210 West 125th Street

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
135th Street Public Library

Mr. A. A. Nwafor Orizu
American Council on African Education
55 West 42nd Street

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University

Mr. Roy Wilkins

6 March 1945

20-4-91

My dear Mr. Hunton:

I thank you very much for your offer to let us hold our Colonial Conference in your auditorium but think that perhaps we could get wider publicity by holding it at the 135th Street Library. I thank you for your cooperation and hope you will from time to time send me names of persons whom you think ought to be invited.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City 10

7 March 1945

20-4-92

My dear Mr. Hunton:

Enclosed is the proposed invitation which we will send out for the Colonial Conference. Have you any suggestions?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

7 March 1945

My dear Mr. Reddick:

Enclosed is the proposed invitation which we will send out for the Colonial Conference. Have you any suggestions?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

8 March 1945

20-4-93

Dear Mr. Hunton:

Continuing my letter of yesterday, do you know any persons in America who are natives or know about any of the following African colonies: Zanzibar, Mauritius, Nyasaland, Somaliland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Gambia, Sierra Leone Protectorate, Tanganyika, Southwest Africa and the Union of South Africa.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City 10

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6140

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Educational Director

20-4-94

March 10, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just one or two suggestions with regard to the Conference invitation. Would it not be well to include a sentence stating the purpose of the Conference in general terms so that the persons invited may clearly understand that the discussion is to be conducted on the level of fact-finding rather than agitation?

In the second part of the invitation concerning the reports, I think we might ask that where possible the factual data be documented. This will save a lot of trouble in verifying the data. I think we might also ask that the text of demands by colonial peoples be forwarded to you well in advance of the Conference so that copies of summaries of the texts, as I think Dr. Reddick suggested, might be prepared in advance and be made available to all persons at the Conference. I shall send you, early next week, a list of materials of this kind which we have here and these can be checked against what Dr. Reddick has on Africa in the way of such demands.

Except for one or two persons who might speak on the Union of South Africa -- and whose qualifications I am not altogether certain about -- I have no information at the moment about persons who might represent the African colonies which you listed in your letter of March 8th. As soon as I can confer with Dr. Yergan about this, I shall send you further word.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

WAH:jc

W. A. Hunton

2 April 1945

20-4-95

My dear Mr. Hunton:

Thank you very much for the names of the South Africans now resident in the United States. You will, of course, remember that you were also going to let us have a map of Africa.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City 10

21-6-64

On Board the Houseboat-Cruiser SUN TAN
(P.O. Box 268)
Daytona Beach, Fla.
June 11, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

As Dean of American Negro Artists, I think that it is about time that you take steps towards an important project which you have neglectaed up to this time.

Why do you not propose a cemetery for the illustrious Negro dead? Something like Pere la Chaise in Paris. If you like the idea, may I make a few suggestions to you?

1. That you secure about one hundred acres for the site in Florida. I am not saying this because this is my birth-state, but because it lends itself to decoration easier than any other part of the United States. I think that that was why Edward S. Bok chose Florida for that world famous Bok Tower. I hope that you have seen it, for it is a thing of wondrous beauty. And the thing I want you to note is that two-thirds of the beauty is not in the Tower itself, but in the surroundings. You see, Dr. DuBois, the very woods of Florida afford trees and shrubs free that would cost a fortune north of here, even provided that they could be made to grow. Magnolias, bay, oaks, palms, pines, all free for the taking. Beautiful shrubs while not wild, so plentiful that you could get thousands of cuttings of hibiscus, crotons, oleanders and the like for the mere asking. And dont forget the beautiful, disease and insect repelling campher tree which grows here so free and quickly. By the time that each wellknown Negro contrbuted a tree or two, you would have a place of ravishing beauty. Ceremonies of tree-setting, of course. You would, like Bok, select a site in the lake country of Florida, where thousands of acres are available and as cheap as five to ten dollars an acre on lakes.

2. That there be no regular chapel, unless a tremendous amount of money be secured. Let there be a hall of meeting, and let the Negro sculptors and painters decorate it with scenes from our own literature and life. Mythology and all. Funerals can be held from there as well.

Addition to first suggestion: In Florida, the vegetation would be green the year round, so that visitors during the winter months would not see a desolate looking place. For you must know that the place would attract visitors from all over the world.

3. As far as possible, remove the bones of our dead celebrities to this spot.

4. Let no Negro celebrity, no matter what financial condition they might be in at death, lie in inconspicious forgetfulness. We

must assume the responsibility of their graves being known and honored. You must see what a rallying spot that would be for all that we want to accomplish and do. There one ought also to see the tomb of Nat Turner. Naturally, his bones have long since gone to dust, but that should not prevent his tomb being among us. Fred Douglas and all the rest.

21-6-55

You will naturally ask me why I do not approach Mary McLeod Bethune, since she is right here in town with me. But my objection is that she has never uttered nor written a quotable line, never created any art form, nor even originated an educational idea. She has not even improved on any that have been originated. So I think that she should come into the thing later on. In fact, having made the suggestion to you, I shall do nothing more if you like the idea and take it up. I mean, nothing that is not asked of me. I am no organizer, and I know it. That is why I have never accepted any political appointment, though three have been offered to me since the War began. I like to sit and meditate and go my own way without strings, so that I can say what I want to. That is precious little at present, because the publishers seem frightened, and cut every thing out that seems strong. I have come to the conclusion that for the most part, there is aan agreement among them to clamp on the lid. But I promise you, that if you like the idea and go ahead, I will fall in behind you and do all that I can.

I feel strongly that the thing should be done. I think that the lack of such a tangible thing allows our people to forget, and their spirits evaporate. But I shall not mention the matter to any one else until you accept or refuse. If you accept, there is no need for me to say anything more, as that will be your province. If you refuse, then maybe Walter White and the N.A.A.C.P. might take it up.

Oh yes, the reason that I suggested so much as 100 acres was because it would prevent white encroachment, and besides, it would afford space for an artist colony if ever the need arose. You can call on me for the first contribution. If you came down to look over sites, I could save you a lot of trouble by driving you around to look, since I know the State pretty well. I think that I know where to get some mahogany from Central America for the inside woodwork of the building.

Your own mind can furnish you plenty of details, so there is nothing more for me to say except congratulations on your stand at San Francisco, and many good wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

Zora Neale Hurston

Zora Neale Hurston

21-6-66

July 11, 1945

My dear Miss Hurston:

I have been out of the city for some time and this is in answer to your note of June 11th.

The idea of the cemetery for illustrious Negroes has its attractions but I am afraid that the practical difficulties are too great, and I regret to say I have not the enthusiasm for Florida that you have, naturally. I do know of its magnificent weather and vegetation, but in other matters more spiritual it is not so rich.

My work with the NAACP is limited in scope and I should hardly feel like suggesting this, but why not go ahead and suggest the matter not only to Mr. White, but to others? You might be able to carry it through.

It is nice to hear from you again after all these years.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Zora Zeale Hurston
Houseboat Cruiser Sun Tan
P. O. Box 268
Daytona Beach, Florida

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Chairman, Finance Committee

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES *and* PROFESSIONS, Inc.

HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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20-15-33

March 14, 1945

W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The newly elected executive committee of the Literature Division will hold its' second luncheon meeting at the Murray Hill Hotel, on Thursday, March 22nd, at 12:30 P.M.

In order that luncheon reservations may be made, will you please call Adele Jerome at Ci. 6-5412, not later than Wednesday, March 21, to tell her whether or not you plan to attend.

I trust you will make every effort to be with us.

Cordially yours,

Lillian Lustig

Lillian Lustig
Exec. Secretary
Literature Div.

will attend

Board of Directors:
WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT, VAN WYCK BROOKS, LOUIS CALHERN, MARC CONNELLY, MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, NORMAN CORWIN. BARTLEY CRUM, DR. MOSES DIAMOND, DONALD DU SHANE, PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, FLORENCE ELDRIDGE, MOSS HART, LILLIAN HELLMAN, MRS. BEATRICE KAUFMAN, DR. FRANK KINGDON, JOHN T. McMANUS, DR. ALONZO F. MYERS, DR. JOHN P. PETERS, PAUL ROBESON, DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, HERMAN SHUMLIN.

303

Apprentice
Student
Teacher
forgotten 10 yrs
1910
1912 Jean Schmidt

20-19

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
OF THE
ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, Inc.

MEMBERSHIP CARD

W. E. B. Du Bois

March, 1945

Date

Fredric March

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303

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Canada Lee
Max Lerner
Peter Lyon
Fritz Mahler
Thomas Mann
Dorothy Maynor
Lowell Mellett
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INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES *and* PROFESSIONS, Inc.

HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

Circle 6-5412

HANNAH DORNER
Administrative Director

March 28, 1945.

20-19-67

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

We are happy to have you as a member of our organization. Enclosed you will find your membership card.

You will receive our regular publication and notification of our forthcoming activities.

We look forward to your active participation.

Sincerely,

Board of Directors:
WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT, VAN WYCK BROOKS, LOUIS CALHERN, MARC CONNELLY, MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, NORMAN CORWIN. BARTLEY CRUM, DR. MOSES DIAMOND, DONALD DU SHANE, PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, FLORENCE ELDRIDGE, MOSS HART, LILLIAN HELLMAN, MRS. BEATRICE KAUFMAN, DR. FRANK KINGDON, JOHN T. McMANUS, DR. ALONZO F. MYERS, DR. JOHN P. PETERS, PAUL ROBESON, DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, HERMAN SHUMLIN.

303

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. W. E. Dubois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Dubois:

Due to circumstances beyond our control, we find it necessary to postpone our Executive luncheon meeting to Friday, April 6th, instead of Thursday, April 5th.

Same Place, Murryhill Hotel. Same time, 12:30 PM.

I hope this won't inconvenience you. Please confirm your reservation with Miss Jerome, Circle 6-5412.

Lillian Lustig
Exec. Secy.

20-15-37

2 April 1945

20-15-38

My dear Madam:

I could have attended the luncheon April fifth but on Friday, April sixth I am having an all day Colonial Conference at the 135th Street Public Library so that I cannot get away.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lillian Lustig, Executive Secretary
Independent Citizens' Committee of the
Arts, Sciences and Professions
Hotel Astor
New York 19

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE, ...]

young scott books

ALGONQUIN 4-9225

WILLIAM R. SCOTT, INC. 72 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

June 12, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
59 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

20-21-1

Dear Mr. DuBois:

You probably received in the mail a call to the Conference which the Independent Citizens' Committee is holding. But just in case you didn't, here are the details:

It will be an all-day affair, to be held on Saturday, June 23rd. The keynote of the Conference will be full employment and reconversion as it applies to all members of the Independent Citizens' Committee -- in other words, as it applies to all of the arts, sciences and professions. It is hoped that the Conference will not only succeed in presenting a clear picture of the post-war problems before us, but that it will also serve to hammer out a program of future activity for the Independent Citizens' Committee.

There will be six panels in the Conference, each meeting separately, of course, representing the various divisions of the ICC. Some of the divisions will combine in their panel, such as music, radio and films.

Each panel will have a Chairman. The sessions will open at ten in the morning and run until twelve-thirty. There will be a break for lunch. They will start again at two and run until four-thirty. In the morning, two papers will be read, each takingtwenty minutes, and there will be a forty-five minutes' discussion of each paper from the floor.

As the Literature Division Panel is planned, the topic will be "How Can We Achieve an Expanding Economy and Full Employment in the Literary Field?" This subject will be covered in the following way: Carl Carmer will discuss new outlets for the author; Angus Cameron will discuss new markets for the book publisher; Ed Stanley of Coronet will discuss new activities for the magazine publisher; and a paper discussing new functions for the employee will be presented by Aaron Schneider, the Administrative Director of Local #1 of the United Office and Professional Workers of America.

Then from four-thirty until five the panel Chairman -- Dr. Houston Peterson of Cooper Union -- will sum up for the panel and from five until six-thirty everyone will assemble in a General Assembly for the purpose of hearing the reports from the other panels.

The audience at each panel will consist of people in the various fields covered. In other words, for the Literature Division Panel, the audience will consist, first, of members of the Literature Division

of the ICC, and, second, of any other interested people -- book and magazine publishers, writers, booksellers and literary agents. Invitations have already been sent out to a very large list in these categories.

We are asking various people in the fields involved to read the papers in advance and discuss them from the floor for about five minutes. And the Executive Board of the Literature Division has asked me to ask you if you would discuss the publishers' paper.

I hope you will let me have your answer by Thursday of this week because Dr. Peterson will have to know whom to call on at the Panel to discuss the various papers. Also, we would like to get the paper to you so that you can have a chance to look it over carefully and be prepared.

Sincerely,

Lillian Lustig
Executive Secretary,
Literature Division

LL:glm

20-12-2

[INDEPENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE...]

20-17-17

There will be a meeting of the Executive Board of the Literature Division of the ICC on

Thursday, June 14th
12:30 p.m.
Hapsburg House*
313 East 55 Street

Just ask for the ICC room. Will you please call Adele Jerome at Circle 6-5412 to let her know whether you will be there. We must know by Wednesday morning at the latest whether or not you are coming.

*Note especially change of address.

Sincerely,

Lillian Lusting
Executive Secretary
Literature Division

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE...]

July 1, 1945

Memo to Literature Division Executive Board:

I came away from our last meeting on Thursday somewhat discouraged. I don't know if those of you who were present feel the same way about it, but I'm wondering where we go from here.

There is a great deal happening in Washington these days that affects us and it seems to me that we are not getting enough information fast enough to our membership. Many members of the Literature Division are complaining because they have not been involved in our work and I think the complaint is justified.

We do a lot of talking among ourselves but most of it doesn't get beyond that. I think we need a Program of Action for the next few months that will cover the entire literary field. If we don't get one started immediately and carry it out, then I don't think the amount of time and energy a few of us are putting into this Committee are worth while.

All of this is a purely personal reaction. I have not discussed it with anyone, but I feel strongly about it. Whatever value the Conference may have had must be taken advantage of quickly, before the enthusiasm dies down.

20-17-16

I don't think for a moment that we can't do the job, but I think we should set about doing it, and fast. I don't think that we can work out any such Program over a luncheon table and I suggest, therefore, that we hold our next meeting some evening when we can give some time and thought to our future perspectives without our eyes on a menu and our watches.

Will you let me know at my office - William R. Scott, 72 Fifth Avenue, Algonquin 4 - 9225, whether you prefer Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday, July 10th, 11th or 12th. We could have the meeting either at the Astor or someone's house. I'll let you know the definite time, date and place as soon as I know which night suits the majority of the Board members.

Don't think I'm being overly pessimistic. I'm not; I'm just impatient.

Sincerely,

Lillian Lusting

Dear Dr. Dubois: I hope that now that you are back in town you can attend this meeting. It seems to me rather important.

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June 15
Dft 1

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS]

Independent Citizens Committee

July 3, 1945

20-17-15

Miss Lillian Lustig
Literature Division
72 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Lustig:

Any of the dates which you mention for your meeting wil be suitable for me so far as I now know.

I shall try to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

[IND. CIT. ////]

[JULY 1945]

The Executive Board meeting of the Literature Division has been set for Thursday, July 12, at Margaret Byrnes' apartment (Mrs. George Hexter), 29 East 9th Street, apartment 8, at 7:45 p.m. Please come on time so that we can dispose of the business quickly and leave early.

Sincerely yours,

Executive Secretary,
Literature Division

20-17

[IND. CIT. ''']

July 19, 1945

2 cc

Miss Lillian Lustig
Executive Secretary
29 East 9th Street, Apt. 8
Care of Mrs. George Hexter
New York, New York

My dear Miss Lustig:

I regret to say on July 26th I shall be speaking in North Carolina.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE...]

August I, 1945

Dr.W. E. B. DuBois, Director
National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was a pleasure to speak with you today only I wish I could have been a little more successful about explaining my purpose in calling which was to invite you to become a member of an Education Division to be set up by the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

20-17-18

The Committee is planning to develop a program of action in the field of education. On July I6, a meeting was called to set up a Working Committee to outline plans for pursuing active work in this field.and I am herewith enclosing a copy of the report we made for a subsequent meeting of the Chairmen which was held July 26. I hope this will give you an idea of what is being attempted.

It will be good news indeed if you will decide to become an active member of this Education Committee of the Independent Citizens' Committee. I think such a Division can occupy a stratgic position and will have an opportunity to do a real educational service. However, it will make good use of its advantages only if the Division is guided by the right leadership. The tendency here, as elsewhere, is to rush into political pressure activity without sufficiently informing the public as to the basic economic facts involved so that they can understand the whole picture and decide for themselves how best to exercise their democratic political power for their own best advantage.

I shall be glad to come and tell you more about it, if you are interested. If you are, when would it be convenient for you to see me?

Sincerely yours

Ewan Shirley

Mrs. William M. Shirley
474 W. 238th Street.

(Ent.)

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS

Adult Education Section of Working Committee to Plan For Education Division

Summary of Discussions, July 16, 1945.

Our group seemed to consider the principal function of an Adult Education Section to be that of an integrating force for the other sections which may compose the Education Division of the Independent Citizens' Committee. In other words, it might be the job of the A.E.S. to lay the general groundwork of understanding of aims and objectives which is so important in making the activities of the other sections and Divisions fully effective.

It can be assumed that people who join the Independent Citizens' Committee ordinarily do so because they already have a progressive social philosophy, which the Committee as a whole seeks to interpret, to express, and to implement through its social cooperation and its educational and political activities.

20-17

The Adult Education Section could explore the various kinds of social, economic and political facts on which this philosophy is based. By clarifying their relationships it could help to consolidate this advanced social philosophy into a progressive social attitude toward all kinds of related issues. The Section would thus become a source of strength as well as of information for the Committee as a whole.

Another of the duties of the Section surely would be to find ways of spreading basic economic and social facts, and the facts of their inter-relationships, among the population at large. In order to facilitate the work of the other sections of the Education Division and of the Independent Citizens' Committee as a whole it is important not only to find and activate progressives, but to create progressive attitudes among people not hitherto reached by such influences. One step in this direction would be the creation of an informed public opinion which understands the reasons for the importance to the general public of the measures and activites advocated by the Independent Citizens' Committee. This in turn would help to mobilize public support for these measures and policies so thtat the work of the Committee could more easily and effectively be carried out.

A public which understands, for instance, why the Committee supports the project

of Federal aid to education, and knows what forces are opposed to Federal aid and why, and realizes how this issue has been allowed to become a matter of controversy in the first place, with what weapons it has been fought, and how it ~~has~~ is tied up with other issues, and how the public's decision on this issue is going to influence the effectiveness of democracy in the individual lives of each one of us,--such an informed public is more likely to cooperate with us than if it is merely told to support a certain bill because we say it deserves support.

This we seemed to consider the central opportunity and responsibility of an Adult Education Section. As a part of the Independent Citizens' Committee the Section, we thought, occupies a uniquely strategic position for carrying on such a program of adult education for the public in general, and for reinforcing the work of the Committee, through such a program.

As a recommended step preliminary to setting up such a program, we suggested the possibility of making a survey of the work of already existing organizations which have or claim to have an adult education program. In this way we could integrate our work with any effective activities we discovered in other organizations sharing our objectives. We could supplement their projects, and get their leadership to advise and cooperate with ours, among other advantages. This activity would also give us a basis for planning the kind of leadership we need for the work of our own Section when the permanent Division of Education is set up.

20-17

These were the principal lines on which our discussion proceeded.

Submitted by

Hope S. Bagger, Chairman

Eva M. Shirley, Vice-Chairman

Adult Education Section.

Greene Independent Committee

August 7, 1945 [IND.CIT ''''']

Memo to Executive Board, Literature Division.

The next meeting will take place on Thursday, August 16th at 7:45 sharp. I will send you a card later to announce the place.

This meeting will, we hope, be divided into two parts. From 7:45 until 8:30 we will discuss the agenda for our membership meeting (tentative agenda below for study) and will set the date and the place. We will also discuss the names of the people who will make up our Recommended Books Committee (Peg Byrnes will have that list available for us).

At 8:30, we will meet with representatives of ABA, Book Publishers Bureau, etc. to discuss with them a legislative program which we would like to present to Congress, backed by all the organizations in the industry. It is important that all members of the Executive Board attend this meeting because of the fact that these guests will be present.

The agenda which is presented below is a suggested one only and the people suggested for reports are tentative, subject to their approval and the approval of the Executive Board.

SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR LITERATURE DIVISION MEMBERSHIP MEETING.

Time: 8 PM - Agenda timed for two hours.

Opening remarks and report of work of ICC including program of activity for the next few months and plans for the New York State Division - Chairman - 20 min.

Report on Literature Division Program - Lieber - 15 minutes

Forums -- round table discussions, etc.
Monthly list of recommended books, pamphlets, articles with report of names of Committee of Selection
How the Literature Division can service the entire ICC and through the ICC can service other organizations
How can we point out to our own industry how Unemployment Insurance, the Full Employment Bill, speedup of reconversion plans, displacement of workers, wage stabilization, inflation, affect our industry specifically? Also, what can we do about Veterans Aid, Rehabilitation, Retraining for Veterans from our own industry and those who want to enter it? How does FEPC apply to our industry and how can we make it work there? How do we get the necessary action on all of these?
What can we do to combat the Anti-Soviet, Anti-Semitic, anti-minority press?

Report on Legislative Program - Resolutions from Conference; meeting with representative of other organizations in the field, etc. - Lauterbach - 10 min.

Questions on discussion on all previous reports - 30 minutes.

Reports of Literature Division Committees and how should they function with appeal for volunteers - Rackham Holt - 10 minutes
Financial report - Marian Hart or Peg Byrnes - 10 minutes
Discussion on Finance - 15 minutes.

Lillian Lustig, Exec. Sec'y.

72-5 Cone.
74, 11 -

[IND. CIT. ''']

August 10, 1945

My dear Miss Lustig:

Since Dr. DuBois does not plan to return to his desk until August 20th I fear he will be unable to attend the meeting scheduled for August 16th.

I shall bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his return.

Very sincerely yours,

Ethel Ray Nance

Miss Lillian Lustig
72 5th Avenue
New York 11, New York

20-17

[IND. CIT. ''''']

Memo re meeting of Executive Board, Literature Division, ICC - 7/12/45

It was agreed that at our next meeting we establish the bare outlines of a program, submit it to our membership as soon as possible for discussion and ratification, and then proceed from there to hold forums to discuss certain aspects of our program in greater detail.

The questions below are those with which we propose to go to the membership, and from which a program can be hammered out. You are asked to study these questions and be prepared with your own answers to them by the next meting, at the same time adding any questions of your own that have not occurred to us.

1. Should we have regular forums -- monthly or bi-monthly? Should these be combination membership meetings and forum-discussions or should they be two separate things?

2. Should we prepare regularly a list of Recommended Books, Pamphlets and reprints from magazines for distribution at these forums? Or should we, instead, choose one book a month to publicize? Who shall do the selecting and will the announcements be made only at meetings or will we try to publicize further?

3. Are we to consider ourselves a service organization to supply (a) specialists to other organizations for writing pamphlets, designing them, etc. (b) speakers from our division to the ICC Speakers' Bureau to speak on specific subjects applying to our industry; (c) speakers from our division to other organizations.

If so, how do we build up such a list of specialists and speakers and how do we publicize their availability?

4. Even though we are a national organization, are we to take sidss on municipal and state election campaigns and political issues? Are we to actually take sides and promote our point of view or are we merely to arrange for forums, etc., to provoke discussion of all sides?

5. Should we engge in professional activities -- forums, etc. -- to discuss postwar publishing plans --something in the nature of a continuation of our panel discussions at the Conference, with a viw toward taking action on the results of these discussions?

6. How can we implement the resolutions passed at the Conference -- suhh as our resolution regarding the Office of Education, opening of libraries all over the country to Negores, etc. and how can we get the widest support and action on them from our industry?

7. How can we work most closely with other organizations in our industry-- American Booksellers Association, Authors Guild, Book Publishers Bureau, etc. -- or shouldn't we attempt it?

8. Should this Division have a separate news Bulletin supplementing the material sent out by the ICC, or should we have a special section in The Independent?

9. How can we point out to our own industry how Unemployment Insurance, the Full Employment Bill, speedup of Reconversion plans, displacement of workers, wage stabilization, inflation, affect our industry specifically; What can we do to get necessary action?

10. What can we do about Veterans Aid, Rehabilitation, Retraining for veterans from our own industry and those who want to enter it?

11. How does FEPC apply to our industry and how can we make it work there?

12. What can we do to combat the Anti-Soviet, Anti-Semitic, Anti-British, Anti-minority press -- not from a negativebut from a positive point of viw?

13. What shall we do about the Charter? Should we arrange discussions or should we leave that ot other organizations and instead merly recommend the Foreign Policy Association pamphlet?

14. What can we do on the question of Inter-Cultural relations?

15. How can we increase our membership?

16. How can we finance our activities?

From these questions, the following can be suggested to the membership as the basis for our first forum:

1. A very large number of American children arenot learning to read and write. What can we do about it?

(Someone would haveto do research to prove the point and we would also have to have some answers ready for discussion)

2. There is going to be, after the war, a great increase of unemployment. What will this mean to our industry and what can we do about it?

(Discussion here of all legislative matters like Unemployment Insurance, etc., mentioned in question 9, page 1.)

3. What will be the effect of the United Nations charter on literature?

4. Can law increase social progress or must it simply record it? (Discussion of FEPC).

20-17

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NOTE: NEXT MEETING

Thursday, July 26th at 7:45 sharp at Margaret Byrnes'

Mrs. George Hexter
29 East 9th Street
Apartment 8

Lillian Lustig
Executive Secretary

[INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS]

February 12, 1945
65 West 11th St.

Dear Dr DuBois:

I have been asked by the Writer's Group of the Independent Committee of Artists and Scientists to urge you to join our Executive Committee. It would mean a great deal to us if you would allow your name to be used, and to attend an occasional luncheon. That, I am assured, would be your total responsibility.

20-19-33

You know of course of the important job which the Committee, headed by Jo Davidson, did during the pre-election days. Its task now is equally important; to consolidate gains made by the election, and to extend as far as possible not only social and progressive legislation but also social and progressive thinking on the part of the citizens whom we can reach with our various projects. The Theatre Group is to be exceddingly active; the Writer's Group is continuing with the newspaper The Independent, and so on down the line. We are also starting a membership drive for 100,000 members. I think that our potentialities are virtually unlimited.

I add a most urgent and personal hope that you will agree to join the Executive Committee. I'll telephone you on Tuesday and hope for a favorable answer.

Cordially,
Henrietta Buckmaster

[INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS]

15 February 1945

20-19-34

My dear Miss Buckmaster:

Answering your letter of February twelfth and confirming our conversation over the telephone, may I say that I am willing to join the executive committee of the Writer's Group of the Independent Committee of Artists and Scientists.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Henrietta Buckmaster
65 West Eleventh Street
New York City, New York

Telephoned - attending Washington Conference

[INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ...]

65 West 11th St.
February 21

Dear Dr DuBois:

A luncheon has been scheduled by the Book and Magazine division of the Independent Citizens Committee (our Jo Davidson committee which I hope can, one day, stand on its own feet) at the Biltmore next Wednesday, the 28th at 12:30. Quentin Reynolds will be chairman, Carl Van Doren one of the principal speakers. It is strictly a business lunch, laying out the pattern for future activity and for increased membership. The luncheon will be $3.00.

20-15-46

I am writing you before anyone else has a chance to reach you, because I am hoping that you will want to come and will sit at the Harcourt Brace table. Would your secretary be kind enough to call me on Friday and let me know if you will be able to come. The telephone:Gr:7;4669.

With warm good wishes,

Henrietta Buckmaster

[INDEP. ORDER OF ST. LUKE]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

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NATIONAL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

DELIVER CARE WALTER WHITE OR ROY WILKINS 409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

=THE RIGHT WORTHY GRAND COUNCIL INDEPENDENT ORDER OF STLUKE A FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION OF 20000 NEGROES OPERATING IN 17 STATES OF THESE UNITED STATES SETS FORTH THE FOLLOWING AS ITS VIEW ON WHAT THE NEGROES WANT. "FULL AND UNABRIDGED CITIZENSHIP WE WILL APPRECIATE THE SERVICE AND EFFORT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE IN GETTING THIS VIEW BEFORE THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE=

HATTIE N F WALKER THE RIGHT WORTHY GRAND SECY OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF STLUKE.

APR 17 1945

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Rec'd Wire from Apr. 16

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SINDER, ORDER OF GOOD SAMARITANS

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WALTER WHITE, SECRETARY OF N A A C P=

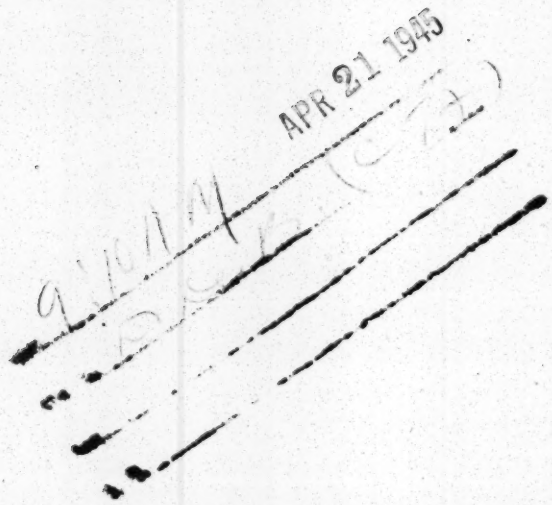
THE INDEPENDENT OR DER OF GOOD SAMARITANS HAVE NOT HELD A CONVENTION FOR TWO YEARS HENCE NO RESOLUTION PERTAINING TO THE SANFRANCISCO CONFERENCE I AM REQUESTING THAT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE SPEAK FOR THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD SAMARITANS AN ORGANIZATION OF TEN THOUSAND MEMBERS=

JOHN H DALE JR NATIONAL GRAND SECRETARY.

910A APR 21.....

20-16-39

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE


APR 21 1945

[India League]

INDIA TODAY

Published Monthly by
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

$2.00 per year | 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. | Tel. PLaza 3-5088

The League was organized in 1937 to interpret India and America to each other. The bulletin presents a brief synopsis and interpretation of authentic and significant news from India and gives a list of current articles bearing upon India.

Vol. V, No. 11 | 357 | FEBRUARY, 1945

4/8/12

U. S. CITIZENSHIP FOR NATIONALS OF INDIA

Bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate "to authorize the naturalization and the admission into the United States under a quota of Eastern Hemisphere Indians and descendants of Eastern Hemesphere Indians." Authors of the bills in the Senate are Senators Joseph H. Ball (S 331) and Arthur Capper (S 506), and in the House, Clare Boothe Luce (HR 1584) and Emanuel Celler (HR 173). *All the bills are identical.*

Hearings on the Luce-Celler bills will be held in Washington, D.C. on March 7, 1945 before the House of Representatives Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

This measure, if passed, will provide (1) that qualified nationals of India may become citizens of the United States. (2) that about a hundred nationals of India may enter the United States annually as immigrants. A minimum quota of a hundred per annum would be established and would be equally available to East Indians and all other eligible races born in India.

There are about 3,000 nationals of India now in the United States. At no time have there been more than 6,000.

Under the Immigration Act of 1924, Section 3, only tourists, students, visitors, etc. from India may enter the United States, and only as non-quota immigrants. There is no quota for India available to East Indians. The quota of 100 per annum allotted to India, is available only to persons born in India of races eligible to naturalization in the United States, such as English, French and other European races. Also, according to the Nationality Act of 1940, Section 303, nationals of India are ineligible to citizenship of the United States. It may be noted here that even business men may enter the United States only as visitors. This is a great handicap for better trade relations between India and the United States. Removal of the stigma will certainly create an atmosphere that will facilitate trade relations.

Every country, of course, has the right to have such immigration laws and fix such quotas as it may see fit. The people of India have no desire to ask for any special privileges or treatment. They do not seek unrestricted immigration into the United States, but they do wish and ask that the stigma of inferiority may be removed—as it has been rightly done very recently in the case of the Chinese. If there is to be a democratic world order, with better understanding among the different nations, particularly of the East and the West, then an easy interchange of students, teachers, merchants, scientists and philosophers is essential.

Democratic and freedom loving Americans are certainly not shedding their blood for the continuance of racial discrimination, racial intolerance, racial superiority, which are Hitlerian theories and which must result in wars. India has produced some of the world's most eminent scientists, poets, philosophers and statesmen.

The admission of 100 nationals of India per annum into the United States will create no economic or social problems. However, the question may be raised that if Indians are permitted to enter, then 'others' will demand the same privilege. Let us examine that point. With the exception of India and Afghanistan, all other principal countries in the 'barred zone' are at present under Japanese domination and control. Thus, no question of 'others' can and will arise during the war.

However, even if all 'others' in Asia who are discriminated against by the present immigration laws, are allowed quotas of about 100, the United States has nothing to fear. The 'barred zone' includes Indo-China, Thailand, Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma, India and most of Afghanistan. That makes seven. Thus the maximum number of immigrants per year from all of these 'others' would amount to less than 700 per annum. It should be mentioned here, that both India and China and other countries of the East have huge postwar plans for the industrialization of their countries. These plans are expected to raise living standards of the working classes, who would therefore not seek to emigrate to improve their lot. Even small quotas might not be filled.

People in India will most anxiously watch the progress of these bills in Congress. Already questions have been asked in the Indian Legislative Assembly in New Delhi. The Foreign Secretary of the Government of India said on February 24th, 1944 that "the Government of India is watching with close interest the question of removal of restrictions of entry of Indians into the United States." He continued, "Sir G. S. Bajpai (Agent-General for India in Washington), has been informed by the American State Department that the Government of the United States view his representations with great sympathy and they will examine the possibility of having legislation introduced in the sense desired. The Government of India is greatly interested in the matter and the Agent-General in Washington has been instructed to pursue it further."

The Council of State (upper chamber) of the Government of India recently passed a resolution recommending that early steps be taken to obtain United States citizenship rights for the Nationals of India.

We urge our readers to write to their Congressmen and Senators to support these bills.

CONGRESS-MOSLEM LEAGUE COALITION MOVE

While the efforts of the "Conciliation Committee" set up by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru seemed to be hanging fire with little or no support from any political group or party of importance, a new move was initiated by Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly last January.

Mr. Desai has refused to give any specific information, as he felt that it was not in the interest of the country to do so. However, the general trend of his plan seems to be fairly clear from press reports now available.

There has been some kind of an agreement between Mr. Desai and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Deputy leader of the Moslem League in the Central Legislative Assembly. Speculation in informed political circles has it that the two leaders have agreed to form a coalition government at the Centre. On the basis of this agreement Mr. Desai has talked with the Viceroy. The results of his negotiations with Lord Wavell are not known, and some quarters believe that nothing is likely to emerge until the end of the Budget Session of the Central Legislative Assembly in April. This would give the Viceroy time to consult Churchill and the British Government.

Mr. Desai was inspired in his present move to obtain a popular government by the Viceroy's speech in December. Lord Wavell described the present Executive Council as "a preponderately Indian Government," and continued:

"This does not mean to say that some other national government—national by my definition but based on the support of the main political parties—might not be more serviceable. Not because such a government would necessarily be more efficient than the present government, but because the efforts we have to make, now and in the future, demand considerable sacrifices. The average man is not willing to surrender income or comfort for the benefit of those poorer than himself or of future generations, unless he is coerced by a dictatorship or led by those in whom he has great confidence. If it were possible to form such a National Government during the war, it would quite clearly and quite definitely have to function under the existing constitution, no material change of which is possible during the war."

The reported agreement between the leaders of the two parties is that a government shall be formed at the Centre with the Congress and the Moslem League each holding forty per cent of the seats and the remaining twenty per cent shall be divided among the minorities. It is also understood that as part of this plan coalition governments will be formed in the provinces where the Governors are now functioning as dictators. While there will be no formal change in the existing constitution, it is understood that the two leaders will demand that the Viceroy and they shall come to a "gentleman's agreement" that he will not exercise his veto powers.

Mr. Jinnah has denied that he is party to any such agreement as outlined above, and Mr. Gandhi has not said anything either in favor or in opposition to such a plan, although it is known that Mr. Desai consulted Mr. Gandhi before seeing the Viceroy.

Political commentators do not lay much store by these denials and silences on the part of the Congress and Moslem League leaders. First of all they say that Mr. Jinnah has never associated himself with any move that he was not sure would succeed, and he has not said that he disapproved of the kind of agreement ascribed to his lieutenant. Secondly in August 1940 Mr. Jinnah in a letter to the Viceroy said the Moslem League would be willing to cooperate with the British on a basis similar to that of the present proposal. This was reaffirmed in the Moslem League resolution of 1942. Furthermore during the 1944 sessions of the Central Legislative Assembly the Congress and the Moslem League parties united on more than one occasion to defeat government motions—this of course does not mean that the Government did not go ahead with them anyway.

It is also pointed out that Mr. Desai has consulted Sardar Vallabhai Patel, one of the most powerful members of the Congress Working Committee in jail, and it is believed that Mr. Patel agreed with Mr. Desai. Finally it is argued that Mr. Desai, although he has not the same influence as Mr. Gandhi or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he is a front rank Congress leader, and has been the leader of his party in the Assembly for many years. He would not undertake any move without proper consideration, and would not have talked with the Viceroy if he had not received the consent of Mr. Gandhi to go ahead, and unless he had been fairly sure that the Moslem League would go along. After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks he would hardly court another setback in a solution of the Indian deadlock.

Editorials in the press representing every point of view welcome the reported efforts of Mr. Desai. The influential "Amrita Bazar Patrika" of Calcutta rebukes those who are criticising the proposed solution, and says: "Speaking for ourselves, there is hardly any point, upon a long-term view, in opposing these terms, provided these lead immediately to a governmental set-up at the Centre and in the Provinces where the voice of the Indian people shall be decisive in internal affairs no less than in those affecting India's relations with foreign States. All we need is that the power so transferred comes to be exercised by the accredited representatives of India's toiling millions. In this perspective there is no room for a Hindu oligarchy or Moslem misrule."

GANDHI'S LETTER TO INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Mahatma Gandhi has sent a letter dated November 6th from Sevagram to the President of the League thanking him and "other friends" for the "kind message." Mahatma Gandhi was referring to the message sent from the Town Hall meeting held on October 2, 1944 to celebrate his birthday.

U. S. MINISTER TO INDIA

President Roosevelt nominated George R. Merrell of Missouri, a career diplomat, today to serve as United States representative in India with the rank of Minister. Ambassador William Phillips remains as the President's personal representative to India.

Mr. Phillips, however, has been in this country some months, and there have been unofficial reports that because of his strong attitude in favor of complete freedom for India the British did not desire his return there. Mr. Merrell already is on duty in New Delhi, where he has been serving as secretary of the American political mission.

Such a mission is similar to an embassy organization. Since India, however, is not an independent nation, this country cannot send a regular diplomatic mission to New Delhi.

STATE DEPARTMENT ON INDIA

An assurance that the United States Government would be happy to contribute to a settlement of the Indian problem, was given by Under-Secretary Grew at a press conference on January 29 in Washington, D.C. This is the first official statement on India by an official of the United States Government in a long time, and was the result of an earlier statement by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit regretting the lack of a precise expression of sympathy for the Indian cause by the Administration.

Mr. Grew was asked at his press conference to comment on Mrs. Pandit's statement, and in answer he read from a prepared statement. Exact quotation was not permitted, but a paraphrase of his comment said that the United States Government had constantly followed with sympathetic interest developments in Indian affairs and was naturally hopeful that progress would be made in this difficult problem. The United States had close ties of friendship with both the British and the Indian people, and these ties had been strengthened by their common participation in the war. The United States would be happy to contribute in any appropriate manner to the solution of the Indian problem. Mr. Grew declined to be more explicit when questioned as to whether he implied that the United States would be willing to offer her good offices between the British and the Indian people. It is authoritatively learnt that no such implication was intended.

Commenting on Mr. Grew's statement, Mrs. Pandit said, "Of course the statement does not go very far, but I believe it is helpful in the sense that it shows an appreciation of the problem."

A second story says that Mr. Grew also referred to a statement by former Secretary of State Cordell Hull last June, wherein he said that the United States championed liberty for everybody, encouraging them at all times and all places.

MRS. PANDIT

A dinner in honor of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was given by Mr. and Mrs. Henry R. Luce at the Waldorf-Astoria on February 3.

During her trip to Boston Mrs. Pandit visited her two daughters at Wellesley College, and lunched with President McEvoy of Wellesley on February 11. The same evening she addressed a meeting of several hundred at the International Students' Centre in Cambridge.

Next day she attended a dinner given in her honor by Ambassador William Phillips and Mrs. Phillips.

Mrs. Pandit addressed a capacity crowd of over six hundred at the New England Mutual Hall on the evening of the 12th.

A large collection was taken at this meeting. The collection is to be used by the Friends' Service Committee for relief of famine victims in India, and by the Save the Children Fund, started in India by Mrs. Pandit.

All the Indian students in Boston and the environs, a total of over thirty-five, had dinner with Mrs. Pandit at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, on February 14.

At the "Town Meeting of the Air" on Thursday, March 1, at 8:30 P.M. over the Blue Network, Mrs. Pandit will participate in a debate on the question, "Are Colonial Empires a Threat to World Peace." Other participants will be Mr. Owen Lattimore, Far East expert, and Robert Boothby, British Member of Parliament. The "Town Meeting of the Air" is held in Town Hall, New York City, and is heard by nearly seven or eight million people. Readers are urged to tune in.

IN BRIEF

Calcutta, January 5.—A reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council is necessary, even if the major political parties decline to accept office, said Mr. B. M. Birla, president of the India Chamber of Commerce at its general meeting held here today.

Mr. Birla dealt briefly with the population problem and stressed the need for accelerating the pace of industrialization and raising the standard of living of the people. "We must aim at providing work for all who are physically fit and by expansion of industry we shall attain for all a higher standard of life," he added.

* * *

Calcutta, Jan. 7.—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Indian poetess and national leader, addressing a gathering of the College of Engineering and Technology said, "Youth must make coordinated and undivided contribution for the progress not only of India but also for the world. I do not believe that India can live in isolation. I believe that nationalism is only a narrow passage to that greater world citizenship which is our birthright."

* * *

Lahore, January 9.—Sir Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister died today following a severe heart attack.

Sir Chhotu Ram was the pillar of the Unionist party in the Punjab.

* * *

Madras, January 9.—"It is of the utmost importance that some of our greatest idealists should be at the peace conference when matters of mighty consequence will be settled," said Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri at a public meeting here today. "India should be represented at the Conference not by the nominees of the Viceroy but by those in whom the people have the fullest confidence. Who is there strong enough to raise his voice for the benefit of India, for the emancipation of her people and for the abolition of the color bar? Who can fearlessly make this demand? I think Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If they are not sent to the peace conference, we need not be represented at all."

* * *

Allahabad, January 20.—Extract from an editorial of *Pioneer*—a British owned newspaper: " . . . Government must face the charge of insincerity, in respect of their oft-repeated appeals to India's leaders to settle their inter-party differences as a prelude to the attainment of political independence, so long as they refuse to release men who may be expected to strive for the attainment of Indian unity. . . . As we have so often remarked, a Government that was strong enough to lock up the Congress leaders is strong enough now, to release them. Let the gesture be made."

* * *

London, February 2.—Lord Linlithgow, former Viceroy of India, has been named chairman of Midland Bank, Ltd. The appointment, it was said, follows the British tradition of offering lucrative city positions to returning Indian Viceroys.

INDIAN LABOR INVITES RUSSIAN DELEGATION

At a meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Madras on January 22, a resolution was adopted, inviting the essential organization of the Soviet Trade Unions to send a delegation to India. The resolution further sent fraternal greetings to the workers of Britain and noted with satisfaction that British workers were demanding the release of India's leaders and the establishment of a National Government. It welcomed the proposal of the British Trade Unions to send a delegation to India.

INDIANS DEMAND END TO BRITISH LIES

Indian visitors to this country have been disturbed at the extent of anti-Indian propaganda by the British. On their return to India they have denounced British, and British-paid Indian propagandists. The last of such visitors to do so was G. L. Mehta, a delegate to the International Business Conference at Rye last year.

An exasperated public opinion in India has been reflected in the Indian press and the Central Legislative Assembly. We publish extracts below from a remarkable article—"I Accuse"—in the *Hindustan Times,* a leading nationalist paper.

The article begins by saying that the biggest headache to British propagandists was how to curb the activities of the India League of America, which was trying to give true facts about India to the American people. "The first move in this direction was the decision to appoint an Agent General for India and select for the office a careerist Indian and appoint under him a British publicity officer. Thus Mr. Hennessy was sent out as the Publicity Agent to Sir. G. S. Bajpai, Agent General for India in Washington, D.C. Unfortunately for the Government Mr. Hennessy overdid his job and the experiment failed to achieve the desired result. Since it was imperative that American opinion on India should be moulded to the British way of thought, Sir Frederick Puckle, Information Secretary to the Government of India, and Mr. Joyce, Publicity Officer of the India Office (in London), were sent out to the U.S.A. on a joint mission to suggest the best ways and means of doping Americans about the Indian problem.

"The two officers reported that the Americans are by nature inquisitive, and that two things were discernible about their attitude towards India, first, their ignorance about India, and, second, their interest in India. The reasons they gave for American interest in India were: Americans hold the idealistic view that each country should be free to govern itself; America's sons are fighting in the Eastern theatre with India as the base; Americans regard Japan as enemy number one and are of the opinion that to win the war against Japan freedom for India is essential because India is not contributing as much towards the war as she would if she were free; and Americans are interested in India on account of their interest in China, because all supplies to China go through India. . . . "

"They stated that Americans were in a mood to receive any information about India from any quarter and that it was to the discredit of the British Government of India that information available to Americans had been received from quarters unsympathetic to British rule in India."

"So the Puckle-Joyce report concluded with the recommendation that since the Americans were in a receptive mood, efforts should be made to present to them the British view of the Indian political scene. (Presumably the efforts of the British Ministry of Information were considered inadequate). They, therefore, suggested that information services to America should be operated by the British Ministry of Information and the British Government of India in a co-ordinated way, and that the necessary financial arrangements should be made for the purpose." (An Indian source says that the British Ministry of Information spends twelve million dollars a year, and the British Government of India nearly a million.)

The article then says that various books such as "The Argument for Empire," by Hancock; "Pageant India," by Yeatts Brown and "Verdict on India," by Beverly Nichols are all part of this high-powered propaganda drive. "It was for the same reason that Col. Rajendra Singh blazed the trail of the Indian army officers visiting the U.S.A. . . . The specific angle of the 'good will missions' on Indian affairs was that the Indian army wished to remain within the British Empire."

"The finishing touch to the propaganda plans in America was given by Mr. Bozzman's recent tour to the U.S.A." Mr. Bozzman is a Secretary to the British Government of India, and it seems he has arranged for American journalists to be invited out to India and taken on "conducted tours."

"Of course the withholding of the material, coming out to and going out of India which would defeat the Government's publicity drive is being done in the ordinary administrative way. So that when Mr. Mehta cries out for some arrangements to strengthen Mr. J. J. Singh and his friends (in U.S.A.) with true information about India, he must know why his cry is a cry in the wilderness."

"Political quarters in India demand that the American Government should declare that the British Embassy and the India Agency in Washington are abusing their diplomatic privileges and that such of their officials as are indulging in this game are *persona non grata.*"

GANDHI PREDICTS NEW WAR

BOMBAY, Feb. 18 (AP)—Mohandas K. Gandhi predicted today a new and bloodier war unless the problem of India and other nations like her was solved.

Criticizing the Government on the recent arrest of certain members of the All-India Congress party, Mr. Gandhi declared:

"If things go on as they are doing in India, the victory that the Allies will have will be only so-called, because they will also have India and other nations in the same plight bleeding at their feet.

"Such victory can lead in the near future only to war bloodier—if such a thing is possible—than the one that will have closed, for victory at the expense of India will mean that out of the ashes of fascism, nazism and Japanese militarism will have risen a new monster that will seek to eat all it sees—and in the attempt will be eaten up, leaving I know not what.

"In August, 1942, instead of needlessly precipitating a quarrel with the people, if the authority had listened to the pleading of the Congress, India would have enjoyed independence and the war would already have ended with honor for the Allies and happiness for the suppressed peoples of the earth. That is my retrospection.

"What are the Government's protestations about Indian independence worth if they will not tolerate Congress' constructive movement, except on conditions impossible of acceptance? Are they not satisfied with the extraordinary power they possess? Must they keep in custody without trial the best-known as well as the least-known Indians? Must there be re-arrest of released persons the moment they speak and act as free men if their speech or act does not please authority?"

"Distributed by India League of America, 40 East 49th Street, New York City, which has filed a public registration statement and a copy of this matter with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., as an organization acting on behalf of the people of India. Registration does not indicate approval by the United States Government of the contents hereof."

Prepared by Research Bureau of India League of America.—Officers and executive committee of the League: *Honorary Presidents*: Pearl S. Buck, Dr. Lin Yutang; *President,* Sirdar J. J. Singh; *Chairman Executive Committee,* Richard J. Walsh; *Vice-Presidents*: Louis Fischer, Dr. J. Holmes Smith; *Secretary,* Hemendra K. Rakhit; *Treasurer,* Roger N. Baldwin; Herbert J. De Varco, Sidney Hertzberg, Mirza Jaffer, Dorothy Norman, Josephine Rathbone, S. S. Sarna, Mai Mai Sze, Rustum D. Wadia.

From the SATURDAY REVIEW
February 17, 1945

VERDICT FOR WHOM?

IN the past few years, several books have criticized the attempt of the Western world to dominate the Orient—Quaritch Wales's "Years of Blindness," General Carlos P. Romulo's "Mother America," Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" and later his "The Battle for Asia." They have championed the desire and the right of the Asiatic peoples to command their own destinies. When the attitude of the world swings to the East with Germany's defeat, the problem of imperialism, economic or political, will become a burning issue.

Most Americans today who have given any thought to the question are anti-imperialist. We have had the good fortune to have taken over a vast and empty continent, and so, not having to worry about supporting ourselves at the expense of other peoples, we are perhaps inclined to believe that the quicker the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, the Belgians, the Spanish (and so forth), and the British, give up trying to rule the brown, black, and yellow people thousands of miles away from them, the better it will be for them and the whole world. But at the same time we are informed that if the "white" folk (who turn out to be not so white when the sociologist gets to work on them) let go of these chromatic natives in Asia, Africa, or the East Indies, they will burst into fragments and have bloody revolutions which will annoy us whites for a long time and cause us to lose our markets.

If you belonged to an island off the coast of Europe, with a population today of some forty-eight million people, about the same number as live on the Island of Java, you might be cool to the desire for freedom of any colored race on the other side of the world. You might thank your lucky stars that you had all those darker folks to work for you in one way or anotner. You woulan't go out of your way to insult them since they labor from dawn to dark. Or would you?

Well, yes, you would! Or at least it must have been considered good policy by the British recently to allow Mr. Beverley Nichols to spend a year of physical and spiritual suffering in India so he could emerge with a book. His "Verdict on India" has been somewhat neglected by most of the American press as, I presume, "too hot to handle," but it deserves our attention. There has been only one other on the same subject in recent times that approached it in savagery and malice, Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," written twenty years ago, which Mr. Nichols quotes at length. Nobody was, theoretically, interested in India in those days but it sold several hundreds of thousands of copies, including reprints, and was a sensational success in Great Britain. In a way, it deserved this success. However wildly it traduced the people of India, it was written with the deepest sincerity and the most passionate conviction. Its author was a well-to-do maiden lady who had crusaded for "causes" in this country; a woman who was so ardent an Anglophile that she deplored the fact that we did not have Dukes and Lords and other titles in this country, and regretted that we had even been so deluded as to have a revolution that destroyed our connection with the British Crown. Katherine Mayo went to India with the blessings of the British government, or its India Office. Her Rolls Royce was transported from America to India. she was shown everything that could inflame the susceptibilities of a virtuous old maid, and presented with examples of everything that could arouse her ardor for a British cause. She said a great many things that were true about the work of the Britisher in the India Civil Service, the public workers living an exhausting and nerve wracking life in a horrible climate and among apparently irresponsible natives. She hated the Hindus, their religion, sexual habits, and child marriages. In one sense the work blew up in the British Government's face; it so disturbed the prosperous middle class in England that I have been told that a great sum had to be spent on hospitals and clinics for women that might have been saved for more imperial causes.

But to return to Beverley Nichols and his "Verdict on India." When he went to India there were still thousands of the leaders of India in jail, and many of them are still there, including one of the greatest statesmen in the world, Nehru. He found a sullen hatred of the white man everywhere. He was violently attacked by the Indian press for being what he appears to be from this book; in turn, he has labeled the Indian press the most venal in the world. He found nothing praiseworthy in Indian art, music, medicine, religion, politics, or the theatre. He thought their imprisoned saint, Gandhi, a Fascist. He, too, hated the Hindu; but this esthete who wrote of himself once, "I am always posing," is no zealot like Miss Mayo, who would have been willing to be grilled alive for a cause she believed in. Mr. Nichols was acutely uncomfortable in India, and I dare say got prickly heat even in the Viceroy's incredible marble palace. But he has done his work superbly. As a result of "Verdict on India," there may be, sad to say, a few thousands of Americans who, when the test comes, and when the conscience of the world looks hard some day at India's revolution, will say, "I know that dreadful country; it is not worth the freedom it is crying for."

So far as Americans are concerned, the whole question is one requiring continuing information and continuing tact. While we are in no position to dictate the political complexion of the entire world, we can't help thinking. Nor should we.

H. S.

From COMMON SENSE
February 1945

Verdict on Beverley Nichols

VERDICT ON INDIA by Beverley Nichols. (Harcourt Brace. $2.50.) Mr. Nichols' verdict is: India has no culture, the British have done all they could, Jawaharlal Nehru is a fascist. Mr. Nichols is an English author with a slick style and a sly mind.

Readers may arrive at a verdict on the value of Mr. Nichols' judgment on crucial issues by referring to a book he wrote in 1938 entitled, "News of England."

Discussing the British reaction to Italian aggression in Italy, he wrote:

Those few realists who pointed out that Italy was only doing, on a somewhat larger and more efficient scale, what we ourselves had done, time and again, in the past, and that a thorough conquest by a Western power would perhaps in the long run make life safer, healthier and more agreeable for the Abyssinians themselves, were regarded as brutal 'Fascists'. (Page 20)

Mr. Nichols explains he is not an anti-Semite:

The ivy is a parasite. The Jew is a parasite. But the ivy, on an ancient structure, is not only a parasite but a support. And the Jew, in an ancient structure like the British Empire, is not only an alien but an asset. (Page 299)

Mr. Nichols on Britain's fascist leader, Oswald Mosley:

Mosley, through an ironic twist of circumstances, has been compelled by the powerful forces of Jewry, to adopt a modified form of anti-Semitism. (Page 297)

. . . if he were ever to come to power, there would be no pogroms. He might even have the genius to find a solution to this problem . . . which, remember, has baffled the ingenuity of mankind since the beginnings of history.

At the moment, however, the fact that he has been forced by his enemies into a position where he must either be anti-Semitic or perish, seems to me to be one of the major tragedies of our time. For he is the only man I know who has in him the qualities of that hero for whom this country has waited so long, and waited in vain! (Page 302-3)

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20-19

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[INDONESIA CLUB]

J. R.Andu
49 Clinton Street (Apt. 15)
New York 2, N.Y.

W.E.B. DuBois
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N.Y.

New York
March 15, 1945

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I would be more than delighted to attend the proposed Colonial Conference on April 6. At that time you could be sure of me that I will take material with me about my country: Indonesia (N.E.I.); and also some statements about the aspirations of the Indonesian people.

If you are not too busy, would it be possible for me to meet you personally before the Conference? I should like to have a talk with you about your organization, as well as my organization, the "Indonesia Club of America, Inc."; and I should also like to propose some things.

You could always call me up during office-hours at : CIrcle 5-8686 .

Sincerely yours,

John R. Andu

46-6-82

(INDONESIA CLUB)

21 March 1945

My dear Sir:

I should be very glad to talk with you about our organizations. Perhaps you will telephone me - Algonquin 4-3550 - so that we may make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-83

Mr. John R. Andu
49 Clinton Street
Apartment 15
New York 2, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

On March 24, 1945, the INDONESIA CLUB OF AMERICA, INC. of 18 Allen Street, New York 2, N. Y. held an official meeting at its Clubhouse in New York City. At this metting a motion was introduced to discuss the present political situation in the world, as well as the future of Indonesia. All members agreed that the time has come now to act in some definite way to help the cause of "democracy". It was also found necessary that the "Indonesia Club of America", as a body, should present to the public a definite set of ideals or a standpoint, which it will propagate. Now that most nations and peoples have announced their plans and aspirations, it was felt that the Indonesians, too, should express their opinion.

Below will follow the resolution adopted and passed by the entire membership of the Indonesia Club of America, Inc., as well as some facts that many members proposed to be printed:

20-4-67

Whereas the membership of the "Indonesia Club of America, Inc." is quite concerned about the political situation of the world and the outcome of the present World War, and.....

Whereas they wholly agree with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and....

Whereas in the opinion of the "Indonesia Club of America" the United Nations are also fighting for the liberation of Indonesian people, and....

Whereas we feel that we are also a part of the United Nations,

Be it then resolved, demanded and recommended:

First, that the "Indonesia Club of America, Inc." support the program of the United Nations with all its powers.

Second, that the future of Indonesia should be bases on complete freedom -- political and otherwise.

Third, that the United Nations should issue a Declaration of Independence as soon as possible promising freedom for Indonesia after the war. In this way we will remove all Indonesian suspicions about the United Nations' war aims, and also mobilize the whole Indonesian people for an active fight against the Axis enemies.

Fourth, that a free Indonesia will join the World Security Council as an equal and active member. Indonesia must also have representation in all United Nations Conferences.

Fifth, that the United States of America be appointed a "special Guardian" for a limited period.

Sixth, that the United Nations should form, promote and recognize an "Indonesian National Committee", now, (preferably in the U.S.) which will become the future Provisional Indonesian Government. Members of this Committee will be drawn from many Indonesians all over the world. The future Indonesian government will work on a democratic system and will follow all rules and regulations of the United Nations.

Seventh, the "industrial nations" should assist Indonesia in the beginning with funds, technicians and advisors, for which in return Indonesia will grant concessions and raw materials.

Eighth, that after the war the Japanese should be forced to pay war damages to Indonesia.

Ninth, the Indonesians welcome immigration from other countries provided the immigrants come with peaceful means and intentions, and to help the economic and cultural development of Indonesia.

Tenth, the territory of Indonesia shall include: Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Celebes, the Molucca and Lesser Sunda islands and the Western half of New Guinea. If possible, the Malay peninsula should also be included in the new nation.

20-4-68

Here are some facts on which Indonesian freedom will be based:

a. Contrary to "imperialists' propaganda" the Indonesians are highly intelligent and nationalistic, and they are highly conscious of their human and cultural rights.

b. Long before the Dutch came and subdued the Indonesians with deceipt and through suppressive measures, the Indonesians were free, and had their own independent states with responsible rulers. Several times, Indonesia was already united during the Empires of Shrividjaya (800), and Modjopahit, from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. These facts prove that Indonesians are also nation builders.

c. The Indonesian Culture is old, authentic and refined. Generally known throughout the world are the Javanese dances, the Balinese dances, the Wayang shadow-plays, Batick works, Gamelan music, the Indonesian script, Painting, native fencing, and the "Adat",which is the native customary law and ethics. Other proofs of the high Indonesian culture are the many temples, monuments, and the native dress of the population. In other words, the Indonesians have also contributed to the cultural enrichment of the world.

d. The Indonesian people are now more united than ever. In pre-war years, it was estimated that the Indonesian Nationalists' Movement numbered about 5,000,000 people. The Malay language is adopted by all Indonesians as their official language -- it is taught in all schools of Indonesia. There are at least

10,000 educated Indonesians, who would be eager to become leaders of the Free Indonesia. The new government will be based on democratic principles. Since 1940, the "Indonesian Political Congress" (Gaboengan Politik Indonesia), which is a congress of all Indonesian parties and Associations, is supporting the Allied struggle against Fascism. In the beginning "imperialism" was the unjust enemy, but later "fascism" and "militarism" were considered bigger enemies. As early as 1917, the "Sarekat Islam", an Indonesian party with 800,000 members, demanded "independence" for Indonesia. This sentiment is now shared by all Indonesians.

e. Economically, Indonesia is not dependent upon one country alone. Free Indonesia should like to trade with all nations of the world, particularly the United States, China, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and all her neighbors. The new Indonesia believes in Free Trade without discriminatory barriers, and also expects to sell her own products to different markets. Great numbers of machinery, manufactured goods and other essential supplies will be pruchased by an Indonesian government, and all kinds of technical experts and economists will be invited to help develop and improve the economic conditions. These technical staffs and experts will be well-paid by government and private enterprises. Liberal opportunities will be afforded to foreign investors.

69-4-90

As a colony, however, Indonesia was only an exploited and profit-making "slave" for the Mother-country. The Indonesian standard of living was never considered by the colonial govenment as a problem. Every year millions of wealth was transferred to the Motherland. According to Mr. Arthur S. Keller in "Netherlands Indies as Paying Proposition", Far Eastern Survey of January 14, 1940, we quote, "the outflow of wealth from Indonesia to Holland without a return of goods in 1938 was 279,000,000 guilders". These included: payments of interests, dividends, profits, salaries of directors and pensions.

f. Holland in the past has failed to look after the interests of the 72,000,000 Indonesians. Only five percent of the colonial expenditures was spent for education (in the Philippines - 25 percent). This resulted in a 90% illiteracy among the population. Then, the Indonesians themselves established some private "educational institutions" like: the Taman Siswo, Mohammadyah, Pasoendan, Boedi Oetomo, and other school-systems. They had over 1,000 private (national) schools. However, in 1930 the Dutch Government introduced the "Wilde Scholen Ordonnantie Act", which aimed at abolishing all privately owned national schools. Fortunately, the Indonesian people in support of their educational institutions acted strongly against the Act, and it was later lifted.

There was "superficial" democracy in the Netherlands Indies. All gatherings, speeches and the Indonesian press were closely guarded. A little criticism might land anyone in jail. A critical speech is enough to ban a person to permanent exile in a Central New Guinea concentration camp.

The Dutch have proven that they failed to defend the county. While there was still ample time to mobilize the natives against the Japanese, the Dutch never gave the Indonesians the opportunity to defend their own country. Petitions for conscription were always refused.

H After the present war Holland may be much weaker than heretofore. She will lack capital, economic resources (which the Germans destroyed), shipping, machines and adequate technical personnel. Holland herself will be in a state of poverty.

The Indonesians know that a return of their country to Dutch rule will only result in "chaos". This chaos in turn will produce serious political and economic disturbances in the world. Therefore, the Indonesian problem is necessarily a World problem. All Indonesians feel that Holland herself will have enough to do with her own reconstruction after the war. Indonesia, a country of 750,000 square miles and with 72,000,000 people, can be governed properly only by Indonesians, who have their own welfare in mind--and the welfare of all mankind.

20-4-70

INDONESIA CLUB OF AMERICA, INC.
18 Allen Street
New York 2, N. Y.

P.S. The members of the Indonesia Club of America, Inc. come from all walks of life and from all parts of the East Indies - such as Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Ambon, Timor and other islands. There are several Indonesians who have escaped from the Indies after the outbreak of the Pacific War. Besides there are Indonesian officials, officers, seamen, dancers, professionals, residents and non-residents in the United States.

[INDONESIA CCUS]

J.R.Andu
49 Clinton Str. Apt. 15
New York 2, N.Y.

April 12,'45

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Ave., New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I believe the draft that you drew up for the Resolution Committee is in agreement ~~of~~ with the four directives. The only suggestion I have for the moment is that the official Resolution be given out as soon as possible. Furthermore, it would be imperative to send our proposals to as many organizations and personalities as we can reach. In this group I also include "leaders" of the U.S. Government, Labor and Press, as well as the various delegates and representatives of the United Nations. It is also important that our proposals are disseminated to the American public.

If we do our best in this direction, I am sure we could accomplish something in alleviating "colonialism" and "imperialism" in this world.

Sincerely yours,

John R. Andu
Indonesia Club of America, Inc.

416-6-84

Special Delivery

INTERDENOMINATIONAL MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE
AND
CHRISTIAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE
Postoffice Box 507
Bluefield, West Virginia

10037

April 16, 1945

APR 17 1945

National Association for t he Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please have your representative present this Resolution at the United Nations' Conference in San Francisco, California, April 25, 1945.

Yours truly,

INTERDENOMINATION MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE
AND CHRISTIAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE

S. C. Taylor

Rev. S. C. Taylor, President

(Mrs) Clara Bundy

(Mrs.) Clara Bundy, Secretary

Special Delivery

APR 17 1945

THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE
AND
CHRISTIAN WORKERS' CONFERENCE

Postoffice Box 507
Bluefield, West Virginia

In view of the impending Peace Conference growing out of the international conflict which has crushed ideals of World Brotherhood and economic stability, we the Officers and members of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and Christian Workers' Conference of Bluefield, West Virginia and vicinity, with a membership and constituency of approximately five thousand, hereby register our conviction that to assure permanent peace, the rights of all men must be guaranteed.

Therefore, be it resolved that: We request the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The National Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, The Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, The Urban League and other organized movements for the protection of the rights of minority groups, to appeal to the Council of United Nations in Conference assembled in San Francisco, California, and at the Peace Conference to follow, that some inter-Allied plan be agreed upon by the Allied Nations by which freedom, equal rights, equal opportunity, social and political justice shall be guaranteed to all minority groups that shall live under the jurisdiction of the Allied Nations, irrespective of national allegiance.

Signed,

S. C. Taylor
Rev. S. C. Taylor, President

Mrs. Clara Bundy
(Mrs.) Clara Bundy, Secretary

Dated April 16, 1945

31 January 1945

My dear Mr. Smith:

20-15-119

I have just received a circular letter sent by your director, Professor Daryll Ford, outlining work for the future. I note again with distress that your organization apparently has not plan for using the work of African scholars; that they have no place on your board of directors and that your whole attitude continues to be the attitude of superior people who are working for inferiors because they know so much more than these inferiors can ever be expected to learn. It does seem to me, and I think I emphasized it to you several times while you were in the United States, that this is a mistaken and utterly indefensible attitude.

From the beginning I have urged upon your organization to undertake the study of Africa, its problems and peoples as a job to be shared between whites and Africans. I know the reiterated statement on your part and others of the exceedingly small number of African scholars of which you know. Granting this, there is all the more reason that you use some of the few who exist. I deeply appreciate what you say in your circular letter of including among Americans proven scholars of Negro descent but I insist that this is not enough. England ought to use African scholarship and especially that which is developing in her own colonies and thus set an example to America and the world. I sincerely trust that this will be done.

I hope that you are in good health and beg to send most cordial greetings to you and Mrs. Smith.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Edwin W. Smith
c/o The International African Institute
Seymour House
17 Waterloo
London S. W. 1
England

Telephone: WHITEHALL 4212 *Telegrams:* AFRILAC-PICCY, LONDON

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

International Institute of African Languages & Cultures

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Director: PROFESSOR DARYLL FORDE.

Seymour House,
17, Waterloo Place,
London, S.W.1.

6th March, 1945.

20-15-120

W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have to-day received your letter of 31st January and thank you for it. I am glad to see that you are continuing your research work. In regard to this Institute I should like to say that your opinion that we take the attitude of superior people working for inferiors is quite mistaken. Our whole desire is to work with Africans as co-partners. I have now taken on the editorship of AFRICA and I am doing my utmost to bring in African writers who can discuss various problems on terms of perfect equality. You say that no African scholar has a place on our Board of Directors. That is true. We have lately had under discussion the future work of the Institute, and I have strongly repeated to my colleagues the desirability of having one African at least on the Executive Council. My colleagues are all in accord with me on this matter. The standing difficulty is that there are no African scholars resident in England who can take an active part in our deliberation. It is not, of course, that we do not desire their help.

I am considering asking representative

/Africanists

Africanists in different countries to join in a Consultative Editorial Board. I am hoping to secure one of the American negroes and two or three Africans from different parts of that Continent. The only thing that is preventing my bringing this plan to fruition is the impossibility of getting in touch with continental scholars. I most thoroughly agree with you that England ought to use African scholarship. There is no difference on this point between yourself and the Institute. Believe me, any suggestion to the contrary is wide of the truth.

I am very happy to hear from you again and have the most pleasant recollection of our fellowship in the United States. I have not yet heard whether you completed the book that you were writing.

Yours very sincerely,

Edwin W. Smith

Editor of AFRICA.

Telephone: WHitehall {4212. 9144.

SEYMOUR HOUSE,
17, WATERLOO PLACE,
LONDON, S.W.1

October 19 45

W.E.B. DuBois, Esq.,
20 West 40th Street
New York City, U.S.A.

Dr. to

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INTERNATIONAL CENTER

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April 9, 1945

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Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We have delayed answering your letter of March 21 because we have been trying to expand our own facilities or find outside office quarters for those organizations such as you represent to use during the United Nations Conference.

The State Department has taken over all of the facilities, including office space and housing, in the entire Bay Area, and is allocating on the basis of priority a small space for its "unofficial" delegates. As you know, in this category are included all of those national organizations working in the field that comes under the program of the United Nations Conference.

You may be assured that whatever cooperation we can give you we will do, but our entire staff and physical properties are at present taxed to capacity. We have reason to believe that at some later date we may secure a meeting place through the direct action of the State Department, but until such time, we are unable to guarantee either office facilities or staff assistance.

Assuring you of our deep interest and desire to be of service in every way, we are

Very sincerely yours,

Lucy McWilliams

Mrs. Robert McWilliams

L'cW:e

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

International Convention of African Peoples of the World

New York City, New York, U.S.A.

August 1st to August 31st, 1946

For the report and discussion of the post-war economic, political and educational problems of peoples of African blood and descent in all parts of the world, and for the formulation of plans and programs of coordinated action for the betterment of the economic, political and educational status of peoples of African blood and descent in every community where they reside.

To be held under the auspices of:

GARVEY CLUB, Inc.

Universal Negro Improvement Association

(August, 1929, of the World)

CONVENTION COMMITTEE

Mr. Benjamin Gibbons	Chairman
Col. Cecil A. Walters	Assistant Chairman
Attorney Lester Taylor	Secretary
Miss Jessie Stockett	Treasurer

HEADQUARTERS

U. N. I. A. Liberty Hall
100-102 West 116th Street
New York City, New York, U.S.A.

Delegations of African peoples are coming from every country, state and nation of the earth to discuss and plan unity of action for the African Race in its post-war struggle for economic and political freedom. All religious, fraternal, civic, social, business and labor organizations of peoples of African blood and descent are invited to participate.

An INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION of the ARTS, HANDICRAFTS, and INDUSTRIES of Peoples of African Blood and Descent will be held in conjunction with the Convention.

WRITE IMMEDIATELY FOR PARTICULARS!

Lester Taylor, Secretary.

International Convention of African Peoples of the World

New York City, New York, U.S.A.

August 1st to August 31st, 1946

To be held under the auspices of:

GARVEY CLUB, Inc.
Universal Negro Improvement Association
(August, 1929, of the World)

HEADQUARTERS
U. N. I. A. Liberty Hall
100-102 West 116th Street
New York City, New York, U.S.A.

CONVENTION COMMITTEE

Mr. Benj. Gibbons, Chairman
Col. C. A. Walters, Asst. Chair.
Attorney Lester Taylor, Sec'y
Miss Jessie Stockett, Treasurer

December 4th, 1945.

20-8-59

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing for the convenience of your files an announcement of the International Convention of African Peoples of the World as well as a copy of the communication presented by me to the national delegations at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

It would be very helpful if I could have an interview with you at your earliest possible convenience. Before you left for the Pan African Congress I spoke to you on the telephone with reference to obtaining information through you with respect to co-operation in sending a delegate from the United States. As you may remember, you were very pessimistic on the subject of the Congress and on the possibility of your attending. Now that you have returned, I would welcome an opportunity to talk with you.

Yours truly,

Lester Taylor

LESTER TAYLOR - Secretary

A fund of $100,000.00 is being raised by the Committee to defray the necessary expenses of the International Convention of African Peoples of the World. Send or bring your contribution to headquarters at once.

Telephone No. — PLATEAU 2507 *Telegraphic Address:* INTERLAB, MONTREAL

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

WB/LG

When replying, please quote reference No.:— D. 1061/83

MONTREAL, CANADA
3480 UNIVERSITY STREET

APR-6 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

As I thought on Monday would be likely, we found it impossible to send any member of this Office to your Colonial Conference in New York. I should like to assure you, however, that we are greatly interested in this new development of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. We hope that you will continue to keep in touch with us.

You may be interested in the enclosed report of a discussion on colonial labour problems held in London with colonial delegates to the World Trade Union Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Wilfrid Benson

Wilfrid Benson,
Chief of the Dependent Territories Service.

20-4-4

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 5-2864
CABLE: *INTERBOOK* NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Zone Number 16

February 14, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-17-22

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The other evening when I had a chance to say hello to you, I did not have the opportunity to tell you about a publishing project which I have been working on during the recent period and which I think will interest you. Dr. Philip Foner, whose writings on American history you may have seen, has been gathering for some time all the writings of Frederick Douglass. We are planning to publish two volumes of Douglass' speeches, editorials, and correspondence with various persons in the United States and abroad. As far as I know, outside his Life, this material has never been brought together.

There are a number of questions which have occurred to me which I would like to discuss with you and get your advice. Could you drop me a line and let me know when it would be convenient for me to see you at your office. Perhaps we could arrange to have lunch together? It would be a pleasure for me to renew an old acquaintanceship which goes back almost thirty-five years when I, as president of the Yale Socialist Club, invited you to speak to the students. I also remember quite vividly your contributions to the American Labor Yearbook which I edited when I was at the Rand School.

I am enclosing herewith a booklet on Frederick Douglass, by Dr. Foner, which we just issued. It is a part of our "Builders of the American Nation" series which we have been publishing.

Faithfully yours,

Alexander Trachtenberg

AT:eb

Enclosure

U O P W A
local one

16 February 1945

My dear Mr. Trachtenberg:

I am going out of town tomorrow for a week or ten days but I should be very glad to have lunch with you the week of March fourth. Will you let me know what date will suit you best?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17-23

Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg
International Publishers
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 5-2864
CABLE: *INTERBOOK* NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Zone Number 16

March 2, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-17-24

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Would Wednesday, March 7, at 1 P.M., be alright for our luncheon appointment? I could pick you up at your office and we could eat some place in the neighborhood. Please let me know whether the appointment stands.

Faithfully yours,

Alexander Trachtenberg

AT:eb

U O P W A
local one

5 March 1945

My dear Mr. Trachtenburg:

Wednesday, March seventh, at one p. m. will suit very well. I shall be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17-25

Mr. Alexander Trachtenburg
International Publishers
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

[Interracial Council, New London]

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

DEPARTMENT OF [redacted] SOCIOLOGY

Febr. 3, 1945

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Lectures

20-24-72

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have a very bad conscience for writing you so late. You know, however, how slowly college administrations work, so you might pardon me since I am not entirely responsible for the delay.

It is very late, I admit, to ask you whether you would be kind enough to talk here in a meeting arranged by the Interracial Council of New London on Monday evening, February 26. The Council and the College are going to share the expenses. As a subject we should like to suggest: "What the Negro wants", or something like that. The subject, "Colonies in the Postwar World", seems to be too difficult for the city people. The Department of Sociology of Connecticut College would like to have you stay here over night and to spend some time in our classes on Tuesday, as much time as you might like to give us.

Since I am leaving New London next Tuesday for a few days - would you kindly answer as soon as possible to Dr.M.Robert Cobbledick, Connecticut College, whether you like to accept our offer. I'll be in NYC and I'll call you at your office some time next week. The Interracial Council of New London meets next Thursday night; so it would be very kind of you to let Mr.Cobbledick know your decision by then. The meeting is scheduled to take place in the city, not at the College; hence the audience will be mainly composed of city people. We shall try to invite as many professors and students as possible to attend the meeting, of course.

Give my love to Irene, please, whom I hope to see too in a few days.

Very sincerely yours,

Hilda Weiss

[Interracial Council, New London]

6 February 1945

20-24-73

My dear Sir:

In accordance with a letter which I have received from Dr. Hilda Weiss, I shall be glad to speak for the Interracial Council in New London on the evening of February twenty-sixth. The charge would be fifty dollars and roundtrip fare from New York. I shall be glad to spend the night but I cannot promise to visit classes Tuesday as I must return to my work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. M. Robert Cobbledick
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut

[Interracial Council, New London]

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

February 15,1945

20-24-24

Dr.W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP, 69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr.DuBois:

On my return from New York City Mr.Cobbledick showed me your answer. We are all very glad that you accepted our invitation and are looking forward to seeing you.

Only yesterday a meeting of the Interracial Council of New London took place in which the details of your conference were discussed. The meeting will take place at eight o'clock Monday, February 26. The subject will be:"What the Negro wants." The Interracial Council would like to invite you to dinner that evening; hence we should be delighted if you could arrive here at about five o'clock or five thirty Monday afternoon in order to meet some outstanding citizens at this occasion.

Mr.Cobbledick wants you to stay at his home over night. I personally am very sorry that you will not be able to attend one or the other of our classes on Tuesday morning. Maybe I can still persuade you....

I was sorry to miss you during my short stay in NYC, but I enjoyed Irene's company very much. Congratulations to your new contract with Viking! I am so jealous of all your successes!

Will you be kind enough to let me know with which train you will arrive here that I can meet you at the station?

Very sincerely yours,

Hilda Weiss

My love to Irene!

arr. @ 5.15 Monday
Lv To @ 12.42

16 February 1945

20-24-75

My dear Hilda:

I shall arrive in New London, Monday, February twenty-six, at five- fifteen p. m. I shall leave Tuesday at 12:23 noon. I shall be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Hilda Weiss
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut

[Interracial Council, New London]

2 March 1945

26-24-26

My dear Mr. Cobbledick:

May I thank you and Mrs. Cobbledick very much for your hospitality while I am in New London. It was a very pleasant visit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. M. Robert Cobbledick
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut

over

2 March 1945

My dear Hilda:

I enjoyed the trip to New London very much. Thank you for it. Let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Hilda Weiss
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut

20-15-109

INTERRACIAL FELLOWSHIP
OF
GREATER NEW YORK

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166 East 92nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Secretary: Rev. RALPH H. ROWSE
564 West 160th St., New York 32, N. Y.
Tel. Wadsworth 3-8293

President
Rev. JAMES H. ROBINSON
86 Morningside Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

January 27, 1945

Dr. William DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. Rowse and I were very happy to hear you and also meet you on Sunday night, and we hope you will have an opportunity to participate some time soon in one of our interracial services. We feel that they are a real contribution to goodwill and cooperation, and I believe you would enjoy the experience greatly.

I am enclosing one of our posters for the February 11 service and also a schedule of our meetings for the year and one of our folders. If you would like, I would be very glad to put you on our mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph H. Rowse

Ralph H. Rowse
Executive Secretary

RHR:el
Enclosures 3

393

[Iota Phi Lambda]

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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W E DUBOIS CONSULTANT TO THE AMN DELEGATION SEC OF THE NAACP,
CARE WALKER A WHITE OR RAY WILKINS=DELIVER 409
EDGECOMBE AVE NYK=

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ONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

APR 16 1945

THE ASSEMBLY
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

HULAN E. JACK

April 4, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-4-3

I appreciate the invitation extended to me to attend the Colonial Conference to be held on April 6. I regret that I will be unable to attend.

As we approach the end of the European phase of this bloody carnage, it is very timely that the problem of the colonies be discussed and the demands of these peoples be made known. Imperialism cannot prevail in a world which is trying to shake off the evils of the past and shape its future on the high ideals of Democracy. Say what she may, England will not be able to justify her domination of the Colonies she has ruled over for centuries. Nor can the future peace of the world be assured by the continuation of the British Colonial Policy. The Colonies must be given full freedom and the necessary assistance to develop and take their places in a world society of free men.

I wish the Conference every success.

Sincerely yours,

Hulan E. Jack

823rd Engr Bn, USF
H and S
APO 218 c/o PM, New York
— Near the China border,
— Burma.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
The NAACP
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Accept this note as "fan mail" from a "N.Y." who has followed your work at San Francisco with the greatest pride, admiration and appreciation. In the chair of command which history will rank those servants and champions of the cause of Negro equality and world freedom, the name DuBois will be topped only by that of Douglas. You, sir, were the inspiration and conscience of my fathers generation, you have profoundly influenced my wife and I; you will yet point out new and challenging directions to my baby daughter and her generation.

7-21-42-20

I am enclosing herewith a copy of an article written in March, before the San Francisco conference and the death of Roosevelt. I found in your brilliant speech to the American delegation re the question of mandates etc. certain parallels with my own conclusions — arrived at by other means, half way across the world in the Burma jungles. I thought you might find it useful for filling in one of your Defender columns some barren week.

Before entering the Army I was the Educational director of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. I wrote a report on the Mobile shipyard riot — which you magnanimously characterized as "the best job of sociological reporting of the year" in your Amsterdam News column.

I am impatiently awaiting receipt of

02-12-02

your new book from my wife. All reviews I've read point to the fact that it is a brilliant pencil of light, focusing the eyes of all honest statesmen on the seminal issue of our times - the colonial question.

I wish you continued good health and many more years of leadership in the cause of the dignity and freedom of all peoples.

With warmest best wishes, I am

Sincerely Yours,

James E. Jackson, Jr.
ASN 33641141
T/5, Engr Bn, H/S Co.
APO-218, c/o PM, New York.

20-24-120

Southern Negro Youth Congress. (Com From J. Jackson)

FOCUS ON THE FAR EAST

By T-5 James E. Jackson,
Assam, India. March 1945.

Victory over Nazi Germany is assured. The "Big 3" leaders of the United Nations have already formulated a common policy in regard to Germany's future status and for the democratic rehabilitation of Europe. This historic agreement was acheived at Yalta and the world knows it as the Crimean Charter. In San Francisco the United Nations Council will soon be in session working out the specifics of this policy. For the first in history, a world-security organization has been established thereby opening up the possibility of an orderly, globally-planned progression toward a world society of free peoples enjoying economic prosperity, cultural growth, political democracy and peace. A great area of threatening conflict between the member nations of the Grand Alliance (i.e., the U.S., G.B. & S.U.) has been eliminated - first at Teheran and then at Yalta - by the masterly statesmanship of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill in arriving at a principled agreement on all basic questions among the powers for the whole European sector of the world. Their agreements reflected the universal aspirations of all forward - looking mankind. These accomplishments toward the bringing into being of a new age of world security and peace are indeed mighty, yet they also serve to emphasize the enormous problems yet to be solved. In the forefront of these untackled problems is that of the Far Eastern situation.

With the fall of Germany the whole question of the Far Eastern sector of the world will be thrown into sharpest focus. Again the creative statesmanship of the United Nations leaders will be put to the acid test as they face the challenge of fabricating a post-war pattern for Asia's teeming millions. For they will know that without a fundamental solution of the Eastern question, all success so far achieved toward solution of the Western (i.e., European) question will be compromised and mankind's hope for a world united for peace and progress will be

gravely imperiled.

This Far Eastern Question divides itself into three interrelated parts, namely:

1. How shall we beat Japan?

2. What shall we do with the beaten Japan?

3. Will we restore the pre-war colonial system over the Far East, or, will the door to independence be held ajar for India, Burma, Indo-China, Korea and Formosa?

The answers that will be given to these questions will in large measure foretell the course of history, that is, whether we shall suffer new and more terrible wars or whether mankind shall have peace and prosperity for many generations.

Let us consider these questions in the order posed.

1. A victory for the future peace and security of the world requires that the war against Japan be conducted as a United Nations war and a people's war. This means, first of all, that the chief members of the United Nations must have a proportionate share in the war - including a Filapino army. Such a participation will insure a joint sharing of the responsibility for the peace to come.

Secondly, in order that Chinese forces in effective numbers may be put in the field against the enemy, a functional Chines national unity must be achieved now. Those elements who are obstructing the realization of Koummingtang - Communist unity are prolonging the war and endangering China's future. In the final analysis, China can guarantee her future independence only insofar as she is the principle liberator of her own country.

Thirdly; The patriots of the couquered countries - Formosa, Manchuria, Indo-China, Malaya and Burma - must be given encouragement and arms to enable them to make their maximum contribution toward liberating their homelands from the Japanese invader. India could yet furnish new millions of soldiers to aid in throwing out the invader from the land of their northern neighbor. If we trust

these people, if we approach them as allies and welcome their aid, then we will be giving new strength to our arms. Our experience with the resistance movement in Europe should reflect itself in our strategy for victory in Asia.

WHAT OF JAPAN AFTER VICTORY?

"Unconditional surrender" must leave Japan incapable of waging war in the forseeable future.

Japans armed forces - land, naval and air - must be obliterated . The leadership of the military must be executed, imprisoned and exiled as determined by the enormity of their war guilt and responsibility.

Reparations in kind would be paid to the Philippine Commonwealth, China, Great Britian, United States, etc. Japan would furnish capital goods, technicians and possibly workmen to aid in the reconstruction of theeconomy of China and the Philippines.

20-24

Japan would remain an industrial country. However, the Zabitsus - the industrial barons who own and operate the entire imperial economy must be relieved of theri vast industrial and land holding and disposed of as common war criminals enjoying no more favor than the military leaders. It is this class who have always provided the backing for the adventures of the military clique and whose greed for world-wide monopoly profits provided the economic motivation for the military State's expansionist program for world conquest. A United Nations Commission should be given control of the whole Japanese economy. The great trusts and monopolies of the Zabitsus and Mitsubis would be operated as State controlled enterprises. All war material industries would be converted to the production of consumer commodities and the machines of industry and agriculture. Free enterprise would be encouraged on the small business level. The monopoly in land would be broken by subdividing the big holdings among the landless farmers. The State would stimulate the development of intensive farming methods through the operation of large experimental State - tenant farms. The

whole new economic life would be directed toward raising the standard of living of the Japanese people, replacing the economics of barbarism - (finance-monopoly capitalism wuperimposed upon a feudal base; i.e.; fascism) -by an economic order conducive to the developement of a democracy. Such a reconstituted economy would make the future Japan a rich market for the products of American, British, Indian, Chinese, etc, industry.

The reactionary Emperor-worship fiction would be systematically exposed and expunged from the minds of the people through the institution of a modern compulsory educational program. The Emperor and his aides must be brought to trial and duly sentenced to die alongside of his fellow criminals - Hitler and Mussolini.

The incipient democratic and labor movement which showed itself briefly during the early nineteen thirty's but was so brutally crushed by the dictatorship, should be resurrected and cultivated. Imprisoned or exiled Japanese democrats and liberals should be given opportunity to participate in the democratic reorientation of the nation. This democratic reformation would be stimulated by allowing freedom or the press, speech and assemble and elementary civil rights.

WHAT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PRE-WAR COLONIES?

The representatives of the Nations who will meet in council at San Francisco, either there or at a subsequent meeting, will have to give the answer to this question. The timely pledge of independence, by a fixed date, to the colonial nations of the Far East would speed Japan's defeat. Such a pledge, backed by the full authority of the United Nations, would operate to unleash a strong democratic energy against the Japanese invader in the East similar to what took place inside France, Yugoslavia, etc. against the Nazis. Of course, an intensified developement of national aspirations in these colonial countries would accompany the growth of these anti-Japanese resistance movements. But we have no cause to fear theflowering of national ambitions on

the part of the colonial peoples. National Sovereignty for these people presages no threat to the national interest of the Great Powers. On the contrary, it serves their national interest to welcome and meterially aid such a developement.

The whole post-war promise of world-wide economic prosperity (as well as democratic political growth is predicated upon the proposition that the industrially advanced powers (U.S., G.B.) will be able to maintain their present high level or industrial production, stabilising their economies at full employment through a great expansion of foreign trade in vast, new, rich markets. New foreign markets means the Far East, in the first instance. But, under the old colonial dispensation with all of its restrictions on trade, & industrialization, "imperial preferences", etc. - the colonial market can remain only a poor market. Because the imperial nations (Britian in India is the classic example) have failed to allow these countirs to develope industrially, kept them as reserves for extracting raw materials, and, rigidly controlling all commerce with the colony for themselves, the pruchasing power of the people has been depressed too low to buy the necessities of life much less foreign manufactures. These hungry millions cannot now buy the goods, machines, etc., which must be turned out by American factories in order that we may maintain an employment level of 60,000,000, to say nothing of Great Britian. A new approach, a new economic policy is called for to govern the relations between the industrially retarded "colonies" which will result in the latter becoming richer customers. Likewise, the exclusive right of a single Great Power to monopolize trade with, and control the markets of a "colony" must come to an end. A fair division of the trade rights between the old "colony-owning" - countries and the other nations must be arrived at with primary consideration being given to the "colonial peoples" themselves. This is of paramount importance if economic rivalries between the Great Powers which would culminate in a civilisation destroying Third World War is to be avoided.

20-24

The success of such a program for the Far East cannot be realized without the enthusiastic participation of the "colonial" peoples themselves. Cooperation for such a program cannot be expected from the colonial masses so long as they are not free to manage their own affairs, to negotiate their own trade agreements; so long as a humiliating political serfdom is imposed upon them by foreigh powers. The West cannot honestly hope to attain a very high stage of democracy so long as the people of the East are held in colonial subjugation. The people of the Far East have been stirred mightily by the winds of freedom emanating from this Great War of National Liberation. This ferment can never again be contained within the framework of ante-bellum colonialism.

It is not far-fetched to predict that India - the classic colonial possesion - will form a national government and attain her independence within ten years following the end of the war. She could be granted her independence by an act of the United Nations Council at the end of a five year period. Barring such an initiative on the part of the new world organization, India would nevertheless attain independence in ten years at the end of a prolonged war of national liberation!

20-24

It will be impossible to localize national wars and civil wars in the shrunken, interlaced post-war world. In the area of colonial problems revolutionary changes must be made. How shall they be made? By revolutionary acts of conciliation and peaceful agreement, or by revolutionary wars which will doom the peace hopes of the world? Which choice can mankind and world civilization afford?

In all the plans and programs and calculations of the statesmen and men of good-will, let there be no depreciation of the vital subjective factor of an enthralled people determined on FREEDOM. This subjective factor is a mightier factor in some of the colonies than in others (greater in India than in Indonesia, for example), yet, among each people the will is there and more or less organized

**** ***** ****

Across the Council table of some conference in the near future, Roosevelt, the emancipator of the Philippines will face Smuts, the champion of Empire. On Roosevelts left will be seated Stalin, the author of a little book entitled "The National and Colonial Question" which has been the bane of imperialists for almost half a century. These men and others, in the light of the mandate given them by their respective constituencies - and their own great wisdom - will focus upon the problem ofthe Far East and colonialism. The freedom-loving, peace-hungry peoples of the world demand that a principled agreement be achieved on this question.

- END -

20-24

August 10, 1945

Mr. James E. Jackson, Jr.
ASN 33641141
T/5, Engr. Bn. H/S Co.
APO-218,
Care of Postmaster
New York, New York

20-24

My dear Mr. Jackson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 24th.

Dr. DuBois is out of the city, but I shall bring your communication to his attention immediately upon his return, which we expect to be around August 20th.

Very sincerely yours,

Ethel Ray Nance

June 22, 1945

News Features Syndicate Co., Inc.
c/o SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
Fifth & Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

This is to call your attention to a comic strip which your firm distributes, "Kitty Higgins", by Willard.

In it, the treatment of a Negro domestic servant character is most objectionable, not only to the Negro people, but to people of good taste, of whatever race. It is also harmful to good race relations, in that it tends to perpetuate a "stock" characterization that too long has been used to degrade and ridicule the Negro people of this Nation.

Research into the use and effects of racial stereotypes of this sort has been conducted by the American Council on Race Relations, the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University and the Department of Research of the National Association for the Advancment of Colored People. Results of this study, as well as others conducted by smaller agencies, show that "writers (and cartoonists) of the United States, by their habitual employment of 'stock characters' were unconsciously fostering and encouraging group prejudice."

In view of the fact that comic strips are the most widely read of all newspaper features, the potential injury to people who are unsympathetically stereotyped in these media, is enormous. Nothing is more damaging to good race relations than distorted and false portrayals of peoples, particularly when it is so vitally necessary that truth and mutual respect prevail.

It is therefore the position of this organization that your firm, through the wide dissemination of the "Kitty Higgins" comic strip (which in San Francisco appears in the Sunday CHRONICLE) is the perhaps unwitting perpetuator of a most vicious racial caricature. We ask, then, that Mr. Willard, its author, be instructed to withdraw that "Pauline" character, or make it more in conformity with the professed American ideal that "all men are created equal".

Yours truly,

JOSEPH JAMES

Enc: "Kitty Higgins" 6/17/45
cc: S. F. Chronicle, American Council on Race Relations

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1062

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20-21-7

April 27, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Assn. for Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Jefferson School is planning a meeting at Town Hall on May 25th to discuss what the San Francisco Conference means to different sections of the American people and to different currents of opinion. We are most eager to have you speak as a leader of the Negro people.

We are inviting Max Lerner, of the newspaper PM, to present the significance of the Conference to American Liberals; Earl Browder, President of the Communist Political Association, to discuss the meaning of the Conference for American Communists; Albert J. Fitzgerald, President of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, to discuss the meaning of the Conference to American labor and Mr. Edward Bernays to present what business expects from the Conference.

Since by May 25 sufficient indication will be available concerning the outcome of the Conference and the general forms of the New World Organization, we think it a most opportune time to present the subject in terms of such diversified opinions as represented above. Your secretary informs me that you are at present at the Conference. A number of the speakers we are inviting are also at present in San Francisco. Your participation and theirs, will therefore, enhance the value of the discussion to our Town Hall audience. We plan individual presentations followed by discussion among the speakers and questions from the audience.

We should be most gratified if you can accept this invitation to speak on what the Negro people expect of this historic Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

HS:RM (scmwa)

264

27 April 1945

20-2/5

My dear Sir:

I am today forwarding your letter of April twenty-seventh to Dr. Du Bois. He will probably write you directly but in the event that he should send his reply to me, I will immediately inform you.

Very sincerely yours,

IRENE DIGGS

Mr. Howard Selsam
The Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, New York

[Jefferson School]

24-12-29

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, California
April 30, 1945

Mr. Howard Selsam, Director
The Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Selsam:

I have your letter of April 27. I want very much to take part in your Town Hall Meeting but I am wondering if May 25 is not a week too early. Eden suggested the other day that deliberations would take not more than four weeks but my feeling is that they would run through that week and perhaps the first part of the next. At any rate, I am not sure of being able to get to New York by May 25. What do your other collaborators think? It seems to me that if the meeting was June first we would be on safer ground.

Kindly let me hear from you at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in San Francisco.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Whatever we might lose in timeliness by postponement we would gain in accuracy and completeness.

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1602

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
LOUIS LERMAN, Exec. Secretary

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Ruth Young

20-21-23

May 11, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I deeply regret that we found ourselves unable to postpone our Town Hall meeting. Your interest was most gratifying and it is obvious that we are losing a good deal in not having you present. Dr. Lawrence Reddick has accepted to speak in your place. If you should be back by this date, we would be happy to have you on the platform to participate in the discussion following the initial presentations.

Thank you ever so much for your interest. I trust that you can speak for us sometime again. I hope you are able to make some contribution at San Francisco, for what you are aiming at is of inestimable value to all of us.

With warmest personal regards,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

HS:RM
scmwa

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Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Alexander Trachtenberg
Doxey Wilkerson
Dr. Max Yergan
Ruth Young

Lectures

20-21-15

May 16, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Assn. for Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sending you the completed program for our Town Hall Forum in which unfortunately you were unable to participate. I thought you might be interested in seeing it and hope that you or some of your associates will be able to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

HS:RM
enc.
scmwa

17 January 1945

20-17-40

Dear Georgia:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your letter of December 15. The procedure in the case of Rosenwald fellowships is for you to make application and refer to sponsors who will recommend you. If you will refer to me, I shall be very glad indeed to write to them favorably.

Thank you so much for the poem. It is more than I deserve.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Georgia Johnson
1461 S Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

20-17-43

1461 S St N W

Washington D.C.

1 18 45

Dear Dr Dubois:

I cannot understand why I havent had a word from you or at least a telephone call when you come in to the city. I prize your friendship too much to allow such high grasses to grow in the path between us.

I read of you continually and see that you are on the firing line. More power to you.

I was so happy to see you with the N A A C P seems to me that is home for you. I cant imagain a bigger ~~xx~~ wider and nore gory a field for your genius.

Please send a line, Sincerely always
Georgia Johnson

5 A 0

[GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON]

1461 S St N W

Wa hington D.C.

1 19 45

20-17-42

Dear Dr Dubois:

I was happy to get your kind letter. Your silence agve me concern- Now " All's right in the world"

Sincerely always

Gj

[JOHNSON] [1945]

"TOMORROW'S WORLD"

LILLIAN EVANTI o°o GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

Come, brothers, from the ends of earth
This is the trumpet call
To understanding, tolerance
And liberty for all.

Why suffer power, arrogance,
With vanity and greed,
To rise again upon the land
And on its vitals feed.

Why should we follow brazen drums
Into the flames of war;
Since we are brothers of one blood,
What are we fighting for?

Respond, before the atom bomb
Blasts out humanity,
Grinding to ashes all the world
In bitter mockery.

Come! and tomorrow's world shall rise
With broad horizons fair,
And weary watching humankind
Will know that God is there.

Tomorrow's dawn may see the dream
Of peace on earth come true
Of freedom, love and happiness -
God willed it all to you.

Poem read in congress. Apr. 15 also printed in Record Same date - song in capitol steps Jan 14 - 41 6000 copies.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Dear Friend:

20-17

We, the authors of "Tomorrow's World", take pleasure in presenting to you this copy of the words to a song dedicated to world peace. Through a song for tolerance, liberty and freedom the hearts of all nations can be crystalized into peaceful thinking.

You know the power of song; you know that it engraves its sentiment in the memory and heart as no other medium. You know that if all nations sing together for world peace it will help to free the spirit of fear.

Will you - and others with hom you are in touch - join with us and sing of Tomorrow's World? Upon request we will be glad to send a sample music copy. Orders will be promptly filled, with the octavo edition of 8 pages, through PITTS' PERSONAL SERVICE, 914 G PLACE, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C., at 25¢ the copy, 10% off on orders of 50 or more.

Do let us hear from you - and let us together make a happy, free world for the Children of Tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Lillian Evanti,
Georgia Douglas Johnson

Orders promptly filled through ~~Pitts' Personal Service, 914 G Place~~, Northwest, Washington, D. C. In octavo form, 8 pages, 25¢ the copy. Orders of 50 or more, 10% off

Mr. Otto Preu (43) 1200 12

[1945?]

File Georgia Douglas Johnson

Miss Thurman

COLUMBIAN MUSIC BUREAU

1010 VERMONT AVENUE WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

TELEPHONE, DECATUR 5015

Georgia Douglas Johnson

Dear Dorothy: Did you get my last notes? See that you write Columbia. Also our attitude. Fine! How are you coming? How do you like your new job? Do hear from Wallace and write. Appreciate

Yours

Georgia Douglas Johnson

1461 S St., NW.

Wash., D. C.

20-17-41

Nr. 56

Alles im Stubai bei Patscherkofel

20-15-99

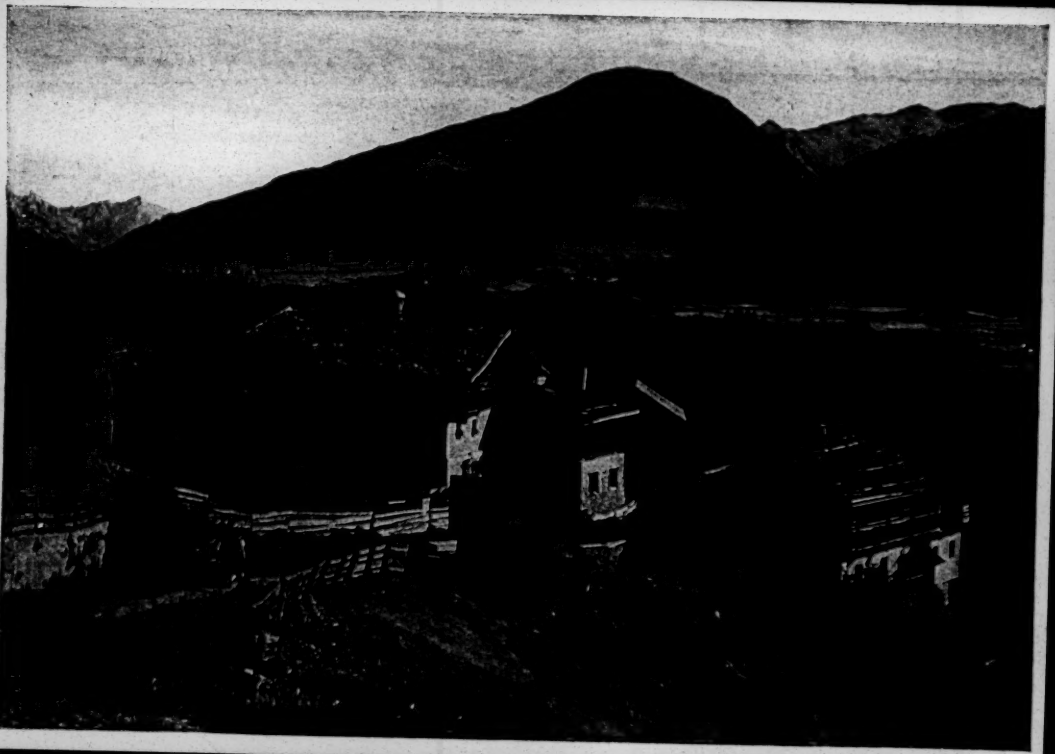
Dear Doctor Dubois

Just to let
you know that I
often think of you
& the
inspiration received
studies I made
under
you. Every good
wish to you.

Yours

Carl Lawrence Johnson

KUNSTDRUCK · LEHLE · MÜNCHEN



20-15 [1945]

Dear Doctor

This is in

Austria at

the Alps

Mountains

Yours

Harvey E. Johnson

Copy sent to Ward.

5039 Prestonville Avenue
1st Apartment
Chicago 15 Ill
April 20th 1945

Dr. W. E. B. du Bois,

My dear Sir,

20-5-9

Yours of to-day "The Winds of Time" is very timely and to the point. The thought so expressed covers much my state of mind, during my school days at Fisk University. To have school money. I earned it as Dining Car waiter. Had it been my good fortune to have read this column of to-day - Learning and understanding as I now do. I would have indeed been a much better waiter, and enjoyed the line of work. I am looking forward to your column from San Francisco.

Sincerely

A. Lee Johnson

21 June 1945

20-5-10

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I thank you for your kind letter of April twentieth and appreciate your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J. Lee Johnson
5039 Forrestville Avenue
First Apartment
Chicago 15, Illinois

Reverend and Mrs. S. A. Funchess

announce the marriage of their daughter

Ruby Pearrena

to

Mr. Donald Bernays Johnston

on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of April

Nineteen hundred and forty-five

Boston, Massachusetts

20-15

At Home

after Tuesday, the eighth of May

Eight Pleasanton Street

Roxbury, Massachusetts

21 June 1945

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois send congratulations and best wishes to Mr. and Mrs. Donald Bernays Johnston on the occasion of their marriage.

New York City

Florence, S.C.
8-26-45

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Chicago ~~Defender~~
Chicago, Ill

20-13-71

Congratulations and best Wishes to a great American. Will you honor one of your million admirers from the deep South, who is a constant reader of your Column, by autographing this Clipping?

Thank you sir and best of luck always. Sincerely James E. Jones. c/o WU Florence, S.C.

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES · 4809 INDIANA AVENUE · CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Monday A. M. 5:20.

Dear Mr. Du Bois: Your letter - dated and postmarked Jan. 31 - was received late Saturday Aft., Feb 3rd! The mail is slow and more than one more days! I would have written yesterday but was very fatigued - so I rested as much as possible & am O.K. now. I was beginning to worry about you - fearing you were ill or that my letter had not reached you - even now I don't know whether it did or not - but I hope so. Your card from Haiti came Nov. 15. From your address I surmise that you have been fortunate in securing an apartment & am glad for you.

20-17-35

If you can stand the hardships (& they are more than ever now) & I can get enough fuel to keep you from freezing, etc. - (& I'll surely try), I can give you meals & a place to sleep. And so you see you are not "such a much" as a

prophet after all! Shall be at home Monday Aft. by 3:30 o'clock. You, no doubt meant you would arrive at Union Station - not Grand Central (it is in N. Y., Kind Sir!). Transportation is awful & taxis rare - but the busses, L & Surface cars all still running & packed like sardines!

Enjoyed the books & would have sent them but did not have opportunity to do so.

My sister is quite frail & I am much concerned about her. She is my only remaining immediate relative.

You'd better be glad you have missed the weather we have had here this winter. It has been the worst in 20 years. The streets have not been clear of ice since a few days after Thanksgiving!

A dinner & show would be enjoyable - let's hope the thermometer won't register such zero temperature.

See you Feb. 19! Love.

Mildred.

Put zone number (N) on mail. It facilitates receipt of same.

M.

14 February 1945

Dear Mildred:

As I said, I am arriving in Chicago at the Central Station (not Grand Central) Monday Afternoon, February nineteenth. Would you like to join me at dinner Monday night at the Union Station at five p. m. If not, we can dine Tuesday, although I thought Tuesday you would like to go to a theatre or concert. I am accepting all weather chances in your house and out.

Don't try to answer this. I will telephone you Monday afternoon say about four p. m.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

20-17-36

16 February 1945

Dear Mildred:

I have found a better train to take from Detroit to Chicago, Monday, February nineteenth. I shall arrive in Chicago at the Central Station, Michigan Avenue and Roosevelt Road at five p. m. and come up to the house. We will plan our dinner for Tuesday.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

[JONES]

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES - 4809 INDIANA AVENUE - CHICAGO - ILLINOIS Kenwood 7670

Thursday Noon – Feb 22, '40.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

This letter was delivered about 9:20 (10:20 Eastern time – as per your reliable watch) & I immediately tried to page you at the Station – thinking you would probably want to know its passport before leaving. I gave my telephone number (Kenwood 7670) & asked that you call. The "pager" told me that you were probably on the train as it was scheduled to have you a few minutes. Am sending it (the letter) on to you at once.

It was lovely to see you looking so well & happy & to share you here. Take good care of yourself. With love,

Yours

Mildred.

20-17-26

[JONES]

26 February 1945

My dear Mildred:

Thank you so much for your hospitality. The letter was all right. My secretary had sent a second copy to Detroit so that I got it in time. It was good to see you and I only hope you are going to carry out your good resolution and give up that awful job.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17-27

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES - 4809 INDIANA AVENUE - CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Thursday Aft., April 26, 1945-

My dearest Mr. DuBois:

Your air mail letter (postmarked 6 P.M. Tuesday-) reached me yesterday Wednesday - and I was very glad to get it & understand what had happened. I had planned to go down to the Loop from school & try to find some meat at some store - but, for some unknown reason, decided to run by home (as I almost always do to check up on things & see if important mail has come) - so at 5:15 P.M. I found your telegram. I immediately forgot my fatigue & was gloriously happy, cancelled a coaching engagement for 6 P.M., literally tore off my school attire & put on my best - & was at the Union Station at 4:40 P.M. Your telegram was marked Ft. Wayne - so, as I saw there were two trains (Sec. A & Sec. B) from Ft. Wayne marked to arrive at 4:40 - & later marked "expected" 5:10 & 5:15), I

20-17-33

stayed put at the Information Desk – where I knew you would expect to find me at 5 o'clock. The crowds were dense – but I stayed in one spot so you couldn't miss me. When at 5:45 the crowds had dispersed & you had not come, I went to the Restaurant – thinking possibly you had gone there – but you had not – then folks there knew me & were solicitous – & I went back to the Information Desk, where I was told another train from Ft. Wayne would be in at 7:30. I thot possibly you had missed the train which would have put you there at 4:40 & I waited there until 7:30, when that train was marked up as "expected" at 7:50. Then I knew my only possible chance to see you would be to run the long two blocks through the cold, blustering air to the Northwestern Station, where I had been told that a train for San Francisco would leave at 8 P.M. I struggled thru those crowds up the stairs & tried to get close enough to the gates indicating trains leaving for San Francisco. One train said "Coach" – & the other Press Special – All Pullmans. Pushing thru

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES · 4809 INDIANA AVENUE · CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

20-17-34

the rows of flower girls lined up there, I was informed I must show my press card at the desk. Alas! I had none — & and disconsolately stood high on some 'big shots' luggage & I could possibly see from it my chauffeur ran out & beckoned to get to get to where I was.

Up hurried Bond Billiken (David Kellum) of the Defender & Mr. Metz Lochard (looking very important & terribly excited & happy). David said he would get me to the gate — But Mr. Lochard benignly opined that probably I had better step back from the crowd. I thanked David — & managed a polite grin to Mr. Lochard — but held my ground where I could at least try to see Lyon — until the train pulled out — & never a glimpse did I get. Though I was very much disappointed — & walked eight blocks before I could finally get transportation home — I did finally get home at 9:30 — cold & damp & hungry! But I ate a sandwich, drank a cup of hot milk &

realized that some awful slip-up had kept you from being at the information desk at five. So don't worry any more. Keep well & see & hear everything that is going on. I wish I could attend that momentous meeting. Well, you will tell me about it when you come — won't you? And, possibly, you will let me read your report — I would like very much to do so.

Write me when you can. I miss my sister sorely — & am even upset "kind of keyed." We laid her to rest on April 3rd. Everything possible was done for her — but there comes a time in every life when human skill & care are helpless & nothing avails. So here I am — the last remaining member of my immediate family. Sister's children — Ned, Anthony & Ethel are left me though — and so are you. I "count my blessings". Au Revoir!

Je vous aime — toujours.

Mildred.

20-17-31

May 21, 1945

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mildred:

This time I am making a dinner date which will stand.

I am going to be at your high school at 10:15 June 1st under the auspices of the Chicago Defender and on Sunday, June 30th at the Pilgrim Baptist Church in the afternoon. I leave the night of June 3rd for New York. Friday night or Saturday night the postponed dinner will take place. Let me know by letter or wire at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel as soon as you get this. I leave here the 26th.

I am expecting to stop at the Hotel Bryant-Jones, but otherwise will go to the Palmer House if you are filled full.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

5 June 1945

20-17-32

My dear Mildred:

I arrived only an hour late and in good condition. Thank you for the hospitality. I am so glad of your resolution. Stick to it.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

July 20, 1945

My dear Mildred:

I am sending you an autographed copy of my book in care of Dr. Beasley. Address me at 69 Fifth Avenue.

I have been busy and fighting, of course. My book seems to be going very well and I went down and talked before the Foreign Affairs Committee on the United Nations Charter and had a good reception. Also lectured at Howard University and am going down to the meeting of the American Teachers at Greensboro.

The first two weeks in August I expect to spend in the Maine camp if all goes well.

Meantime, I hope you have gone ahead with your determination and have definitively separated yourself from the public school system. I hope you have not been tempted to do anything else.

Let me know about your summer plans. I shall be in New York practically all the time.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

20-17-28

September 17, 1945

20-17-29

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I hope you have not been alarmed at the sudden rain of letters and telegrams. I had planned to come out to speak at Horace' church but I find that he is in controversy with the N.A.A.C.P. so I have cancelled it.

I was looking forward to having a talk with you and seeing you in your new freedom but that will come later.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

MILDRED BRYANT JONES - 4809 INDIANA AVENUE - CHICAGO 15 ILLINOIS

September 30, 1945

Dear Mr. Du Bois: The "rain of letters and telegrams" was a lovely thing for this little body (known to school children as "the diminutive and unrelenting" and dubbed by them — thank God — as "the capable and dependable"). Well, the telegram brought disappointment — but your letter of explanation showed me that I really could not. I should not. I have decided otherwise — so I gulped, refused to slump, went at once to a good movie, paid a few calls which had been owed for many years — was inwardly rather touched, but outwardly unmoved, by the spontaneously cordial and really lovely welcome accorded me by each of the friends and acquaintances visited. I am glad that I went. I am ashamed to admit the fact (tho I must) that I went

20-12-37

to see them for 2 rather unworthy reasons - 1st - to forget my disappointment re the telegram & 2nd (oh! miserable action!) in the hope that at least one of the four would cease her daily, lengthy telephone calls - taking up my time & energy with chatter about school & ~~its~~ doings - which same I had put completely out of my thots. Well - that's that!

Surely, I made a segment - & you knew it - though maybe I didn't put it in the form of either a prayer or a petition. You see I know you knew it because you granted it by typing your reply yourself! Has Miss Higgs returned or has she not been around. One or two of your letter have not seemed to be "Higgsian" typing & form - tho the last one was much like her & that strongly that she might have gone to Cuba, or even may have been in Havana - completing her work. All good luck to her!

Am glad you had a good rest at the Camp - & that Mo. the Boss and Yolande had enjoyable visits in New York. I rate

MILDRED BRYANT-JONES - 4809 INDIANA AVENUE - CHICAGO ILLINOIS

unchangeably for the Bois Williams. Think of a child of her age giving service so really valuable as to merit her Four & Fifty Dollars; I insist that she is capable and resourceful I should develop into the type of woman that all of us who love her would wish. Please tell her I hope some day to meet her. Ned's little girl - Judith (I call her "Edwarda" & both she & Ned like it) spent two months (July & August) at a girls camp in N. Y. State & she came home sunburned, taller & a little thinner, but well, happy - & improved in many ways. She was two when I was in Hawaii in 1936 - and was 9 yrs old on Aug. 29.

20-17-38

Don't worry about me, Hear. It was a terrific wrench - but when I make up my mind - it is made up - & everything adjusts itself. More anon.

Are you going to London in October? Your child - the Congress is your brain child - as I remember - & it needs you. If my house were renovated & re-decorated, &

if my janitor would even do a little every
& keep the yards, front, etc half way decent,
I'd be tempted to do quite a bit of traveling
myself. I enjoy it — & it is such a help in
many ways. I hope you will take the trip &
enjoy it. If you do, be sure to drop me
a line before you go & several lines from
over there. If you visit Paris while over
there (& why, I ask you, shouldn't you?) please
be prepared, on returning, to give me details
as to available hotel or pension accomodations
— as to desirable or not, & prevailing prices there.

Have just sent a Xmas box to Anthony's
(Ned's younger brother — Atty. Anthony Bryant Beasley
boy — A B. Beasley, Jr. — just 19 & in Engrs
— drafted after completing only 1½ years in
the University. We will enjoy the fruitcake
hard candies, salted peanuts, sardines, canned
meat & canned ripe olives — all of which he likes.

Pensé souvent à moi, mon Cher — comme
je pense aussi très souvent à vous — et
tout le temps (comme vous savez bien) je
vous aime! Ecrivez!

Mildred.

October 5, 1945

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

Since writing you, things have happened thick and fast. First of all, Mrs. DuBois had a slight cerebral hemorrhage and is in the hospital with a day and night nurse. She probably never will fully recover but she may get much better. At last reports, she was a little improved.

20-17-30

With regard to the Pan African Congress, I am still working. I have succeeded in getting my passport but am awaiting the decision of the State Department and the British Government. I had an interview with the Secretary of State (acting) October 2nd and am still in correspondence with him. I think I probably will get permission to go although it is not certain and if Mrs. DuBois continues to improve, I will go since there is absolutely nothing to be done for her more than is being done and we simply have to make nature take its course.

I know how great a crisis it was for you to leave your life' work and begin to try to rest but just stick to it and go at it systematically. First, get plenty of rest; twelve hours a day in bed is what you ought to have. Then, do some more visiting; you will be surprised at the number of friends and well wishers you have. Finally, hear a lot of music and begin again to use your piano. After all this, you can do a little extra work.

Miss Diggs is still in Havana; however, she has passed all of her examinations and is only awaiting the leisurely development of the university in formally bestowing upon her the Doctor's Degree. She probably will be bak here no later than the 10th.

BACK

By the way, Mrs. DuBois address is Provident Hospital, Division Street, Baltimore. Drop her a line there.

Yours with love,

WEBD:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

[Journalism Newsletter] [fragment]

INFATUATION WITH The Sound of Words Dept.

Headline in St. Louis American: "New Cab Record with Bing." Same story in St. Louis Argus, headlined: "New Cab Calloway record makes Big Hit With Bing."

AMONG ST. LOUIS press workers that see to it that the Mound City night spots are well covered for the weekly sheets are: Chick Finney (Argus): J. Von Chapman (Negro Life Magazine); Harry Rodger (Recorder); Mrs. Dewey Johnson (Tattler).

LEONA JONES, student in the newswriting class at the Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Mo., broadcasted the school news, March 12, over station KMBC. It was the first radio experience for Leona, who reported friendly treatment by station workers. The newswriting class, taught by Miss Octavia B. Wynbush, publishes the Lincoln Callotype, monthly Lincoln High student newspaper. The March issue reports "Lincoln Callotype on the Rocks." It seems its funds have run out and the sum of $32.00 will have to be forthcoming in order for the May issue to be published.

DUBOIS ON CONRAD

"Old Doc DuBois is getting famed for his testiness, nice old guy that he used to be," bemoans Charlie Cherokee ("National Grapevine" March 31). "Other day, Earl Conrad saw him in New York and said: 'By the way I have a column appearing under yours in the Defender.' Said DuBois 'Will that hurt your column or help it?' Ha."

12 YEARS FOR Louisville Defender

Louisville, Kentucky's youthful weekly of a dozen years observed another anniversary, March 31, in this editorial vein: "With this issue of the Louisville Defender we complete 12 years of endeavor in community interest and progress. We feel that our efforts have not gone unappreciated and can think of no more fitting way to pay tribute to those who have been responsible for whatever success we have enjoyed than through a bit of paraphrasing: "All that we are or ever hope to be, we owe to our readers, our advertisers, and our public." "The occasion of this anniversary is not sad nor solemn, but rather joyous and hopeful. Our infancy was spent during the reconstruction and rehabilitation period which followed the last war. We were able to see people of our community benefit through our efforts.

"OUR 12th ANNIVERSARY finds us not yet mature, doing our utmost to bring the daylight of understanding to at least a segment of a war-darkened world. Our joy is in the knowledge that, like an efficient doctor, we have kept close watch over the pulse beats of the community, the nation, and the world, and have aided the weakened pulse to become stronger, even if only by a wee bit. Our hope is in the belief that we will have some part in the future which is sure to come in democratic nations such as America--a future in which the rights of all men will be respected and in which every man will be guaranteed the right of the pursuit of happiness."

20-14

HELP WANTED

The Washington (D.C.) Tribune is seeking "Two full-time compositors or pressmen. Good wages. Ideal working conditions in one of America's most modern printing shops. Experience necessary."A letter or personal call at the Murray Brothers Printing Co., 920 U St., N.W., Washington, D.C., will tell the tale.

VERSATILE BURLEY

Dan Burley's "Blues Suite in Four Comfortable Quarters"(bedroom, livingroom, kitchen and bath) composed in collaboration with Leonard Feather, another journalist, will be published by Capitol Songs Inc., of New York, which recently acquired the rights to the composition. Burley and Feather recently recorded the suite on two pianos in session for Continental records, to be released in June. Burley, managing and sports editor of the Amsterdam Star-News, recently published his jive dictionary and is expected to accompany Henry Armstrong's entourage on the USO boxing exhibitions overseas.

BEG TO DIFFER, JOHNNY. The Courier's roving one-burg-a-week reporter, John H. Young III, is running into a few dissenters. The March 31 issue carries this correction of an earlier feature: "John E. Coxe, State superintendent of education, Louisiana, informs The Courier that he was misquoted in John Young's published interview with him. Mr. Coxe was reported as saying: "I have no objection to Federal control. We already have Federal control.' Mr. Coxe states that he actually said: 'I have no objection of Federal AID. We already have Federal control.' Yes, there is a slight difference.

E. L. GOODWIN'S Oklahoma (Tulsa) Eagle likewise takes exception to Young's words anent the Sooner Negro in an editorial titled "John Young--Informed and Misinformed." Seems the nomadic scriba was impressed with many things a la Negro in Oklahoma, but the "institution of higher learning for Negroes did not impress him." To which the Eagle, after hemming and hawing, says amen. "But," says the Eagle, "Whoever told you that Governor Kerr has not fulfilled a single plank in his platform for Negroes, either deliberately or ignorantly misrepresented the truth."

HOW ONE GETS STARTED in the Money Norman Rockwell, who bags a 5-figure income annually for drawing Saturday Evening Post covers and illustrations, got his starts with SEP by "doing a couple of covers dealing with boys. He did one of a disgusted boy in a Sunday-best suit, wheeling a baby carriage and being followed by some boys wearing baseball uniforms and jeering, another of a fat man at bat in a boy's baseball game, and a third of a skinny youth with glasses training to be a strong man with weights and a book of instructions by Sandow. He took the covers to Philadelphia without much hope of success, but the Post bought them, saying $225 for the lot. Rockwell had found his now famous Saturday Evening Post manner on his first try."

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Journal & Guide columnist and head of Virginia State College's history department, talked on "Our Task in Virginia" at the Institute of Race Relations at St. Paul's Parish House in Richmond, Va., recently. Dr. Jackson, who has been named to the governor's committee to write the history of Virginians in World War II, told the conferees that even though the Negro is an oppressed people, he lives in a country where he can do something about it through the federal and state constitutions. Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, ANP columnist and Virginia Union University professor, was another speaker at the conference.

OUR COUNTRY'S 2,000 daily and Sunday newspapers carried 1,555,945 individual advertisements valued at nearly 50 million dollars on war effort themes in 1944, according to the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

WARNING UNHEEDED A case of missing the cue is cited by Paul Pentagon in his April Headlines column ("That's Washington for You") "We didn't act first in that Texarkana, Texas, housing business..."HEADLINES tipped off the Negro papers as early as February 3 that John Blandford, NHA Administrator, and Representative Wright Patman of Texas were planning on stealing 200 housing units from Negro war workers. Enterprising Washington correspondents descended on Blandford and put the fear of God in him by sending off stories of the steal to their respective papers...Mr. Blandford quaked in his boots until February 14 and then discovered that only one out of some 200 Negro newspapers even thought the story worth printing. . .so he promptly moved white war workers into the Texas project...The Negro press gave him hell the next week though...We can still bear the world on locking out stables after our horses have been stolen...NAACP's Federal suit against Blandford may make horse-stealing less popular as far as NHA is concerned however."

[Kappa Alpha Psi]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
Cable Night Letter
(55) ...ogram

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N240 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14

1945 APR 14 PM 1 57

W E B DUBOIS=

CARE WALKER A WHITE OR ROY WILKINS NATL ASSN FOR ADV OF COL PEOPLE 409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK=

YOUR TELEGRAM APR 13 TO KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY MR CARL JOHNSON 180 W WASHINGTON ST CHICAGO ILL IS UNDELIVERED= NOT KNOWN AT THAT ADDRESS=

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO SERVICE BUREAU

WORTH 2 7300=

20-21-85

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

7 March 1945

20-4-48

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation which we will send out to natives of the various colonies for a Colonial Conference. I should especially like to get in touch with persons from southeast Asia: from Burma, French Indo-China, Siam, the Malay Penninsula, the Dutch and British East Indies, etc. Can you help me with names of persons whom you know resident in America or with advice of any sort?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P. S. We would of course be very glad to have you present.

Professor Raymond Kennedy
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

March 8, 1945

Professor W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The conference you plan for April 6 on colonial problems promises to be extremely interesting and timely. I wish I could attend, but I have classes scheduled that day and I doubt that I can get away. You ask for the names of persons from Southeast Asia who are resident in America, and I have the following suggestions. There are three Burmans at Yale: U Tun Wai, 2693 Graduate School; Tha Gyaw Wai, 417 Calhoun College; and Maung Saw Tun, 82 Wall Street; all New Haven, Conn. Three very good men from the Dutch East Indies are: Charles Bidien, 23 West 26th Street, New York City; John R. Andu, Board for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City; and Burhan A. Careem, Room 2186, Q Building, Office of Strategic Services, Constitution Avenue, Washington, D. C.

I cannot suggest anybody from Malaya, Thailand, or French Indo-China; but I would advise you to inquire concerning possible Thai delegates from Mr. Kenneth P. Landon, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Landon is well acquainted with several natives of Thailand.

If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know. With best wishes for the success of the conference, I am

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Kennedy

Raymond Kennedy
Associate Professor of
Sociology

RK:jw

20-4-49

21 March 1945

My dear Professor Kennedy:

I have received the enclosed letters from the Burmese students whom you recommended for our Colonial Conference. The third has not yet answered. I am writing to say that if it is a matter of expense that we would be very glad to pay the expenses of travel and board for one or two Burmese representatives. If absence from class is the difficulty they need only be away Friday, April sixth.

I am anxious to have someone from Burma and shall be glad of your good offices.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Professor Raymond Kennedy
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

20-4-52

YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

March 26, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

10-6-3

I have your letter of March 21, enclosing notes of regret that they cannot attend the Conference from two of the Burmese students I recommended to you. I have just talked with the third Burmese, Mr. Maung Saw Tun, and he tells me that he has not received an invitation from you. The fault is mine, as I gave you the wrong address. His address is 1668 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. Mr. Saw Tun says that he will be very glad to attend the Conference and speak for Burma. I gave him the material outlining the points you wish the delegates to cover, so that he can prepare his contribution. I also told him that your organization would pay travel and board expenses for the trip. He will be writing to you shortly, and in the meantime you will probably want to communicate with him as the time is getting short.

I am very glad that at least one Burmese representative will attend, and I hope that you were successful in getting in touch with some of the other men I mentioned in my previous letter. I regret very much that I shall be unable to attend myself, and wish you all success.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Kennedy

Raymond Kennedy
Associate Professor of
Sociology

RK:jw

[King Solomon Baptist Church]

31 January 1945

20-24-27

My dear Mr. Boone:

I shall arrive in Detroit for the lecture which you have scheduled for me on February twenty-second at 3:35 p. m. on train No. 76 from Chicago. I shall lecture for you that evening and stay over leaving at 7:30 p.m., February twenty-third.

Please let me know if this is satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend T. S. Boone
590 East Boston Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan

AUXILIARIES:

Henry Gaston, Deacons
John C. Clay, Trustees
K. D. Hall, Laymen
Oscar Meadows, S. S.
Frank Hopkins, B. T. U.
J. E. Dempsey, Ushers
M. D. Brown, Clerk
Mills Holly, Chorus
Walter Young, Young People
Lawrence Brown, Pianist
S. L. Triplett, Finance
Andrew Scott, Treasurer
Geo. R. Lovejoy, Benev. Treas.

King Solomon Baptist Church

9244 DELMAR STREET, (11)

Phones:

Office: TO. 8-2764 Public TO. 7-9591

T. S. BOONE, D. D., LL. D., Minister
Res 590 E. Boston Blvd., (2)
Res. Phone: TO. 9-2640

L. D. Bunn, B. D., Associate Minister

Assistant Ministers
Z. E. McGee, D. D. Oliver Wilson Sr.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

AUXILIARIES:

Mrs. Anna Wright, Mission
Mrs. Bessie Powell, Pastor's Aid
Mrs. Mary Gaston, Deaconess
Mrs. Alberta Fennoy, Nurses
Mrs. L. C. Love, Maids and Matrons
Mrs. C. L. Ashford, Wide Awake
Mrs Mable Humphrey, Secretary
Mrs. Florence Wheeler, Stenographer
Mrs. Rosa Daniels, Choir
Miss Christine Richardson, Young People Choir
Mrs. T. S. Boone, Y. P. Pianist

20-24-26

February 12, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

69 5th Avenue

New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I shall expect you here February 22, 1945 at 3:35 P. M. on train Number seventy six (#76) from Chicago. I shall endeavor to meet you upon your arrival in the city.

Very truly yours,

T. S. Boone

T. S. BOONE

TSB/f

Dictated and Mailed

Without Revision.

13 February 1945

20-24-24

My dear Mr. Boone:

I wrote you January thirty-first for a final comfirmation of my engagement to speak for you February twenty-third. I have not heard from you. Will you please wire me if everything is arranged?

I plan to arrive February twenty-second at 3:35 p. m. on train No. 76 from Chicago and am leaving the night of February twenty-third. The fee is one hundred and fifty dollars. Please wire me immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend T. S. Boone
King Solomon Baptist Church
9244 Delmar Street
Detroit, Michigan

[King Solomon Baptist Church]

26 February 1945

20-24-25

My dear Mr. Boone:

Thank you very much for the opportunity to lecture at your church. I got home safely.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend T. S. Boone
9244 Delmar Street
Detroit, Michigan

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE
REGIONAL OFFICE
1355 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA
KLONDIKE 2-2300

REGIONAL DIRECTOR
HARRY L. KINGMAN

20-18-11

April 28, 1945

Conference
San Francisco

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
Powell and Sutter Streets
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I would like to invite you to an informal dinner at my home at 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, on Monday, May 7th, at 6:30 P.M.

I am inviting Walter White and some other guests and hope very much that you will be able to accept. Lawrence Oxley informs me that he can provide transportation for you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Kingman

HARRY L. KINGMAN

HLK:JM

20-18-12

May 2, 1945

Mr. Harry L. Kingman
Regional Director
President's Committee on
Fair Employment Practice
1355 Market Street
San Francisco 3, California

Dear Mr. Kingman:

I shall be very glad to have dinner with you May 7th at 6:30.

I shall expect Mr. Oxley to call and will be at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE
REGIONAL OFFICE
1355 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA
KLONDIKE 2-2300

REGIONAL DIRECTOR
HARRY L. KINGMAN

May 5, 1945

20-16-6

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
Sutter and Powell Streets
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We are delighted that you can come to the dinner at our home on Monday, May 7th.

Lt. Lawrence Oxley will call for you and Walter White in a car at the hotel at about 5:45 PM.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Kingman VRS

HARRY L. KINGMAN

hlk/vrs

MRS. ANTHONY KLEINER
OAKWOOD MANOR
GRAND RAPIDS 3, MICHIGAN

June, 17, 1945

Request for information

20-20-50

Dear Dr. DuBois -,

Received the part of letter enclosed here from Dr. Mary Hinsdale of Ann Arbor Michigan. The Hinsdale family have long been associated with early Ann Arbor and the University of Michigan. And as I think Dr. Mary still holds considerable influence

in Ann Arbor. I had hoped that you might send me some material on this subject which would have more weight among her friends than just my opinion, although she has given careful attention to my arguments on this.

After consulting with my friend Mrs. Robert Claytor (nee Helen Wilkins), she suggested my writing you. Of course neither of us felt the lack

MRS. ANTHONY KLEINER
OAKWOOD MANOR
GRAND RAPIDS 3, MICHIGAN

20-20-51

of good sound proof of the contrary view to the one taken by Dr. Mary Hinsdale, Ex. I felt that valuable printed material would carry weight.

Thankyou very much for this privilege of writing you and I shall be more than glad to buy any material you can suggest.

Sincerely,

Lillian L. Kleiner

is a matter that we shall await with much interest .

Mildred has been making a much needed vacation like visit to our old family haunts round about Cleveland. WE expect her return Tuesday morning. In her absence Ellen and I sent to the two Senators from Michigan our humble appeal for their support of the extension of the Trade Agreements Act on a broadened basis .

From Senator Ferguson's soretary, he being at the time in Europe, came an assurance of his ardent approval . And I discovered at the International Relations group meeting this latest Wed. that our group leader , who is the Mrs. Benson who set going the Dumbarton Oaks week here, is intimately acquainted with Senator F__'s daughter , and that the two have won his very genuine interest in and approval of the L.o.W.V. Don't you want to inform the branch at G__.R__ . that our junior Senator has his ear always open to the appeals of the society . Did you know, by the way, that Congressman Michener voted in favor of

Dr. W.E. Du Bois, 69 St + 5th Ave. N.Y. Colored Dem. [ENCLOSURE]

525 ELM STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

20-52-52

My dear Friend :

It was very nice of you to send me the copy of the little book about the races of mankind . The question sticks to my thought about the matter, whether anthropologists are paying too much attention to scientifically devised instruments for hunting out the capacities of the human body and too little attention to the facts of human achievement as recorded in history. Achievement in the field of economic well-being, given such resources as those of the continent of Africa, and achievement in the field of good and powerful government, with resources at hand for the economic underpinning, seem important to the question of equal ability with the white race for the functions of government.

20-20-53

July 11, 1945

My dear Madam:

Dr. Hinsdale should read We Europeans by Huxley and Haddon. Anthropology and social studies are today being based increasingly on scientific measurements while history is still largely a matter of opinion, quite as much as learning.

Consequently, as long as accepted history is written by Europeans, other races stand small chance of receiving justice in the "facts of human achievement."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. Anthony Kleiner
Oakwood Manor
Grand Rapids 3, Michigan

[KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS] SE

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XX1

WESTERN UNION

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NT = Overnight Telegram
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1945 APR 14 AM 8 17

R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT
NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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20-12-3

ZN12 NL PD=NEWYORK NY APR 13

SUPREME LODGE OF KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS,OSCAR W ADAMS=

10350 DEXTER=

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS ONE OF THE FORTY-TWO NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO APPOINT CONSULTANTS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE STOP WE REALIZE THAT IN CARRYING OUT THIS DUTY WE REPRESENT NOT THIS ORGANIZATION BUT THE WHOLE BODY OF AMERICAN NEGROES. STOP WE ARE ANXIOUS THEREFORE TO DOANYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ASSIST THE WORK AND MAKE KNOWN THE WISHES OF SUCH GROUPS STOP IF THEREFORE YOU HAVE PASSED ANY RESOLUTIONS OR COME TO ANY CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE AT SAN FRANCISCO IF YOU WILL SEND US A COPY OF THIS ACTION WE WILL BE GLAD TO MAKE REPRESENTATION TO WHATEVER AUTHORITIES WE HAVE ACCESS STOP WE WOULD OF COURSE TAKE NO ACTION AND GIVE NO PUBLICITY UNLESS DULY AUTHORIZED STOP WILL YOU KINDLY COMMUNICATE WITH US AND LET US KNOW JUST HOW WE CAN BE OF SERVICE?=

W E B DU BOIS CONSULTANT TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION
WALTER WHITE SECRETARY OF THE NAACP.

NAACP.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[c MAY 1945]

Fr. W. E. B. Dubois:

You may not remember me as it was so many years ago when we met at the (Civic Club) on 13th or was it 12th St. - West?

20-10-93

However I'm resident here in the city for these last 14 or more years.

If you find time & care to - I should very much like seeing you & having a talk -

Phone me any P.M. after 3. If you don't get a response then try after 7 P.M.

My phone number is
West 55 79 –

address
2737 Clay St.
apt 6. – San Francisco, 15

Louise Lee Kramer

I was helpful in the Sam Mozzo
case –

20-16-02

May 21, 1945

Mr. L. L. Kramer
2737 Clay Street
Apt. 8
San Francisco, 15, California

Dear Mr. Kramer:

I am very glad to renew my acquaintance with you and if I can find a moment I shall be glad to try to get in touch with you. I am afraid, however, it is going to be impossible. I leave Saturday and I am pretty full of business until then.

If I do not get to see you, Greetings!

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Glendale Park, Hammond, Indiana

HEDWIG S. KUHN, M.D.

Request for recommendation

March 29, 1945

20-19-49

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois,

A very close friend of mine, Donald L. West, at present superintendant of schools at Lula, Georgia, has made application for a fellowship from the Rosenwald foundation.

I think that some years ago when I called on you at Atlanta that I told you of Don West who at that time was living at Cordersville. You undoubtedly have heard a good deal about his work since. It has seemed to me one of the most outstanding contributions to an activated democracy that anybody's made in this country.

If there's anything at all that you can do to further his interests in this application for scholarship, I would deeply appreciate it. He's one of the grandest people I know and has all the support that any and all of us can give him coming to him.

With kindest personal regards to you.

Cordially,

Hedwig S. Kuhn

HEDWIG S. KUHN, M.D.

HSK:bc

5 April 1945

20-19-50

My dear Dr. Kuhn:

The regular procedure is for the applicant to approach the Rosenwald Fund and name certain references. Then the Fund writes to those referred to. I should be very glad to say a good word for Mr. West whom I remember with pleasure.

It is nice to hear from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Hedwig S. Kuhn
Glendale Park
Hammond, Indiana

Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.
OPHTHALMOLOGY
ONE HUNDRED TWELVE RIMBACH STREET
HAMMOND, INDIANA

April 9, 1945

20-15-85

W. E. B. DuBois, Ph.D.
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Thanks for your memo relative to Donald West. His application is already in and it was my thought mainly that if the question of his interest and work came up with you that you'd be informed.

Am interested in the caption on your stationery "Color and Democracy, Colonies and Peace". Won't you tell me a little about what you're doing as director of the department of special research? It's difficult for a mere doctor in a highly industrialized area as this is, working at fever pace to keep track of anything outside of their own specialities, so whatever you can do to bring me up to date on some of these straight forward moving projects I'd be deeply appreciative.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Hedwig Kuhn

HEDWIG S. KUHN, M.D.

HSK:bc

13 April 1945

20-15-86

Dear Dr. Kuhn:

I was rather peremptorily dismissed from Atlanta University where I had expected to spend my days teaching. Then I was offered several opportunities for other work. I chose the opportunity to return to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to become head of a special research department to promote international relations, that is, matters connected with colonies and especially Africa. I am enjoying the work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Hedwig S. Kuhn
One Hundred Twelve Rimbach Street
Hammond, Indiana

Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.
Glendale Park, Hammond, Indiana

April 16, 1945

20-17-39

W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York (3) New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was good to have your note relative to your present work. It just happens that the Medical Director of the Firestone Plantations in Liberia (only recently left there and set up the whole present first class station which supplies not only the plant but the native population as well) is a very close friend of ours. He is now Director General of Health for the imperial Ethiopian government with his headquarters at Adis Abada. I have long been tremendously interested in Africa and while I'm certainly not informed I have hibbled vigorously on everything that I can lay my nands on.

I would like very much to follow the course of your work as it develops if that would be possible. If there is any literature available, reports etc. I'd appreciate it a lot. If there is anything that you would like me to interest people in the Middle West in, I'd be glad to do so. I shall be in New York for a very few days (and those will be exceedingly busy ones) when I come East in May to participate in a post-graduate course in industrial ophthalmology in Columbia. If I get half a break I should like very much to drop by and have a visit with you, but it doesn't look as if I'll have a free moment with the obligations already set up.

With kindest regards, I am,

Cordially,

Hedwig Kuhn

HEDWIG S. KUHN, M.D.

HSK:rk

Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.
OPHTHALMOLOGY
ONE HUNDRED TWELVE RIMBACH STREET
HAMMOND, INDIANA

20-25-7

July 17, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat. Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Have been so swamped that I have neglected in getting to you the inclosed check with the hope that you will inscribe your most recent book "Color In Democracy" and have it sent to me. I've been looking forward to reading this for a long time but extra work and ill health have kept me from doing many things.

With kindest personal greetings.

Cordially,

Hedwig S. Kuhn

HEDWIG S. KUHN, M.D.

HSK:bc

Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.
OPHTHALMOLOGY
ONE HUNDRED TWELVE RIMBACH STREET
HAMMOND, INDIANA

July 18, 1945

20-25-9

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat. Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thru an error on my part I forwarded a check to you by mistake that was to go to Henri. Inclosed please find the check for the correct amount. I would appreciate it very much if you would return the one sent previously.

Sincerely,

Betty J Compton

Betty J. Compton, Secy.
Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.

July 20, 1945

Dear Dr. Kuhn:

You've got your wires crossed and I am returning this check.

I am also sending you the book inscribed.

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosure

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Hedwig S. Kuhn
112 Rimbach Street
Hammond, Indiana

[LAL]

Science Department

THE AMERICAN WEEKLY

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT
235 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 28,1945

W.E.B.Du Bois Esq.
69 Fifth Ave.,
New York City

Dear Mr.Du Bois:

I regret that I was unable to respond to your invitation to participate in the Colonial Conference to be held on April 6th,at the Public Library, earlier.

My regret is still more profound because I am thoroughly engaged in professional duties on that day, and would not be able to be present.

I suggest,however,that the suhject of India can be very adequately covered by either or both of these gentlemen:

(1) Dr.K.L.Shridharani,of Columbia University, whose personal address is "Hotel Ansonia: 73rd and Broadway, New York City"

(2) Dr.Tarakaath Das,of the City College,whose personal address is also the same hotel

....

The work you are apparently doing is of capital importance, and I am in fullest accord with your objectives.

I am far from optimistic that the big powers will do any thing decisive, and gratifying, for discriminated-against or forcefully subjugated peoples,states,communities --save,no doubt,the Jewish people who have suffered so much.

But one must not be overwhelmed by the current situation, and I wish you all success.

Very faithfully yours
Gobind Behari Lal
Science Analyst (A.W.)

621-4-02

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(15)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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N318 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14

1945 APR 14 PM 5 15

W E B DUBOIS= CARE WHITE=

DELIVER 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

YOUR TELEGRAM APRIL 13TH TO LAMBDA KAPPA MU SORORITY MRS AMELIA G SMITH 167-04 111TH AVE JAMAICA NY IS UNDELIVERED. UNKNOWN ABOVE ADDRESS=

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO SERVICE BUREAU WORTH 2 7300.

20-21-82

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

22 January 1945

My dear President Harrison:

On November 21, I wrote you a letter, a copy of which is enclosed. There is, of course a bare possibility that you did not receive it and I am, therefore, writing you again. My itinerary is finally being put in shape and I must know all my engagements very soon.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President G. L. Harrison
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

G. L. HARRISON
PRESIDENT

Lecture

Langston University
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Langston, Oklahoma

January 25, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

50-10-20

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of January 22 and note with interest the copy of your previous letter.

It is impossible for me to state definitely at this time whether or not we will be able to have you speak at Langston. At present the Legislature does not appropriate funds for speakers and we are compelled to pay speakers from our Student Activity Account. The present condition of our Student Activity Account will not permit us to arrange to have you come at this time.

I do hope that we will find some means of presenting you at Langston University in the near future.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. L. Harrison

G. L. Harrison
President

GLH:tph

20-8-35

September 15, 1945

Mr. Harold Laski
University of London
London, England

My dear Mr. Laski:

You may possibly remember me and I shall not forget that you helped me with one of the Pan African Congress sessions in 1923. A committee of the Trade Union Congress, consisting of delegates from Africa, has called a fifth Pan African Congress to meet in London, October 15th to 21st. Mr. George Padmore is the secretary and the convening committee has an office at 22 Cranleigh House, London N.W. 1.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked me to attend this Congress and I shall if I can get official permission. I shall have to have a British visa and I am not sure that under ordinary circumstances this would be granted me. I am writing, therefore, to ask your help if you see any way in which you can do anything.

If I do get to London, I shall certainly hope to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[CASE]

21-6-109

DEVON LODGE,
ADDISON BRIDGE PLACE,
W.14.

FULHAM 2444. 25.9.42.

Dear Dr Dubbers,

Of course I remember you. And I have gladly accepted to redeem some small part of the debt I owe to your books by renting gratuitously to Mr Bevan our house. I hope greatly that you will come and that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Yours sincerely,
Harold J. Leader.

Bonds

[LASKI]

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.)

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 9783-8.
TELEGRAMS: "POLECONICS, ESTRAND." LONDON.

HOUGHTON STREET,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON. W.C. 2.

21-6-118

6th November, 1945.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Will you come and see me here on Friday morning about 11? It will be a great pleasure to have a talk with you after so many years.

Yours sincerely,

Harold J. Laski

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois,
Belfield House,
Greenfield Park,
New Barnet.

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Honorary President
MARK STARR
President
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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

INC.

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y. · Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5865

OBJECT: Education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic political and cultural life

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(The Board also includes five of the Officers)

January 3, 1945.

Dr. W.E.V. DuBois,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The League for Industrial Democracy, successor of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, is planning to celebrate its Fortieth Anniversary on Saturday evening, February 3rd at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City. We are very anxious to have as sponsors of this dinner the former members of the Executive Committee of the I.S.S. who gave so devotedly of their time and energies to the society in past days. Will it be possible for you, as one of the active spirits on this Committee, to serve as one of the sponsors of the Anniversary Dinner and for you to be with us at the dinner. Should you care to send us in addition a word of greeting or any comments on the past, present or future of the League, we would greatly appreciate them.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and with the Season's Greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Harry W. Laidler

Executive Director.

HWL:SK

afoe

20-19

438

League for Industrial Democracy

8 January 1945

20-12-39

My dear Mr. Laidler:

My address is 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City and I am again one of the National Association. I would be glad to have my name used as sponsor for the Anniversary Dinner. If I am in town, I should be glad to attend February third.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry W. Laidler
League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

17 January 1945

20-4-121

Dear Dr. Moody:

We are proceeding according to plans. I have in the publishers' hand a book on Color and Democracy, Colonies and Peace which will appear in the spring. I will see that you get a copy. I hope you will send me regularly your News Letter and any other matter which you get out.

I am exploring the possibility of having a small colonial conference next month here in New York with such representatives of colonies as I can get hold of. I especially want to get from time to time, and perhaps you can help me in this, copies of all statements, resolutions, manifestos, etc., which the various colonies of the world have from time to time but especially since the first World War issued. I plan to collect and if possible publish a book of these demands. What can you do to help me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold A. Moody
League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster S. W. 1
London
England

15 February 1945

20-4-120

My dear Dr. Moody:

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has decided to sponsor a call for a Fifth Pan African Congress, six months after the war with Germany is concluded. We want, if possible, to have it held somewhere in Africa: Dakar, Freetown or Monrovia. I write to ask if you and your organization and possibly the London Missionary Society will join us in sponsoring this call? We propose a conference simply to give voice to the aspirations of Africans. We have no set program or no special object. We want to leave that matter open and free for determination when the Congress meets. I shall hope to hear from you soon and to have some suggestions as to the organizations which join with us in issuing the call.

You mention in some of your Letters a Charter of Coloured Peoples. Will you please send me a copy of this? I want to get for publication sometime this year a volume on colonial demands for freedom and autonomy in the twentieth century.

With best regards to you and family,

I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold A. Moody
The League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster, S. W. 1
London
England

[LEAGUE ...]

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (LOND.)

General & Travelling Secretary: JOHN CARTER, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law (British Guiana).

Hon. Treasurer: Capt. CHRISTINE O. MOODY, R.A.M.C. *(On Active Service)* *Hon. Acting Treasurer:* Miss JOAN E. MOODY.

Monthly Publication:
NEWS LETTER

21, OLD QUEEN STREET,
S.W.1.
Telephone & Telegrams: WHITEHALL 6591.

HAM/HM/PAC

23.2.45

20-2-6

Dr W.E.B.DuBois,
Colour Democracy Colonies and Peace,
Department of Special Research,
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3. N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Dr DuBois,

Very many thanks for yours of the 17th., ulto to hand. I am glad to hear of your forthcoming colonial conference and shall be happy to have a report thereof. I will also be looking forward to the receipt of your new book when published.

At our Annual Meeting, which will be held three weeks hence, we plan to launch an appeal for the erection of a Cultural Centre in London as soon after the war as possible. We want to raise the sum of £50,000 for this purpose and trust that we may be able to interest some of our American friends in this project, which is to embrace Africans and persons of African descent of all national origins.

With regard to your appeal for manifestoes, we are not at the present moment able to give you much help, but will bear this fact in mind and pass on anything which may come to hand.

We will soon have to begin active thinking on our Pan-African Congress.

Yours very sincerely,

John Carter

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (LOND.)

General & Travelling Secretary: SAMSON U. MORRIS (Grenada).

Assistant Secretary: Mrs. MARGARET FULLER.

Hon. Treasurer: Capt. CHRISTINE O. MOODY, R.A.M.C. *(On Active Service)*

Hon. Acting Treasurer: Miss JOAN E. MOODY.

President's Address:
164, QUEEN'S ROAD, S.E. 15.
Telephone: NEW Cross 1834.

Monthly Publication:
NEWS LETTER

19, OLD QUEEN STREET,
S.W.1.
Telephone & Telegrams: WHITEHALL 6591.

15.3.45

HAM/HM/AC

Dr W.E.B.DuBois,
Department of SpecialResearch,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3 N.Y.
U.S.A.

20-2-8

Dear Dr Dubois,

I have your air mail letter of the 15th, Feb to hand and will place this before our Annual GeneralMeeting and inform you of their decision. This is really to send you some copies of our Charter, which I have previously dispatched to you.

Yours sincerely,

Harold A. Moody

[ENC?]

"CHARTER FOR COLOURED PEOPLES".

This Conference of the League of Coloured Peoples, held in London on July 21st-23rd, 1944, calls upon the Governments of the United Nations to adopt the following Charter:

1. The same economic, educational, legal and political rights shall be enjoyed by all persons, male and female, whatever their colour. All discrimination in employment, in places of public entertainment and refreshment, or in other public places, shall be illegal and shall be punished.

2. The governments administering dependent territories shall proclaim their acceptance of, and give effect to, the following:

   (a) That comprehensive plans be made and put into effect, in accordance with a definite time schedule, for the economic, educational, social and political development of the dependent regions and their peoples. Special and adequate funds shall be set aside for this purpose.

   (b) That all such economic development shall be in the interest of the peoples of the regions concerned.

   (c) That educational plans shall be so formed and carried out that the peoples of such territories shall be able, in the shortest possible time, to play their full part in all spheres and at all levels of activity in their own countries.

   (d) That the indigenous peoples of all dependent territories shall have immediately a majority on all law-making bodies, and shall be granted full self-government at the earliest possible opportunity.

   (e) That Imperial Powers shall be required to account for their administration of dependent territories to an international body with powers of investigation, and, in particular, to make regular reports on the steps taken towards self-government.

Published by THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES,
21, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1. Telephone: WHItehall 6591.

[LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES]

22 March 1945

20-2-5

My dear Mr. Moody:

There has been published in the American Negro papers a long report from Padmore saying that various organizations in London have called a Pan African Congress for a meeting in Paris in September. I am writing to ask if this is authentic. We should of course like to take part in a Pan African Congress but it is doubtful if as early as September there can be any chance of guaranteeing a large number of representatives in Paris and it would be unfortunate to have assembled there Negroes who are domiciled in England and France and only indirectly representative of colonies.

What we are planning here is a Pan African Congress "six months after the close of the war" and to take place on the continent of Africa. There and there only the next Pan African Congress should be held. Moreover, when we say after this war there is the question as to whether we mean the war in Europe and include the war in Asia which is going to be a long drawn out affair. Nevertheless, this Asiatic war as long as it continues will hinder free transportation.

I do not know Mr. Padmore but I am trying to reach him by letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold A. Moody
League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster S. W. 1
London
England

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (LOND.)

General & Travelling Secretary: SAMSON U. MORRIS (Grenada).

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Telephone & Telegrams: WHITEHALL 6591.

-•- HAM/HM/WC

23.3.45

Dear Dr DuBois,

I placed your letter before our Annual meeting and they were unanimous that we should join with you in sponsoring the call for a Fifth Pan African Congress, but they were anxious to know what was in your mind with respect to the financial responsibility which would develve upon us. We are unable to undertake any great liability at the present moment as we have decided to bring into being a Cultural Centre in London at the earliest possible date. However, we do want to share to the limit of our ability and would like you to give us some idea what this would mean.

We would also like to know how the Committee calling the Congress would be constituted.

We has a successful A.G.M.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

Dr W.E.B.DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3 N.Y.

20-2-7

21-6-34

11 April 1945

My dear Mr. Moody:

I am rushing another letter to you despite the fact that you have hardly had time to answer my last letter. Since writing I have been in receipt of direct communication from the colored labor leaders who met in Manchester in February. I have also talked with the executive head of the International Labor Office with headquarters in Montreal.

I took up yesterday with the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the matter of the Pan African Congress. From all these sources I am persuaded that we ought to call a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. The world labor organization is going to meet there in September and the International Labor Office. The Pan African Congress should, of course, have no organic connection with these organizations but if we met at or near the same time we would have a chance to have direct representation from Africa and the Caribbean which would be impossible under other circumstances.

Moreover, I think you will be convinced on reflection that the intellectual leaders of the Negro throughout the world must in the future make close alliance and work in cooperation with the leaders of labor. If Europe has consented more and more to cooperate with organized labor, Africa cannot neglect this necessary extension of democracy. Our problems of race are not simply philanthropic; they are primarily economic and political: the problem of earning a living among the poorest people in the world, the problem of education, of health and of political autonomy, either within or without the empires. Here in the United States we have achieved cooperation between the intelligentsia and labor. For a long time the university men fought against this and the labor leaders, on the other hand, distrusted higher education. We see now that only in union can progress be made.

I trust, therefore, your organization, ~~both~~ with the ~~Colored~~ of Colonial People League and the London Missionary Society will be willing to join with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a call for a Fifth Pan African Congress to be held in Paris in September.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is prepared to assume a considerable proportion of the expense and a committee on that subject will come to definite conclusions within a few days.

(over)

Another reason which compels me to hurry and make definite the call for this meeting is the threat of Jans Smuts to call a Pan African Congress which virtually would be confined to the whites of South Africa, Tanganyika and Kenya. I want to forestall any use of this name in a movement which would disfranchize the great mass of Africans and their descendents.

Will you let me hear from you at your earliest convenience and give me frankly your reaction to points made in this letter?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Harold A. Moody
The League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster, S. W. 1
London
England

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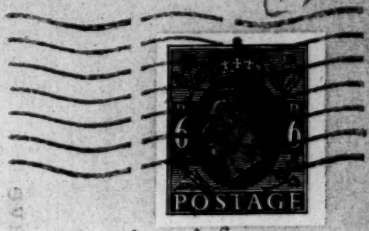
BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

PECKHAM 7.15PM 2 APR 1945 S.E.15



17

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

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Sender's name and address:-
Dr. H.A. Moody,
164 Queen Road,
Peckham, S.E.15.
London.

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[LEAGUE OF COLORED PEOPLES - HAROLD MOODY]

164 Queens Road,
Peckham, S.E.15.

HAM/T/PAC

21st April, 1945.

21-6-35

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

In further reply to yours of the 22nd March, I have seen the persons in question re this conference in Paris, and I think they have assured you that they wish fully to co-operate in your suggested course. The Conference is just a preliminary one for exploratory purposes while the T.U.C. delegates are in Paris. I think this will help rather than hinder the purpose you have in mind.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

Harold Moody

Founder and President.

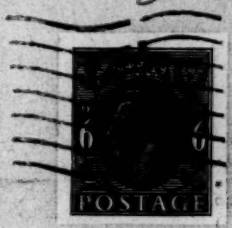
Dr. W.E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, 3, N.Y.

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

PECKHAM 7.15PM 28 APR 1945 S.E.15.



Dr W.E.B.DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3 N.Y.
U.S.A.

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Sender's name and address:-

The League of Coloured Peoples,
Dr Harold A.Moody,
19 Old Queen St.,
Westminster,
London S.W.1
England

To open cut here →

[c. APRIL 28, 1945]

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

15A Old Queen St.,
Westminster,
London S.W.1
England

[2]

Dr W.E.B.DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3 N.Y.
U.S.A.

21-6-38

My dear Dr Dubois,

I have now received your further letter dated April \\ with reference to the calling of a Pan African Congress. I note that you have further considered the matter with your Board of Directors and have decided to call one in Paris in September next. From all that I can gather, on this side, I do think that it will be quite impossible to run a representative Conference in Paris then. Transport will not be much easier then than it is at the present moment and conditions in Paris are not likely to be such as will enable the City to cater for two large Conferences at the same time, and except the British & French Governments considered that such a Conference as ours, could be held at the same time as the T.U.C. Conference, I feel certain that they would not make matters easier for us.

Why not adhere to your original idea and plan for a big Conference in Africa as soon as world conditions make this a possibility and regard a Conference in Paris in September next as something in the shape of a preliminary exploratory meeting to plan and prepare for the larger affair, to set afloat investigations which will render the later conference a much more effective gathering. Why not let it be the "Dumbarton Oaks" in preparation for our "San Francisco"? Please think about this. I am in full agreement with all you say about working with Labour Groups, but I do not want us to tie ourselves to any one group either politically or in any other way. We have to stand on our own legs, decide our own future and carve out a policy for our people, which will command the attention of the World because of its sanity, reasonableness and practicability; and I would suggest to you that we will not be able to do this as early as September. We want to see what the United Nations are purposing to do in relation to us. They have our Manifesto, which you have seen by this. What are they going to do about it? We want to know what will be the reaction of our people the world over to the results of San Francisco. We want to stir them up to realise that now is our time when we must make the world feel that we are no longer asleep, but that we mean to think together, work together and act together for the benefit of all our people. Our people are still far away for this goal. In Paris in September next we could work up steam towards this great objective and the place for staging this is surely Africa.

I hope you will agree with me in these conclusions. Let me say, finally that the London Missionary is constitutionally

unable to associate themselves with us in the calling of this Conference, which should, in my opinion, be called entirely by our own people. Other American and European groups amy and I hope will associate themselves with us in the shape of sending delegates to the Conference, but the responsibility of giving shape to the Conference must rest with our own groups. I hope you and your Committee will agree with me in this decision. (3)

With respect to preventing Smuts using the term Pan-African, we could forestall him by associating the name with the Conference in Paris and making clear that it is wholly a preliminary Conference in preparation for the larger meeting to be held at a suitable time in Africa.

There are many other reason which make me feel that this is the correct thing to do, but I cannot now stay to relate them herein.

With my very best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

First fold here

[c APRIL 28, 1945]

LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES

196 Old Queen Street
Westminster, London S. W. 1, England

20-8-4

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have now received your further letter dated April 11 with reference to the calling of a Pan African Congress. I note that you have further considered the matter with your Board of Directors and have decided to call one in Paris in September next. From all that I can gather, on this side, I do think that it will be quite impossible to run a representative Conference in Paris then. Transport will not be much easier then than it is at the present moment and conditions in Paris are not likely to be such as will enable the city to cater for two large conferences at the same time, and except the British and French Governments considered that such a Conference as ours, could be held at the same time as the T. U. C. Conference, I feel certain that they would not make matters easier for us.

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There are many other reasons which make me feel that this is the correct thing to do, but I cannot now stay to relate them herein.

With my very best wishes,

Yours very sincerely

Harold A. Moody

[League of Coloured Peoples]

From:
NEWS LETTER - Vol. XII, No. 67 - April 1945
"The League of Coloured Peoples"
19, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

"6 Report of the Fourteenth Annual General Meeting of the League of Coloured Peoples, held on 16th March at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street.

..... "From overseas also came a letter from Dr. DuBois seeking the full co-operation of the League in summoning a Conference to take place in West Africa and to be called the "Pan-African Congress," to which representatives of all kindred organisations should be invited. Dr. DuBois wished it to take place within six months after cessation of hostilities. The meeting assured Dr. DuBois of every assistance from the League, and left the details to be gone into by the Executive, who will keep members informed of any future action."

29-5-15

[LEAGUE OF COLORED PEOPLES]

20-8-20

July 9, 1945

My dear Mr. Moody:

I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have just written to Mr. Padmore.

I shall write you again soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Dr. Harold A. Moody
The League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster, S. W. 1, London

July 20, 1945

My dear Dr. Moody:

I am writing to let you know that the chances are that I will not be able to come to Paris for the proposed September meeting. The NAACP has voted in favor of helping to promote a Pan-African Congress and appropriated the money, but unfortunately the situation in the United States as to transportation is such that arrangements will be difficult, if not impossible. We could get over to Paris with perhaps a half dozen delegates but American soldiers are streaming back from Europe now in such numbers that I do notthink we are going to be able to obtain any assurance of transportation from France to America during the year 1945. If it is possible I will, of course, hasten to let you know. But as I see it now it looks impossible.

In the meantime I hope you will be present at the Paris meeting of the Trade Union delegates and that you will assemble them in a conference on Africa. I think it would better be called a consultative conference rather than a congress. You might, therefore, make preparations for a real and fairly complete Pan-African Congress in the future. As Acting Permanent Secretary of the last four Congresses I had delegated to me the power to assemble the Fifth Congress. Whatever that power amounts to I very gladly turn over to any meeting in Paris so that they will feel free to take any action that they may wish and I want to assure you and them that I shall be willing to cooperate in the future in any way in accordance with my ability.

I shall follow this letter by another just as soon as the decision of the NAACP is final, but I thought this warning letter ought to go immediately.

I am sending a letter identical with this to Mr. Padmore.

With sincere regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Harold A. Moody
League of Coloured Peoples
19 Old Queen Street
Westminster, S.W. 1, London
England

Sept. I2, I945

Dear Dr Moody:

After some hesitation, the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have voted to be represented at the Pan-African Congress called to meet in London October I5 to 2I. They have asked me to attend and I shall do so if difficulties of visas and travel can be overcome. I am writing to Laski and Creech-Jones to get their good offices to secure me a British visa. There may be diddiculty. Will you use your good offices?

Also, I want to secure good hotel accommodations, even if costly; Can you advise me?

I am suse that you along with me have been a little dubious at the way in which the convening committee has taken the bit in their teeth and gone ahead; and yet after thought I have come to the conclusionthat I ought to cooperate with them just as far as possible. A united fight for the rights of colonists is needed today as never and we should let no minor disagreementds divide us. Especially am I glad for the oportunity to bring labor and the professions among usninto union.

Please let me have your cooperation and advice.

Very sincerely yours

[LEAGUE OF COLORED PEOPLES]

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT - - - - - - HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. (Lond.)

General & Travelling Secretary: SAMSON U. MORRIS (Grenada).

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NOV 10 45

-•-HAM/HM/G

10.11.45

My dear Dr DuBois,

I am so very glad that we have been able to fix up a Reception in your honour. This will be held at the Colonial Centre, 15 Collingham Gardens, Earl's Court on Thursday next at 5.30pm.

Herewith I send a copy of the last two issues of our News Letter and some other literature as promised when we met at Lady Simon's.

With my best wishes,
Yours very sincerely,

Dr W.E.DuBois,
c/o Dr C.B.Clarke,
Belfield House,
Greenhill Park,
New Barnet

20-2-4

[1945]

The League of Coloured Peoples

(Founder and President: **HAROLD A. MOODY, M.D., B.S. Lond.**)

General & Travelling Secretary - - - SAMSON MORRIS
Assistant Secretary - - - - - Mrs. MARGARET FULLER
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40/80/25

MANIFESTO ON

AFRICA IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

FOR PRESENTATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE, SAN FRANCISCO, APRIL 1945.

Promulgated and supported by

The League of Coloured Peoples

in co-operation with

West African Students' Union (London),

International African Service Bureau, (London),

Negro Association (Manchester),

Negro Welfare Centre (Liverpool and Manchester),

Coloured Men's Institute (East London),

and endorsed by the following Colonial Trade Union Leaders on behalf of their unions:

J. S. Annan, Gold Coast Trade Unions.

T. A. Bankole, President, Nigerian T.U.C.

H. N. Critchlow, British Guiana Trade Unions

J. A. Garba-Jahumpa, Secretary Gambia T.U.C.

The decisions of the historic Crimea Conference represent the consolidation of the alliance of the three Great Powers, Great Britain, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the final phase of the war of liberation against Hitlerite Germany. They demonstrate the unity and singleness of purpose of the anti-Fascist Powers to "destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world." The decisions aim also at the prevention of any future aggression and at the removal of the political, economic and social causes of war with the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

By their Declaration the leaders of the three Governments have re-affirmed their faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, their pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and their determination to build in co-operation with other peace-loving nations a world order dedicated to a secure and lasting peace which will "afford assurance that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

The dawn of a new epoch in world relations is thus breaking. Only on the basis of the unity of purpose and of action which has made victory in the war possible for the United Nations can the highest aspiration of humanity—a secure and lasting peace—be realised.

Establishment of an International Organisation.

The decision regarding the establishment of an International Organisation confirms and consolidates the decisions of the United Nations already reached at Teheran, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Hot Springs to provide the framework of future world security and prosperity. The problems of mankind are now recognised as the concern of the entire world.

Over large areas of the world millions of people live in poverty, disease, squalor and ignorance. Their continued low standards of life constitute a serious threat to the standards of people everywhere and represent a powerful challenge to the financial and technological resources of the more advanced nations joined together in collaboration to promote world prosperity and the happiness of mankind.

The vast continent of Africa with its 160 million inhabitants and immense though undeveloped resources in mineral, forest and agricultural wealth must command the attention of the international organisation. The rapid economic development, industrialisation and the advancement of the social standards of Africa must form an integral part of any plan to build world prosperity.

United Nations must Free Themselves of the Evils against which They are Fighting.

Africa is a land of varied political forms, economic interests and social and cultural standards. This is complicated by the fact that among the Powers with imperial possessions in Africa are Fascist Spain and Fascist Portugal. It is further complicated by the colour bar laws and practices obtaining within the territories of some of the United Nations themselves, notably the Union of South Africa. The United Nations are pledged to secure in addition to the military defeat of Fascism, the eradication of its moral and political manifestations, chief of which is the theory of the master race against inferior races. If the principles for which we fight do not apply only to Europe, then it is the duty of the United Nations to eliminate the influence of the Spanish and Portuguese Fascist regimes and to remove from their own territories those theories and practices for the destruction of which Africans have died on many battlefields. In this way alone can true international collaboration and planning for the future of Africa proceed in conditions free from conflict and favourable to such collaboration.

Recommendations.

In the belief that it is the eager desire of the United Nations to begin with the least possible delay the solution of these problems, we recommend:

(1) That the International Organisation should immediately adopt policies and set up all necessary machinery to secure the uniform and rapid development of the economic, social and cultural life of the African peoples.

(2) That guided by the principle of equal rights for all men and recognising that the success of any scheme will depend on the measure to which Africans themselves participate, steps should be taken for the provision of maximum opportunity for such participation at all levels of administration.

The present inferior political, economic and social status of the African peoples militates against the achievement of harmonious co-operation among the peoples of the world. International co-operation demands the abolition of every kind of discrimination on account of colour, race and creed wherever such discrimination exists.

(3) The present system of exploitation by which the bulk of the wealth produced in Africa goes to enrich foreign monopoly firms and individuals must be replaced by systematic planning and development whereby in the first place the Africans themselves shall be the principal beneficiaries of the wealth produced, then an equal opportunity shall be afforded to all nations in the exchange of products. In this regard an international council representative of producer

and consumer interests should be established within the framework of the International Organisation for the stabilisation of commodity prices at levels ensuring reasonable returns to producers and maximum satisfaction to consumers.

(4) Simultaneously with economic development progressive steps should be taken to associate Africans with the management of their own affairs with a view toward the achievement of full self-government within a definite time limit, as in the case of the Philippine Commonwealth.

(5) The eradication of mass illiteracy calls for energetic measures no less sustained than those which aim at the ending of poverty, disease and squalor. The greater the spread of education for both children and adults the greater will be the pace of advancement of the peoples as a whole. That it is possible to eradicate mass illiteracy within a short space of time is proved by the experience of Soviet Central Asia, where 20 years ago there was a very small percentage of literacy, but where now illiteracy has been practically abolished and universities flourish.

(6) The former Italian colonies now under military rule shall have the same treatment as the rest of the African territories and shall be given every assistance in development along with these other territories on the road to full self-government.

African Peoples Earned Right to Benefit by New Concept.

We believe that the African peoples by their contribution in man-power and material resources in the war against Fascism; by their service in Ethiopia, East Africa, the Western Desert, Italy and in the Battle of Germany; and by their service in Burma in the eastern war against Japan, have earned the right to expect that they shall benefit as a result of the new concept of international co-operation which has been acquired in the course of the grim ordeal of the war of liberation against Fascism.

(signed by)

HAROLD A. MOODY,
GEORGE PADMORE,
K. A. CHUNCHIE,
J. S. ANNAN,
H. N. CRITCHLOW,
SAMSON MORRIS,
R. W. BEOKU-BETTS,
T. A. BANKOLE,
K. A. KORSAH,
J. A. GARBA-JAHUMPA.
C. B. CLARKE.

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This all leads us up to strengthen our plea for the need of a *Cultural Centre* for Africans and persons of African descent in Britain. We are much encouraged with the ready and eager response to our Appeal. We have written to several persons of influence, and are most heartened by their replies. A small Planning Committee is to prepare plans which will be publicised in due course. In the meanwhile we want you to appreciate the fact that we are pursuing this goal with the utmost vigour, and hope to be able to make a report before very long.

We welcome the action of the leading religious bodies in this country in issuing a statement of policy on *the Colour Bar and Race*. We remember that when we began our work they did not then appear to appreciate the importance of the task upon which we were engaged. By our persistence and by the force of circumstances they have now been won over to our point of view, and we are most thankful for this fact.

The Manifesto which we issued last month on *Africa in the Post-War World* has stirred up a good deal of interest among African Groups in this country and overseas. We received a cablegram from the *African Peoples' Organisation* of South Africa in full support thereof, and representatives of groups of African people in this country have conferred with us and desire this manifesto to go forth in the name and with the full authority and backing of all groups of African peoples in Britain. Thus we present a *United Front* on this very vital issue so far as our peoples are concerned. This is excellent and augurs well for the future.

Yours very truly,

Founder and President.

"If all the kind thoughts
We have every day,
And all the kind words
We intended to say
Were lived out, and spoken,
Oh! wouldn't there be
A much brighter world here,
For you and for me."

(Mary Eversley.)

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15 The Duke of Devonshire on the Burma Front.

We were all delighted to read the Duke of Devonshire's (H.M. Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) tribute in the House of Lords to the East and West African troops on the Burma front. He had paid a personal visit to this front and had returned much impressed. He said: "My general impression of the troops as a whole was that they were in extremely good spirits, physically fit and sure of themselves. When they first arrived, the Japanese were to them an unknown quantity, but they now know, having met them in action, that they are their masters."

Then the Duke went on to deal with certain things which were causing these men some anxiety. The question of leave, for example. "Many of them had been away from their homes for a long time," continued the Duke. "Too prolonged absence is most undesirable in the case of any troops from any part of the world, but it has, perhaps, an even more serious impact upon Africans, living under primitive conditions, than upon Europeans. That was their chief preoccupation. It is not surprising, because a leave scheme for European troops had been devised and arranged, while the Africans serving alongside them had not then had any scheme announced for them." This the Duke hoped would be put right shortly.

We must observe how often the authorities seem to think in water-tight compartments and apparently forget that what is necessary for European troops is also necessary for African troops.

For example, one of our members, now in India, a coloured officer in the British Army, was very disturbed about the fact that the African troops were not getting the same allowances or facilities for leave as either the British or Indian troops, and wrote to us about this. We took this matter up immediately and we soon received the report that satisfactory action was being taken, as will be seen from letters which appear elsewhere in this issue. We have also heard from the officer in question that the men are now receiving an extra 10s. allowance.

But to continue with the Duke's speech. He referred to how the Africans had "expanded into complete divisions of all arms, and their range of duties and responsibilities has expanded out of all recognition. Africans have learnt the use of the complicated weapons of this war, from Bren guns to howitzers. They have become signallers, armourers, drivers, mechanics, cooks and bakers, military police, nursing orderlies and dispensers. I was particularly impressed by a field company of armourers belonging to the 11th East African Division. With very little European supervision, comparatively those men have been found capable of doing the whole of the complicated overhauling of the arms of a division, which after that very long and difficult campaign in unending mud and rain, needed a good deal of overhaul. These men were capable of diagnosing and correcting all the manifold and complex defects which can arise in modern weapons in conditions of that kind. It was a very fine performance.

"I was also much impressed by a signal unit which I

visited, and which had proved especially valuable in intercepting Japanese wireless. Africans have proved specially efficient at this work—more efficient than either Europeans or Asiatics. They have remarkable powers of concentration, and interruption (which, of course, is a normal feature of wireless communication) seems to upset them less than it does others. That particular kind of skill they have been found to possess to a greater extent than others. . . ."

"It was to me a most remarkable and moving experience to see this great volunteer Army. Many of the men in this Army have given up good positions at home; many of them were civil servants. It was a moving experience to see them serving on the other side of the world, and to know that they had proved the masters of a very highly-skilled military race. . . . I think the world should know more of what these Africans have done, of their tremendous efforts, of their loyalty and of their devotion."

We do thank the noble Duke for this great contribution and trust that the facts he has thus described will go a far way to ensure greater equality of treatment for his African fellow-subjects. No longer must the Commonwealth continue to lose the great contribution which Africans and persons of African descent can make and are only too anxious to make for her welfare.

16 Letters from Mr. Arthur Henderson, H.M. Financial Under-Secretary of State for War, re African Troops in India.

March 29th, 1945.

You wrote to me on 6th February enclosing an extract from a letter received from India about the alleged discrimination between the West African Forces on the one hand and the British and Indian Forces on the other.

You will be glad to hear that an increase in the expatriation allowance issued to West and East Africans serving in the Far East has recently been under consideration and an increase of 10s. a month has been approved. I hope you will agree that this makes the position more satisfactory.

The question of making accommodation or facilities available for local leave is being pursued with the local military authorities.

April 14th, 1945.

In my letter of 29th March, in reply to yours of 8th February in which you raised various points about West African Forces serving in India, I said that the question of accommodation or facilities available for local leave was being pursued by the local military authorities.

You will be glad to know that a local leave camp in India has been fitted out entirely for the use of African troops to accommodate 3,000 at a time.

I hope you will agree that this should go some way towards meeting the point which had been raised with you.

L.C.P. Regional Secretaries:

North-West: Mr. Ormiston Carter, Colwel House, 171, Bedford Street, Liverpool.

South-West: Mr. Basil A. L. Rodgers, Great Bury, Tavistock Road, Crownhill, Plymouth.

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17 Letters from Commander J. O. Links, Air Ministry, re West Indian Airman in Britain.

February 22nd, 1945.

Many thanks for your letter of 31st January and for the information contained in it. The necessary instructions have been issued to 40 Group, and I do not think you will hear of any further difficulties of the same sort.

Thank you also for letting me know about Goring Heath. I will take an early opportunity to go down there myself and see what the position is (although of course I won't be able to do anything about the weather). I will also try to get to Warminster as soon as that proves possible.

February 24th.

Further to my letter dated 22nd February, I have been looking into the question of the West Indians at Goring Heath, and I thought you would like to know that we have made arrangements for them all to be withdrawn from that station, as we do not consider it suitable for them.

I hope you will continue to pass on to me any information you think we should have, and I am still looking forward to the pleasure of a visit from you when you find that convenient.

18 "Charter of Liberty." Non-European Unity Conference. *Guardian* (*South Africa*), Jan. 11th.

The third Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement opened in the Banqueting Hall, Cape Town, last Thursday, January 4th. It was attended by a large number of delegates, and main discussion centred round the Unity Movement's Ten-point Programme, which the majority of delegates agreed must be the minimum immediate objective of the non-European people.

The Ten Points are:

1. The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other divisional and municipal councils.
2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
4. Freedom of speech, Press, meetings and association.
5. Freedom of movement and occupation.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
8. Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.
9. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

"In spite of past failures to achieve non-European unity, we must not despair," said the Rev. Z. Mahabane, who presided over the Unity Conference. The Act of Union in 1910 had made it constitutionally possible for non-Europeans to be kept in ignorance of political and economic rights and segregated into a slave group, he said. "But the Europeans must abandon their attitude of indifference or apathy towards the sufferings of their non-European brethren.

NOT ANTI-WHITE.

"This movement is not an anti-White movement. IT IS A MOVEMENT WHICH AIMS TO BRING ABOUT A STATE OF AFFAIRS IN WHICH MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING CAN EXIST, TO BUILD UP A STRONG COMMUNITY WHICH CAN MAKE FULL USE OF ALL THE RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY." The non-European people, he said, must combine against that section "which suppresses us and has assumed a herrenvolk attitude towards us, keeping us as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and intending to keep us so for all time."

"THE FIRST STEP."

Discussion on the resolution reaffirming support of the 10 point programme was opened by Mr. B M. Kies, M.A., who moved the resolution in a well-reasoned speech in which he called for less talk and more active work. "It is not enough to accept the programme," he said.

"The adoption of the programme is a great step forward—but it is only the first step," he added.

It is irresponsible and idiotic to try and rush your fences in South Africa because great things are happening in Europe and because the social revolution is maturing there. Events in Europe will have repercussions here, but there is no need for people to think that the struggle in South Africa will not take many years.

"The 10-point programme is not an ultimate goal. It is a point of departure, the springboard for all our political activities. WE CANNOT ASK FOR LESS."

THE NON-EUROPEAN AND PEACE.

The Rev. Z. R. Mahabane led a discussion on the non-European and peace problems, and the following resolution was passed:

"This conference denies the right of the rulers of South Africa, the self-appointed trustees of the Non-Europeans, to speak on behalf of the Non-Europeans at any peace conference and establishes it as the duty of Africans, Coloured and Indian people, organised in the Unity Movement, to proclaim to the world that the Non-Europeans of South Africa affirm their right to immediate enjoyment of full citizenship in a country which claims to be a democracy."

19 CORONATION HOSPITAL, JOHANNESBURG. *Guardian*, January 18th.

Johannesburg.—Coronation Hospital, probably the finest Non-European hospital in the Union, was opened at the beginning of November. No expense was spared in equipment, and Coronation can boast of being perhaps the only Native hospital where every in-patient sleeps on a bed.

Coronation can also perhaps boast of being the only hospital where whole wards contain empty beds.

Only a couple of miles away, the Non-European section of

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the General Hospital is so crowded patients lie on the beds, under the beds and between the beds. A doctor making his rounds has to be careful to avoid treading on the faces of sick people, and nurses administering medicines crawl around the floor with a gymnastic ability born of months of practice. Only the most serious patients use the beds. As soon as they are slightly better they are moved to the floor where there is no light and little air.

SHORTAGE OF NURSES.

Empty beds at Coronation are due to severe shortage of trained medical personnel. The shortage of nurses arises primarily from the unattractive conditions under which they have to work. Long hours and small pay is their reward.

Most women would rather work in an office or factory, where the work is less arduous and the pay higher. African trained nurses are few in number because of past reluctance to train them. The price for that shortsighted policy is now being paid.

There are 12 European and 14 African trained nurses in the hospital, also 28 African probationers. More than twice this number will be needed to staff the hospital properly, and more than twice the existing number of hospitals will be needed to serve the African people fully.

20 Africans are Backbone of S.A. Anti-Pass Meetings. *Guardian*, January 11th.

Cape Town.—"Economically the Africans are the backbone of South Africa and without them the wheel of industry would come to a standstill," said Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, at a recent Anti-Pass Committee meeting at Langa. The Africans as a majority race had a weapon in their hands, and once they presented a united front with the other non-European races, the Government would have to listen.

The Anti-Pass Campaign wanted 1,000,000 signatures to present to Parliament this session.

At a later meeting at Langa, Mr. Lucas Phillips moved a resolution calling on the Government to repeal the Pass Laws, the enforcement of which belied the principles for which the Allied Nations were fighting, which was passed unanimously.

21 Dr. Hugh Bennett warns S. Africa of the Dangers of Soil Erosion.

Dr. Hugh Bennett, Chief of U.S.A. Soil Conservation Service, after a recent tour of the Union, declared that South Africa has already lost 25 per cent. of the fertility of its soil. "It is only a question of a few more generations before it is all gone." "The time has come when the people of this country must realise the simple fact that they have got to have food to live."

"Knowing that you have in South Africa an erosion problem that constitutes a deadly menace to the continued welfare of the nation, knowing that it is getting worse, and at the same time knowing a good many practical measures that will reduce the depredations of erosions either in the sheet or donga form, it seems to me only common sense," said Dr. Bennett, "and a matter of national security that the nation should wake up to this and begin to do something about it."

22 Race Relations and the Schools.*

Race Relations and the Schools is a report based on the study of the treatment of the life and needs of the coloured peoples within the Empire, in history and geography textbooks used in English schools. Apart from revealing the fact that the coloured peoples' place in the Empire is almost entirely ignored, it is shown that such reference as is made is frequently of a misleading and sometimes of a derogatory nature.

The report offers practical suggestions for the re-orientation of history syllabuses, the training of teachers, and the production of textual material, with the end in view of producing a corrective to the existing state of things, contributing constructively to an understanding of the life of colonial peoples, and the evasion of those misconceptions which at the present time add to the prejudices which express themselves in race discrimination.

Professor Gooch, in a short foreword, raises the question of the depreciatory implications in some of the terms applied to coloured peoples, and offers the suggestion that the term non-European or some other term might be given currency. The subject is further discussed in a section which suggests re-adjustments in terminology. Whilst there is a case to be made for such re-adjustments, it is unlikely that it would be of more than temporary value. When people's prejudices have been eradicated by wide understanding of the inherent brotherhood of man the element of contempt in the present use of such terms as "Native" will disappear. It is to be hoped that this report will have wide publicity amongst the teaching profession and the publishing world. A useful bibliography of suggested reading is included in the report.

L. J. LEWIS.

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23 Cablegram from African Peoples' Organisation of South Africa.

African Peoples' Organisation national conference supports memorandum of League of Coloured Peoples to San Francisco Conference and request that all attempts be made to oppose any effort by General Smuts to exclude South Africa from democratic decision made. Smuts' policy of racial discrimination disqualifies him as spokesman for democracy and non-Europeans. Abdurahman.

24 Help for a Coloured Child Requested.

We request assistance towards the education of a little coloured girl of five who has been taken in by one of our members. £25 per annum is the sum required. He writes: "When we first had ———— we were comparatively well off, but through illness and misfortune I lost my farm, and that has made a big difference to us. . . . She is a dear little thing, well brought up and intelligent—comes from the slums of London and was abandoned by her mother. Her father has been drowned."

We shall be glad to receive gifts, large or small, towards this girl's education and maintenance.

* Published by The L.C.P. Price 1s.

25 President Roosevelt.

Among the men of world fame to pass away during this war were Wendell Wilkie, Earl Lloyd George and now F. D. Roosevelt—three men who in their respective ways have been friends of humanity, and so of Coloured peoples. For who could be a friend of the working man without being a friend of the Coloured peoples—the workers of the world?

It has been my pleasure and privilege to interview hosts of Coloured American Service men and women since the announcement of the President's death, and they all with one voice proclaim that Roosevelt had been to them in certain respects what Lincoln had been to their forefathers in others. When asked what their hopes were about the future as far as the new President was concerned, they gave varying replies, but perhaps the most lucid was given by a naval officer who, among other things, thought that Mr. Truman's Southern birthright makes him essentially, well, not pro-Coloured, anyhow. I then asked this officer if he thought Mr. Roosevelt would nominate someone to the Vice-Presidency whose views on such an important matter would run counter to his (the late President's); the officer preferred to let the question go unanswered. Nevertheless, 130 million people are waiting in America to see and hundreds of millions elsewhere are watching with them. We sent a message of condolence via the American Ambassador to the American Government, to Mrs. Roosevelt and other members of the family.

26 Preservation of Our Culture. By Nelson Ottah.

As other nations of the world are engaged in the struggle for the preservation of their ideology and culture, Africa as a nation should realise what is at stake and strive to think ahead.

As a matter of fact, Africa cannot continue to be a repository for the preservation of decaying European culture.

Africa must try to preserve her own culture, so rich and so ancient.

It is time Africa realised that the accumulation of foreign culture is usually a sign of political and economic degradation.

It is only when we begin to preserve and respect our culture that we can be able to challenge the subtle moves of unscrupulous capitalist propagandists.

Africa is one of those mysterious geographical entities where great art has flourished.

We have the uneven climate, the black tradition, the deep, deserted mineshaft.

We must reopen the vein.

But no cultural or political movement can have the art it deserves until it has learnt to respect the artist.

The African mistrust of the intellectual, the brutish aesthetic apathy and contempt for the creative artist must go.

Not until we have learnt to respect our own art and culture can we curtail our tailing behind the "rainbow of occidentalism."

27 Colour Discrimination in the Forces. By a Nursing Orderly. *West African Pilot*, Wednesday, January 17th, 1945.

On December 20th, 1944, there was an E.N.S.A. entertainment for His Majesty's Forces in the 13th General Hospital, Middle East.

West African nursing orderlies, as well as British nursing orderlies, officers, nursing sisters, A.T.S. and B.N.C.O.s, had full authority to attend the show.

But to my greatest astonishment, the West Africans were turned out from the concert hall in a disgraceful way.

On enquiring the cause of the incident, the only response made by an officer who stood nearby was "Arrest the black monkeys for disobedience of order."

Twenty of us were arrested.

Not being satisfied with the victims captured, one of us was severely thrashed by a B.N.C.O., who lastly gaoled the rest.

At about 10 p.m. the so-called Welfare Officer, Captain Heet, was 'phoned for.

Before his arrival, one of the British sergeants said that West Africans were not invited by Britain to render any assistance. That the British Isles, despite their minute population, is fifty times more powerful than the entire continent of Africa.

****We publish this because we receive by far too many reports of similar happenings. We urge upon the authorities concerned the great importance of doing everything possible to reduce to a negligible quantity the number of such incidents.*—Ed.

28 Lord Hailey on Colonial Development and Welfare Bill, House of Lords, April 10th, 1945.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH.

. . . Perhaps it is possible to illustrate this best, and perhaps to illustrate at the same time the value which these new resources will bring to the Colonies, if I say that taking the Colonies as a whole their total revenues coming from taxation and other sources amount to only between £70,000,000 and £74,000,000 a year. Indeed it is worth reflecting that in the early 'thirties—I will not at the moment refer to our later and more expansive period of taxation—Britain was raising by taxation from 48,000,000 people over £870,000,000, and at that period the Colonies with 60,000,000 were raising by taxation and from other sources something between £60,000,000 and £65,000,000. That was very unequally distributed. The late Governor of Nigeria, speaking recently, said that for the 20,000,000 in his vast territory, much of it undeveloped, he had something like 3s. 4d. a head a year to expend on all services. There was a limit in that way, but I think there was even greater limit to development owing to the lack of realization of the necessity for a comprehensive economic advance. There was much thought of political development and of social development, but thought regarding the development of resources was limited. I think we are all agreed now that

the study of economic problems forms an essential part of the functions of the Colonial Government. . . .

I feel that Downing Street must inevitably maintain a little less firmly the old traditional idea that the initiative must come from the Colonies in matters of policy. As a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Amery, has pointed out, the Colonial Office must realize that it has become a Ministry of Health, a Ministry of Communications, a Ministry of Agriculture and a Ministry of Economic Advance.

It must inevitably be less dependent than it was before from below. It was well in the old days to leave the fullest responsibility to the Colonial Governments since the needs of the Colonies were then more rudimentary—questions of the introduction of law and order, improved communications and the like—but now that we have great schemes of social advance which cannot be limited to particular colonies, and large schemes for research which cannot be so limited, it is clear that there must be some form of centralized direction from Downing Street.

I think myself that it would be well to see how far the new organization which the Colonial Secretary has announced under Sir Frank Stockdale, working with the Economic Advisory Council as it at present exists, is successful in co-ordinating the expenditure of this money; how far, when it comes to report its activities, they are accepted as adequate by Parliament and those interested in Colonial affairs, and how far they are accepted as adequate by Colonial Governments themselves.

I think that it would be well to wait for a time to see the operation of the new Department. What we want most of all is, perhaps, not a new organization, but a new fashion of thought in the Colonial Office and in the Colonies that will make "development" a real watchword. If you could get that recognized on all hands I believe you would accomplish more than you would by any formal type of organization. We want it recognized—and this must be one of the corollaries—that the State, in the shape of the Colonial Governments, as advised by the Colonial Office, must take a more direct part in regard to stimulating both primary production and secondary industries. . . .

. . . "The Times" newspaper said quite rightly the other day that, rightly interpreted, we want not less exploitation but more exploitation of the Colonies. We want to do everything to attract private enterprise there. By all means let us be certain that the conditions in which it operates do not bear hardly on any class of the people. Let us be certain that its profits are duly taxed for the benefit of the Colony and the Colonial taxpayer. Let us be certain of these things. But if we secure them, then the more private capital and the more private enterprise that we can secure for the Colonies, the more certain we may be that we shall attain those higher economic standards which it is part of our present policy to study and promote. . .

. . . There is one further consideration upon which I wish to touch. It will be realized that the attempt to secure a balanced economy in the Colonies, as a basis of raising their

standard of living, as between primary production and secondary industries, must involve a certain measure of protection. There again is a subject that is controversial. The suggestion no doubt is unwelcome to many, but all experience has shown —and we have the experience of India if of nowhere else to show us—that, in conditions such as are presented by the Colonies and were once presented by India, you cannot expect the small industries to grow up either on a domestic or a secondary basis, if you have absolutely unrestricted competition from an outside market. And may I say that the outside market is not always situated in the United Kingdom. The outside markets that will be mostly prejudicial to the infant industries of the Colonies will be situated in the Far East and in India. I have no desire to suggest that protection should be carried to what I might describe as illegitimate lengths. But if you are to have an industrial expansion in the Colonies you must submit to a certain amount of protection in the interests of nascent industries, and you will not get any expansion of industry without it. That, of course, is not going, in the long run, to injure our own industries here. All experience shows that the best customer we have is a community which itself has become industrialized, and not a community which is purely a primary producer. . . .

. . . It seems to me that they may mark also a new stage in our conception of the relations between the Colonies and the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth to-day is unbalanced; there is a great gulf between its more advanced elements and those which are more backward, such as the Colonies—backward in their economic life and in their social and political status. So long as that gulf exists, it impairs the material strength of the Commonwealth as a whole, a material strength which is required above all to-day, if the Commonwealth is to take its due part as one of the great guarantors of security in the world. But also, and perhaps even more, it impairs the moral strength of the Commonwealth and the contribution which it can make as one of the great forces to which we look for establishing a better social order throughout the world.

29 CORRESPONDENCE.

March 7th, 1945.

Dear Dr. Moody,

I ask the consideration of the League of Coloured Peoples for the enclosed appeal from the Native Welfare Council of Western Australia for education and just treatment for the native people of Western Australia, with the view of asking the Western Australian Government to repeal the sections of the Native Administration Act and Regulations (1936-38) by means of which:

1. Native children are removed from their parents or parent without trial or magistrate's order;
2. Natives are held in, and returned to, institutions, without trial or magistrate's order;
3. Natives are whipped and imprisoned in private prisons without trial.

I lived and worked in Western Australia, teaching natives, from 1931 to 1942, and ask to submit these facts:

Native children ("native" includes coloured) are removed from their parents at the discretion of a single official, the Commissioner of Native Affairs, and the parents have no opportunity to state their side in court to a magistrate. The Commissioner of Native Affairs for Western Australia said at Canberra (Canberra Report, Aboriginal Welfare, 1937, p. 11): "In Western Australia we have power under the Act to take any child from its mother at any stage of its life, no matter whether the mother be legally married or not." A coloured man expressed it: "Any police officer can come along and take all of our children at any time and we cannot object or we are committing an offence against the Act."

The children are herded in departmental institutions where there is no school and has been no school for more than a year. If boys or girls try to escape from the institutions they are brought back—without magisterial authority being sought—and whipped or imprisoned or both in private prisons at the superintendent's discretion.

The Western Australian Native Administration Act and Regulations (1936-38) provide for the whipping and imprisonment of natives without trial or protection of court proceedings in private departmental prisons at the discretion of the superintendent, who is generally accuser, judge and administrator of the punishment. Private gaols are maintained for natives at Moore River and Carrolup departmental institutions. The white men on the staff can and do whip senior girls.

Several women who have worked on these departmental institutions have made strong reports because their conscience demands it, and they have attached their names to their reports. Miss Jean Birt, former head teacher at Moore River, protested publicly that "the cells are undesirable, and the whipping of girls by white men on the staff most objectionable." ("West Australian," 2nd December, 1944.) Their reports are printed in the leaflet, "The Tragedy of Native Affairs," by the Native Welfare Council, which consists of leading citizens of Western Australia, the Dean of Perth, the Rev. G. Tulloch (Presbyterian Church of Western Australia), the Rev. R. Powell (formerly C.I.M.), Mrs. Vallance (the President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union), Albany Bell, and many others, a gallant minority. I ask to add my evidence to theirs.

I believe that the Native Administration Act and Regulations of Western Australia are illegal because they make the fundamental laws of our freedom of none effect.

I earnestly plead for your help to free them from this oppression.

Yours sincerely,

M. M. BENNETT.

Please note that Princess Elizabeth Day is Saturday, May 12th. We have undertaken to sell flags then. We need helpers: Will you volunteer? Get in touch at once with Mrs. Harold Moody, of 164, Queen's Road, S.E.15.

30 LT. SAUNDERS FIRST ABORIGINAL TO BE COMMISSIONED.

Lieut. Saunders, aged 24, the first Australian aboriginal ever to be commissioned in the Army, was a sawyer at Portland before the war. He entered the school as a sergeant after having served in the Middle East and New Guinea. He is well-spoken, active in sport and held in high regard by graduates and instructors.

31 AFRICANS AND THE WAR. *Guardian*, January 4th.

Africans are on three fronts in the war against Fascism. On the French front, French Colonial troops under General Le Clerc were the first to enter Paris, helped successfully to storm Toulon, Marseilles and other southern France cities. In Italy there are over 30,000 Africans from British protectorates and colonies serving with the British Fifth and Eighth Armies. In Burma, British West and East African troops are fighting against the Japanese in the jungles, where they form part of the Chindit forces. Also in this theatre is a large mechanised Belgian ambulance unit, staffed mainly by Congolese, veterans of the African campaign. The many thousands of Africans from South Africa in Italy are the only non-European forces in the world who are not accepted as combatant forces.

32 NEED FOR A NEW DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

"The Times" of April 13th carried a special article and a leading article dealing with the need for a new body with executive powers somewhat on a par with the Crown Agents for the Colonies, to deal with the many questions which are now arising in connection with Colonial Development.

The writer states that the Colonial Office, with two Ministers, "is trying to do for some 60 million people living in more than 40 territories in which the structure of local government is still rudimentary, what some six Ministers, aided by an elaborate system of local government, are doing for the 47,000,000 people in the British Isles." The writer feels that "what is needed is probably a development department with power to act, always in concert with the Colonial Governments and responsible to the Secretary of State. It might be placed under the administration of a Permanent Secretary of the Colonial Office assisted by a Board, of which he would be the *ex officio* Chairman, with direct access to the Secretary of State. An additional Parliamentary Under-Secretary should be appointed who could give special attention to social and economic development and be an *ex officio* member of the Development Board."

The leader-writer said: "The establishment of a department of economic development within the Colonial Office framework on the lines suggested by our Correspondent may well be the most urgent measure in the transformation which is required to provide appropriate new instruments for the execution of the new and accepted colonial policy. This need to establish such a department has been put before the Secretary of State. Lord

Rennell dealt with it in the House of Lords debate to which reference is made elsewhere in this issue; but Lord Hailey (see extracts from his speech herein) was inclined to accept as a *via media* the new appointment of Sir Frank Stockdale and to see how this works out. It is well that these subjects should be ventilated from time to time, for it is only thus that one is able to arrive at anything like a correct decision in such debatable matters.

33 Ogboni Chiefs of Ijeun Unanimously Elect Mr. Lapido Solanke as Chief Ntabo of Ijeun. *West African Pilot*, Wednesday, Jan. 24th, 1945.

Ijeun.—At a meeting of the Ogboni Chiefs here, presided over by His Eminence the O'uwo of Ijeun, Mr. Ladipo Solanke, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., was unanimously elected Chief Ntabo (the At-'Oba-Tele) of Ijeun, Abeokuta.

Mr. Ladipo Solanke is a grandson of the late Chief Rojumo, the Dana-ija of Ijeun, one of the Egba Christian warriors who founded the settlement at Ebute Metta, called Ago Egba, during the 'sixties of the 19th century.

Hence, one of Rojumo's grandsons, Chief Ayo Vaughan, an ex-registrar of the Supreme Court of Nigeria and a popular government pensioner, is to-day the Bale or the Olori of the said Ago Egba.

Constitutionally, every selection to a chieftaincy requires the formal approval of Oba Alaiyeluwa, the Alake of Abeokuta, the natural and political fountain-head of all civic, military and other customary honours and titles throughout Egbaland.

Accordingly, on Friday, January 5th, 1945, the O'uwo of Ijeun, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. E. I. Kinoshi, the Seriki of the Egbas, and other Ijeun Chiefs, duly presented at the Afin, Ake, Abeokuta, the name of Mr. Ladipo Solanke to Oba Alaiyeluwa Ademola II, C.B.E., the Alake, for the latter's approval.

Then His Highness the Alake, in the usual ceremonial formula and with the greatest pleasure, gave his approval to the selection, wishing God's blessing upon the holder of the chieftaincy.

34 Johannesburg Riots.

Field-Marshal Smuts has ordered a commission of enquiry into the race riots which resulted in 100 persons being killed and injured, nine of whom were European police officers. Thirty-three Africans were detained in hospital, some in a very serious condition. These riots were fomented by Mahon's Republican Party.

There is also unrest among the Indians in the Natal province of the Union owing to the passing of segregation laws. Sapru, Secretary of the Indian Progressive Party and a member of the Indian Council of State, in his protest said: "The white South Africans are no better than Japanese and German fascists."

35 An African Orator at Dublin. *West African Pilot*, Friday, January 5th, 1945.

Mr. Jsja Anucha Wachuku, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, has written his name immortally in the annals of oratory at Trinity College, Dublin, where he won the Silver Medal in Oratory given by the College Historical Society. We are proud of this achievement, because it shows that when opportunity is offered to the African, he can prove his mettle in any sphere of human endeavour.

The "Times Pictorial" of Dublin published in its recent issue the news, in addition to his picture, as follows: "Mr. Wachuku made only a brief appearance on the stage a few seconds. . . . He came to receive the Society's silver medal for oratory. . . . It is to the credit of Mr. Wachuku, all the way from Nigeria, to say that the award to him delighted the audience. To have won this medal in competition with students of Irish parents who long have known more than a little of the art of oratory is something well worth noting. His mental alertness must be equal to his bodily speed. When Mr. J. M. Fitzgerald, who presided, called his name, Mr. Wachuku, his gown tails floating behind him, went up the five or six steps to the stage in an athletic flash, and was back to his seat equally quickly, taking in a polite bow to the chairman and the audience on his way."

We, too, congratulate Mr. Wachuku, the son of the late Chief J. Ndubisi Wachuku of Aba District, Oweni Province, and are proud of his achievement.—Ed.

36 Puerto-Ricans to Get Extension of Home Rule.

President Roosevelt, in a letter sent to Representative C. Jasper Bell, democrat, of Missouri, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, asked passage of a pending Bill allowing the Puerto Ricans to elect their own governor, who is now appointed. The governor, in turn, could name other officials, now federal appointees.

This Bill, already passed by the Senate, gives Puerto Rico "an increase of local self-government and local responsibilities."

37 American Negro Digest.

Howard Fast, in an article written for the "Negro Digest," gives several reasons why he would be proud if he were a Negro.

He asserts that the Negro people created civilisation when Europe was a forest; that they and they alone made a single step from slavery to democracy in Haiti. Their forbearance and tolerance stamp them as one of the most civilised people on earth.

That under the mantle of persecution, of violence and abuse such as covered no other people in modern times, the Negro in U.S.A. made his way into the sunlight, producing an artist like Robeson, a scientist like Carver, a leader like Douglas, a writer like Hughes, and a thousand more besides.

38 Dr. Kenneth Little in Sierra Leone.

We most heartily congratulate Mr. K. L. Little, who recently received the degrees of M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab.). Dr. Little is now on the West Coast of Africa on behalf of the British Council, and finding conditions in general far from pleasing to the eye. He considers that radical changes will be necessary if anything like progressive development is to be achieved.

He said: "Your Notes are being read with great appreciation in Sierra Leone."

39 U.S.A. Nurses and the Armed Forces.

The U.S.A. has so far been unable to secure by voluntary recruiting more than 2,000 of the 10,000 nurses she needs for the armed services. The "New Republic" thinks that nurses will welcome conscription because many are now kept back by their present employers. They also feel that the situation would be helped if larger numbers of Negro nurses were permitted to go overseas and if existing bars against them in the country were lowered.

40 The South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. J. D. Rheinault Jones reports in "Race Relations News" for February a meeting of the Council of the Institute.

The first meeting, which was open to the public, was for the greater part of its session presided over by the Minister of Native Affairs, Major the Hon. P. V. G. van der Byl, M.P., who spoke appreciatively of the Institute's work.

"The central theme of the President's address was that the most urgent need of the Union was homes where workers could live with their families in decency and reasonable comfort."

Mr. Maurice Webb "followed the Institute's view that 'labour should be stabilised,' for without this such homes are impossible to attain."

This address was followed in succeeding session by discussions on such large-scale topics as: "Social Security"; "The Non-European in Industry"; "Racial Attitudes"; "The Political Status of the Cape Coloured and Indian Peoples outside the Cape Province."

"The discussion on Racial Attitudes was at times rather tense. Five speakers, African, Cape Coloured, Indian, Afrikaans-speaking, and English-speaking, had each been asked to indicate, from his own group's standpoint, what he considered to be essential to the carrying out of the Institute's main object as defined in its constitution: 'to work for peace, goodwill, and practical co-operation among the various races and sections of the population.' Most of the speakers confined themselves to more general expositions of the attitudes of their own groups. A challenging speech from an African brought the Council face to face with racial antagonism in its sharpest form."

TELEPHONE: DISTRICT 3395

CABLE ADDRESS: ACOLS

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

MEMBER OF THE
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
1219 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, 1727
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, 1780
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, 1812
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1842
AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1858
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1869
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, 1879
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS, 1880
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1883
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884
AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, 1885
AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY, 1888

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION, 1900
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1902
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, 1903
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 1904
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS, 1904
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1905
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1906
COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1911
HISTORY OF SCIENCE SOCIETY 1924
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 1924
MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, 1925
POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1932

July 10, 1945

20-23-15

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just received the preparatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro.

I want to congratulate you upon this exceedingly fine piece of work. I think nothing could be more useful in interesting scholars in the enterprise, and the book itself is of much intrinsic value. I hope it will be sent around to the principal learned journals in the fields of sociology, anthropology, history, etc., for they should be encouraged to review it.

Hearty congratulations to you and to Dr. Johnson!

Most sincerely yours,

Waldo G. Leland,
Director

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecome Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

July 12, 1945

20-23-16

My dear Dr. Leland:

I appreciate sincerely your letter of July 10th. I was greatly disappointed sometimes, even bitter, at not being able to get money for editing and publishing an Encyclopaedia of the Negro.

The little paper volume is some small indication of our plans and I am glad that you think it worth while.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Waldo G. Leland
Director
American Council of Learned Societies
1219 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

[LETTER]

17 January 1945

My dear Miss McCormick:

Last summer you wrote me to advise with your magazine and I replied with a long letter. Since then I have had no answer from you and I am wondering if by any chance the letter went astray. I should be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-2-1

Miss Ada P. McCormick
111 Olive Road
Tuscon, Arizona

[LETTER]

letter

Ada P. McCormick. Editor and Publisher
Ida M. Tarbell. Consultant during 1943

TUCSON, ARIZONA
U. S. A. UNITED NATIONS

January 22nd, 1945.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I have been thinking of you often.

What happened to your excellent letter is that it got lost at once, and I have been meaning to write you and ask if you have a copy of it. I only had a chance to read it once before it vanished.

20-2-2

We are going to give $100 award to one of your teachers, Mr. Chivers for "Teaching Sociology to the Negro students." By "your" I mean he wrote this article for Phylon when you were editor.

Is Color and Democracy a magazine or an association?

Do tell me all about what you are doing now and any more ideas that you have about LETTER. I value what you say, and I have been pondering on the possibility of your doing a department for me such as the one you used to do for PHYLON, but we only come out once in three months so I am not sure it would interest you. What do you think?

Sincerely,

Ada P. McCormick.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York (3), N.Y.

And please can I have another copy of yr letter — Mine got lost everywhere without any luck.

[LETTER]

31 January 1945

20-13-75

My dear Miss McCormick:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent you October 4, 1944.

Color and Democracy is the subject of the special research which is being carried on by my department. It is also the name of a forthcoming book as you will see by the enclosed announcement.

I should be glad to do for Letter a chronicle or perhaps a compendium such as I used to do for PHYLON, only of course much shorter and more compact.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ada P. McCormick
Letter
Tucson, Arizona

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
P.O. Box 682 - Grand Central Annex
New York City, N. Y.

21-6-75

July 18, 1945.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have read with a great deal of interest and enjoyment your "Color and Democracy", and particulary appreciate your "class struggle" analysis of the political democracy plus private capitalism which constitutes the social order of the countries, except Russia, having an advanced industrial civilization.

I would like to suggest that you somewhat under estimate the extent to which the interests of labor groups in the industrially advanced and imperialist nations are opposed to imperialism.

I worked for some years in Massachusetts and was impressed by the extent to which the textile industry (and other industries to a slighter extent) was moving South--because labor there was cheap. Within Massachusetts the women's shoe manufacturing industry was moving from the larger towns where the unions were well organized into smaller towns where the union was non-existent. New England towns were getting run-away shops from New York's high wage clothing industry. In all cases the reasons for the movement of industry was to get cheaper labor.

The organized workers knew very well that the relocation of industry in cheap labor areas was a threat to their standard of living, and they did all they could possibly do to organize the workers in the low wage areas and get higher wages for them. The economic motive of seeking cheap labor of course does not cease to operate at the Rio Grande River nor at the borders of any other industrially advanced country. Large investors seek foreign investment in so called backward lands, i. e.

lands where the standard of living is low, for one important reason, because labor there is cheap. By the same token the labor forces in the industrially advanced nations have a direct interest in raising the living standards and wages of the exploited lands. For cheap labor is a threat to their standards of living, and they would prefer, other things equal, to have capital invested at home and giving more employment there rather than having capital invested abroad to take advantage of low wages.

21-6-76

Of course imperialism would be no more objectionable than the ordinary processes of capitalism if it merely involved industrialization of those areas of the world to which modern machinery production has not yet spread. Capitalism is a definite advance over pre-capitalist modes of production. The especially objectionable feature of imperialism is the attempt of foreign investors acting through their governments to establish political as well as economic control over the backward areas to prevent the workers there from unionizing or from gaining the protection of labor legislation or of social security laws and the advantages of social services financed in part by adequate taxation of the profits of foreign investors. It is just such imperialist policies to which the interests of organized labor in the industrially advanced nations are opposed so far as those interests are rightly understood.

To be sure there are all sorts of qualifications on this. But I think it is fair to say that the chief qualifications are two. One is just plain lack of knowledge of the facts regarding imperialism. The members of organized labor have been until very recently not deeply interested in foreign policy, and they are still mostly ignorant, like other sections of the population, of the available facts regarding imperialism.

The other qualification is that imperialist policies have been "sold" to the workers in the industrially advanced nations as a necessity for national security. In the absence of any system of international collective security, impressive arguments can be marshalled to support that position. On the whole the labor forces have been more consistent supporters of collective security than have other economic interest groups (Although the Communists deserted the collective security program while the Hitler-Stalin Pact was in effect, following the foreign policy of Russia.) To the limited extent that the new United Nations Charter provides a system of collective security

we may expect and should demand from the labor forces a more forthright and consistent anti-imperialist stand.

21-6-77

Finally I suggest that we should be careful to subject anti-imperialist movements to the test of opposition to economic exploitation. Off hand, I should say that the Moslem League in India, though opposed to British rule was not opposed to exploitation; and Argentina's present government, although at the beginning it claimed to be opposed to Yankee imperialism, is certainly not pro-democratic or opposed to exploitation.

Very truly yours,

Alfred Baker Lewis

Alfred Baker Lewis

DM/ABL

July 31, 1945

21-6-72

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of July 18th.

I am glad you liked my book, and I agree with you wholeheartedly concerning the attitude of labor toward imperialism. In the United States, of course, the best organizations of labor have traditionally been a part of the capitalist system and willing to exploit anybody anywhere if they could for a share in the profits. The railway unions are an example of this. As you say, even in the labor party of England imperialism has been sold to them as part of the glory of their country and they have not understood clearly what exploitation in Africa and Asia means.

Also, it is true in India that the Moslem League backed the great landlords, and even some elements in the National Congress are exploiters of cheap labor, pure and simple.

Perhaps I did not stress this enough in my book but I think you will find it implied.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Alfred Baker Lewis
P. O. Box 682
Grand Central Annex
New York, New York

YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

March 27, 1945

20-4-163

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I look forward with interest to attending the Colonial Conference to be held April 6 in the auditorium of the 135th Street branch of the Public Library. I appreciate your invitation.

Yours faithfully,

James G. Leyburn

James G. Leyburn

JGL:jw

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PEARL L. WILLEN
WILLIAM WITHERS

Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

20-11-8

May 1, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Associate, National Assn. for the
Advancement of Colored People
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are confident that you share our conviction that the deep moral commitments made by the United Nations in the darkest hours of the war must not be forgotten now that the immediate military crisis has begun to pass.

In the death of President Roosevelt the peace forces of our country, and of the world, have lost their greatest leader. His untimely death deepens the responsibility of those who represent the plain people at the United Nations Conference to see that the millions who have suffered the agony of this war shall not have suffered and died in vain.

As President Roosevelt clearly discerned, if the United Nations effort to organize a lasting peace is to succeed, it must avoid two pitfalls. On the one hand, it must not permit perfectionist demands to destroy the possibility of attaining a working agreement of the United Nations. An imperfect organization for the maintenance of security and peace will be better than no organization at all. On the other hand, it must not permit considerations of expediency to lead to compromises so unjust that they destroy the moral authority of the world organization. Unless the organization which results from San Francisco wins the approval of the conscience of mankind it will not endure.

We offer the following seven basic tests of the work of the Conference:

1. The rights of the great powers must be compatible with independence and security of the smaller and weaker countries. Realties in international affairs require that the major powers be given a leadership commensurate with their responsibilities. These special rights, as now provided in the Dumbarton Oaks plan for the Security Council, will not, however, make for security if they become in practice means by which the great states dominate their weaker and smaller neighbors. To guard against this the powers and functions of the Assembly should be strengthened, and all nations - great and small - should be under the authority of a common international law.

2. Colonial countries and peoples, irrespective of race or color, should be assured their right to political and economic self-determination within the framework of the general international organization. No mutual security system can or should last which seeks to perpetuate the dominance of the white over the colored peoples of the world.

3. The postwar international structure must have economic and cultural, as well as political and military, foundations. Only as the international organization utilizes the resources of science and technology for the improvement of the standards of living of everybody, everywhere, can peace be maintained. The organization of the Economic and Social Council is a subject of supreme importance.

4. A statement of the basic liberties and rights of all men, groups and nations should be included in the charter of the world organization.

20-11-9

5. The world organization should be founded on definite plans for progressive disarmament. Unless a program of general disarmament is followed by the major powers we shall not have succeeded in creating conditions essential to lasting peace. Increasingly reliance must be placed upon international policing.

6. The international organization should not seek to freeze for all time the territorial and political arrangements established at the end of this war. Senator Vandenberg is wholly right in his insistence that only peace which is concerned with justice for all can be maintained. Because we recognize that no perfect world settlement can come at the end of this war, his seventh amendment to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be vigorously supported. This amendment declares that "If the Security Council finds that any situation which it shall investigate involves injustice to peoples concerned it shall recommend appropriate measures of adjustment which may include revision of treaties and of prior international decisions."

7. Finally the delegates of the people should recognize that the task of developing machinery for keeping the peace cannot in any ultimate sense be divorced from the task of making the peace. Hence the aim should be to extend the work of the San Francisco Conference so that real account may be taken of the present dangerous tendency of the Big Three to seek security primarily by unilateral, rather than by cooperative, means. Indeed, if the present tendencies toward power-politics, special spheres of influence, and imperialistic domination are not arrested, these great powers cannot serve as trustees of the world community.

Respectfully yours,

John L Childs

JOHN L. CHILDS
State Chairman

Alex Rose

ALEX ROSE, Chairman
Administrative Committee

lg

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OF NEW YORK STATE

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Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

160 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 5-0500

May 16, 1945

Dear Friend:

May we extend an invitation to you to join the Liberal Club and in this manner participate centrally in significant activities of the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Club, a central city-wide club of the Liberal Party, will organize important educational functions, promote progressive action on the economic, political and cultural fronts, and will afford an opportunity for its members to serve on the various special committees of the Liberal Party.

This club is open to men and women of the professions, business and labor, from all boroughs, who, because of inclination or circumstances, would like to associate themselves in this manner with the efforts and work of the Liberal Party.

If you agree with our aims to advance the liberal cause, we hope you will accept our invitation and sign the enclosed application card.

Sincerely yours,

John L. Childs

JOHN L. CHILDS
Chairman

Alex Rose

ALEX ROSE, Chairman
Administrative Committee

BD/ejs
Encl.

20-19

393

[ENC]

20-19

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July 3, 1945

Mr. John L. Childs
Chairman
The Liberal Party
160 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

20-19-24

Dear Mr. Childs:

I have your circular letter concerning The Liberal Club.

I think I may want to join it but I am writing to be sure that in inviting me you are quite aware that I am of Negro descent.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

LIBERAL PARTY
OF NEW YORK STATE

160 West 44th Street
New York 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-0500

Chairman
JOHN L. CHILDS

Secretary
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Executive Director
BEN DAVIDSON

20-19-25

July 5, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are happy indeed to learn that you think you may want to join the central Club of the Liberal Party. I am thinking of calling soon an evening meeting of the leaders of the various professions who are interested in the Liberal Party. I hope that it may be possible for you to join with us at this meeting.

Of course our Party not only makes no discriminations on account of race, color, national origin or ancestry but is using its full strength to help eliminate all such patterns of discrimination and segregation. You may be interested, in this connection, in the report of our Municipal Affairs Committee on "A City Free From Discrimination". I enclose a copy herewith.

Sincerely yours,

John L. Childs

John L. Childs
State Chairman

JLC:FC
Enc.

(LIBERIA)

10 April 1945

Your Excellency:

20-9-5

May I welcome you to the United States and hope that you will have a pleasant stay in New York and in San Francisco. The American Minister to Liberia has written me concerning your visit and if you are going to be in New York for any time, I should be glad to pay my respects. I hope to be in San Francisco and perhaps I shall see you there.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. E. B. Du Bois

His Excellency C. L. Simpson
c/o Consulate-General of the
Republic of Liberia
25 Beaver Street
New York 4, N. Y.

[LIBERIA]

10 April 1945

20-2-3

My dear Sir:

Your letter of March twenty-first addressed to the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been turned over to me for reply.

We have some data concerning Liberia and I in my own library have some official reports issued in 1923 and thereabout and a ceremonial spear which was given me by one of the commissioners. I do not think, however, that there is anything in this collection which you would not have or which would be of any great importance for your commission.

If there is anything that you can think of which we may do to cooperate with your project, it would give us great pleasure to be of service.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Honorable G. W. Gibson
Chairman, Liberian Centennial Commission
Monrovia
Republic of Liberia

[LIBERIA]

Hotel Statler,
Washington D. C.
14th April, 1945

My dear Dr. Du Bois

Your letter of the 10th instant was received on the 13th. Please accept my appreciation for same.

I am presently in Washington attending a Conference of United Nations' Jurists, who have met to draft a revised statute for the World Court. We anticipate completing our task on or about the 17th and thereafter I hope to return to New York and rejoin other members of the Liberian delegation.

I wish it would be practicable to see you in New York on or about the 18th, if not, I shall then look forward to seeing you in San Francisco.

With kind regards,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

C. L. Simpson
VICE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Director, Department of Special Research,
National Association for The Advancement of
Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N. Y.

20-10-86

[LIBERIA]

17 April 1945

My dear Mr. Simpson:

20-10-87

I am leaving New York on the nineteenth for San Francisco. I will not, therefore, take your time to call before that will pay my respects in San Francisco. It will be a pleasure to see you.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

His Excellency Mr. C. L. Simpson
Vice-President of Liberia
Hotel Statler
Washington, D. C.

[LIBERIA]

REPUBLIC OF
LIBERIA.

CENTENNIAL COMMISSION, MONROVIA.

140/11-545. May 18, 1945.

My dear Sir:

I have to sincerely thank you for your letter of the 10th ultimo in respect to our request for historical data on Liberia, and note with pleasure your kind offer to render any assistance in that regard that we might need.

We have no idea of the data concerning Liberia which you mentioned as being in the possession of your Association but we would appreciate any pamphlet or other information including the official reports which are in your personal library relatinf to the Economic, Social and Political history of Liberia. Further reference might be made to the "African Repository", a publication entitled "Liberia", and other related treatises. If these copies are not available from your Association you would be doing us a great favor by advising where they could be obtained by purchase or loan.

You may be assured that whatever literature your Association might be kind enough to send us, the greatest care will be exercised to preserve them and have them returned after use.

Be pleased, my dear sir, to accept sentiments of my profound esteem andpersonal appreciation for your cooperation in a common eause.

Very faithfully yours,

G.W. Gibson,
COMMISSIONER, CENTENNIAL COMMISSIONE

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Director, Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y., U.S.A.

[LIBERIA, 1945?]

21-6-110

CABLE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA WILL YOU INVITE SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TO MEET IN MONROVIA 1947 DURING CENTENARY CABLE ANSWER

FOR FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS:

W.E.B. DUBOIS
PETER MILLIARD
GEORGE PADMORE
WALLACE JOHNSON
KEN HILL
T.R. MAKONNEN
JOMO KENYATTA
J.E. TAYLOR
ASHIE-NIKOI
A.E. MOSSELL

Columbia University
in the City of New York
[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

January 13, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 3

20-4-180

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Yours of January 8th received. Your project for assembling a colonial conference in New York sounds exceedingly interesting. Unfortunately, I shall be on a sabbatical leave from Columbia University from February 1st on, and I do not intend to remain in New York if I can help it.

I am afraid that I have no suggestions to make. Unfortunately, I have been more interested in certain other aspects of anthropology than in the matter of colonial problems.

Sincerely,

Ralph Linton

RL:b

Ralph Linton

TELEPHONE WABASH 1277

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CHICAGO 4

San Francisco Conf.

20-21-89

San Francisco, May 18, 1945

Dear Mr. DuBois:

You are cordially invited to attend a dinner for the Consultants and Associates, arranged by Lions International, Tuesday evening, May 22, 1945, in the Empire Room, Sir Francis Drake Hotel.

Dinner will not start until approximately 7:15 but you are urged to be present at 6:30 if possible.

In order that we may make suitable preparations for all who attend will you please advise me (Room 933, Sir Francis Drake Hotel) not later than Monday evening whether you will be present.

Very sincerely yours,

Fred W. Smith

Third Vice-President
LIONS INTERNATIONAL

FWS:B

9 December 1946

Dear Ernestine:

Du Bois comes to town the 18th and will occupy Dr. Diggs apartment. Would you be free the nights of the 18th and 19th or are you on duty or out of town? If free could you stay with Du Bois those two nights? Her mother comes the 20th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-3

Mrs. Ernestine Anthony Lipscomb
Y.W.C.A.
175 West 137th Street
New York City

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

January 18, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

28-4-109

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have just received your letter dated January 10.

It seems to me that you are planning precisely the kind of conference that is needed. I would suggest the following persons:

M. Jean de la Roche, French Information Service, New York

Professor Charles K. Webster, British Information Service, New York

Mr. Slotemaker de Bruine, Netherlands Information Service, New York

Mr. Wilfrid Benson, International Labor Office, 3480 University Street, Montreal, Canada

Mr. Henry Villard, Chief, Division of African Affairs, State Dept.

Mr. Herbert Abraham, Division of Public Liaison, State Dept.

Dr. Emory Ross, Conference of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church, New York

As the representative of Alpha Phi Alpha, Incorporated and of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, I should be glad to assist in any way.

Selfishly, I hope that you will not schedule the conference for February 18-20, 23-25, for which I already have commitments.

Mail will reach me more quickly if addressed to me at home, 1519 Jackson Street, N. E. Hobart 1387 since I do not come to the University every day.

With all good wishes, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

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A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT
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DR W E E DUBOIS=

69 FIFTH AVE=

20-10-72

STRONGLY URGE CALLING AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT MEETING OF YOU HUNTON PRINCE ORIZU AND MYSELF TO FORMULATE AGREED STATEMENT ON PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT AREAS TO BE PRESENTED TO SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE IF YOU COULD BRING IN A GOOD METHODIST I COULD SPEAK ALSO FOR NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION I COULD MEET NEW YORK MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON MARCH 3. LEAVING FOR TOLEDO FOR TODAY RETURNING TUESDAY=

RAYFORD LOGAN.

ORIZU 3.

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PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

26 February 1945

20-10-83

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

WILL CALL A CONFERENCE MARCH THREE AT ELEVEN IN MY OFFICE stop
SHALL SEE YOU WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON IN WASHINGTON.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to NAACP

6 March 1945

My dear Mr. Logan:

I started while you were here to ask you to read this manuscript and then thought it was too much. But after all I am sending it to you. If you have a little spare time, glance through this book of mine COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE and note any bad errors. If you don't have time, I shall understand and send it back. I am enclosing postage. There is no great hurry but if you could let me have it back say in a week, I should be very glad.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

1519 Jackson Street, N. E.
Washington 17, D. C.
March 12, 1945

Colonial Conference

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N A A C P
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-4-110

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

As I recall, we have no one from the Foreign Policy Association on the list for the conference. I believe their expert on Africa is a ~~Mr.~~ Lawrence K. ~~Rochsinger.~~ Mr. Huntington Gilchrist of the American Cyanamid Company was on the League of Nations Mandates Commission for a number of years.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

March 23, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N A A C P
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-4-111

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I shall be at the conference on April 6.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

12 April 1945

21-6-11

My dear Mr. Logan:

I wrote a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, to Dr. Himstead. I have received so far three replies. I am sending you copies of them. I would be glad to have you write any of these people and give them the facts.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Rayford Logan, April 12, 1945

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

Corr. of DuBois and the American Association of University Professors, March 13- April 15, 1945

(General Corr.)

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

20-8-02

June 16, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N A A C P
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Passport Division of the State Department informs me that it is not issuing passports to civilians to attend a meeting in France. They are issued only to civilians going for national or business reasons. I suggest that you have the NAACP undertake the necessary steps, calling attention to the meeting of the World Trades Union Congress which the CIO informs me convenes in Paris on September 25.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Rayford W. Logan

21 June 1945

My dear Mr. Logan:

I have just sent a letter, a copy of which I enclose, to Mr. Gerig. I would be very glad to have your advice and reaction. Confidentially I do not think that Mr. White is particularly enthusiastic about this meeting but I shall do what I can to carry it through.

Thank you for your letter of June 16 which is the cause of my activity.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

June 30, 1945

29-3-15

Mr. Walter White
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
NAACP, 69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Gentlemen:

Pursuant to your individual requests I submit herewith a few observations about the proposed meeting in Paris.

1. Rahher than Pan-African Congress, the name of the meeting should be the Dependent Peoples' Congress.

2. The time for the meeting should be such that delegates from this country who are college faculties may return in the early part of October. Since the World Trades Union Congress convenes on September 25, our meeting should be at approximately the same time.

3. An additional argument that can be used with the Passport Division is the fact that delegates are going from this country to a Youth Congress in London.

4. The Congress should be a deleagted one. Judging from expressions following my talks in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, there would be considerable interest if delegates had a vote.

5. Dr. Max Horn, The Counselor of the Belgian Congo Government, Ambassade de Belgique, 630 Fifth Avenue, got for me a statement of colonial policy from his Colonial Office. The letter from the Minister to me was published in French and in Flemish in Belgium. There should be something there on which we could work.

6. I definitely plan to attend if I can return shortly after the 6th of October.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

Pan af Cng

July 3, 1945

20-8-16

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Answering your letter of June 30th, I think in the first place it would be a fatal blunder for us to surrender our priority to the name Pan-African Congress.

Secondly, while we have a pretty clear right to speak for Africa and cooperate with African peoples, we have no obvious right to organize or conduct propaganda for all dependent peoples. The peoples of Asia would more than likely repudiate such assumption on our part.

I agree with you as to the time of meeting. It should be as late in September as possible so that you and others could return early in October. If, however, transportation and other causes should hinder our holding the Congress in the fall of 1945 we should call it for the spring of 1946. I think decidedly that the Congress should have a meeting of delegates with votes and I am going to work out some such plan.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

20-8-25

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

69 5 AVE NYK=

NSH 37

REPLYING YOUR LETTER AUGUST 15TH I AM IN FAVOR OF HOLDING MEETING PARTLY IN PARIS AND PARTLY IN LONDON I CAN GO IF MEETING IS HELD AT END OF SEPTEMBER AND IF I CAN GET PASSPORT PLEASE LET ME KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHETHER I SHOULD APPLY FOR PASSPORT=

RAYFORD LOGAN.

15.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DX AUG 21 AM 10 18

20-15-110

9 March 1945

My dear Friends:

I have been trying for more than a year to find out where you were. I wrote President Quezon before his death but he could give me no information. The War Department knew nothing. But at last someone has sent me the address to which I am sending this letter.

I was greatly distressed when the war broke out and I realized that you were marooned. I hope you have not suffered too much and that I shall have a word as to your whereabouts and plans soon.

Personally, I have again changed careers having been to my surprise retired from Atlanta University where I expected to finish my life. I had several invitations but finally decided to accept the directorship of Special Research at the NAACP. I am making a special study of colonies and like the situation very much. I have a little lodging in Harlem where I hope to welcome you. The family, Mrs. Du Bois, Yolande and my twelve year old granddaughter are in Baltimore where we have built a simple but rather pretty home.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Colonel and Mrs. Walter Loving
Civilian Relief
American Red Cross
APO 442 c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California

[1945]

20-15-98

Dear Dr Du Bois! —

I arrived on the

"Cleveland" from the Philippines

may 2nd — would

like to have you call

me if you have a few

minutes — West 2134 —

am staying here — S3 a

while with Mrs Andrews —

Sincerely

Edith Loring

[Loving] Dec 10-45

251. Adams at. Oakland 10. Calif.

Social News - 1945

My very dear friend:- Edith Loving

I have learned from others of your recent trip abroad and I had no idea that you were out of the country. I was dreadfully disappointed in not seeing you this summer but when I visited Atlanta I learned that you were not to be in New York at the appointed time so I promptly changed my plans about going there - You see I was going expressly and especially to see you.

I have moved into my home 251 Adams where you were once our guest. It had been so neglected that painters - Carpenters etc have not as yet completed re decorating - My Mother lives with me while Walter

21-61-12

is away, also my brother who is a post office clerk in Oakland. So I am not alone as I could never feel right living alone - I have much to do getting the various properties together and with no telephone (15,000 waiting) and no car I walk a great deal. However folks say it has helped me as I have gained 15 pds and feel too fine -

21-19-73

I would love to hear from you if you are not too busy - My love to the family. Walter is a lieutenant in Manila. He says he is glad to be there but the devastation depresses him as he grew up there and also so much to remind him of his father.

Much love to you and yours -

Fondly always - Edith

********** 20 West 40th Street

17 December 1945

21-6-134

My dear Sir: Personal

I have just returned from a Pan African Congress held in Manchester, England with representatives especially of the labor classes from West Africa and the West Indies. I was tremendously impressed by the new meaning of Africa to the modern world which I think most people and thinking people of today are missing. Africa is still not news. The editors of PM invited me to wire them statements on the Congress and I sent four telegrams from which they made one short article.

But the main story, that of the new development of cocoa on the West Coast and the extraordinary paradox which it presents to the new English Labor Government, that they did not touch. If the world today is art and luxury, electricity and food, among other things, Africa is contributing through its gold and diamonds, its copper and chocolate an extraordinary part. In return it is not only not getting a fair share of the results, but the fact that this is true is bedeviling and will continue to frustrate the restoration and advance of civilization.

I should like to talk with you about this and see if I can secure your interest. Would you be willing to grant me a little of your time?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Henry Luce
Life and Time Building
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

WIRE

May 21, 1945

Dr. James J. McClendon
Care of NAACP
606 East Ve rnor Highway
Detroit, Mich.

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR SPLENDID SERVICE AND ~~UNSELFISH LEADERSHIP.~~

W.E.B. DuBois

SORRY I CANNOT BE PRESENT AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR YOUR SPLENDID SERVIC
AND UNSELFISH LEADERSHIP.

20-15-97

Warren Mc Clure 39292251

644th Ord. co. SPO 331 c/o P.M.
San Francisco, California.

FREE
See Instruction No. 5

17

V···— MAIL

DO NOT WRITE HERE

DO NOT WRITE HERE

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

Chicago Defender

Chicago Illinois

[2]

DO NOT WRITE HERE

V-Mail Service provides the most expeditious dispatch and reduces the weight of mail to and from personnel of our Armed Forces outside the continental United States. When addressed to points where micro-film equipment is operated, a miniature photographic negative of the message will be made and sent by the most expeditious transportation available for reproduction and delivery. The original message will be destroyed after the reproduction has been delivered. Messages addressed to or from points where micro-film equipment is not operated will be transmitted in their original form by the most expeditious means available.

INSTRUCTIONS

(1) Write the entire message plainly on the other side within marginal lines.
(2) PRINT the name and address in the two panels provided. Addresses to members of the Armed Forces should include rank or rating of the addressee, unit to which attached, and APO or Naval address.
(3) Fold, seal, and deposit in any post office letter drop or street letter box.
(4) Enclosures must not be placed in this envelope and a separate V-Mail letter must be sent if you desire to write more than one sheet.
(5) V-Mail letters may be sent free of postage by members of the Armed Forces. When sent by others postage must be prepaid at domestic rates (3c ordinary mail, 6c if air mail is desired).

POST OFFICE DEPT. PERMIT NO. 15

DO NOT WRITE HERE

[c. SEPT. 1945]

[3]

Print the complete address in plain block letters in the panel below, and your return address in the space provided. Use typewriter, dark ink, or pencil. Write plainly. Very small writing is not suitable.

No. _____

(CENSOR'S STAMP)

To

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

Chicago, Defender

Chicago, Ill.

From

Warren McClure 392
(Sender's name)

644th Ord. Co. APO 331
(Sender's address)

c/o P.M. San Francisco

California
(Date)

20-19-44

Dear Sir:

I am writing a book entitle: Sepia Mirror which is entended to help illuminate the Negro race. I have included in that book, a great deal about the world that you are doing and the accomplishments you've have made made . In addition to this, I would like to have a picture of you to use for an illustration. If yiu have a photo of yourself at the present I would like very much to obtain the same.

Very truly yours

Warren McClure

Warren McClure

FOLD HERE OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP AND SEAL
NO OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED

V ···- MAIL

POST OFFICE DEPT. PERMIT NO. 15

October 5, 1945

Mr. Warren McClure 392
644th Ord. Co.-APO 331
C/O P.M.
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. McClure:

You can obtain the photograph of me by addressing Scurlock Photographers, 9th & You Streets, Washington, D. C.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

20-19-45

ROYALTY STATEMENT

IN ACCOUNT WITH

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

333 E. ONTARIO STREET . . CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Wm. E. Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

IS THIS YOUR CORRECT ADDRESS?

October 1, 1944 to April 1, 1945

TITLE	SALES		ROYALTY	AMOUNT	TOTAL
	Edition	Quantity	Per Copy		
THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK	McClurg ~~Popular~~	41	.25	10.25	10 25

4/31/54

ROYALTY STATEMENT

IN ACCOUNT WITH

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

333 E. ONTARIO STREET . . CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Mr. Wm. E. Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

IS THIS YOUR CORRECT ADDRESS?

April 1, 1945 to October 1, 1945

TITLE	SALES Edition	SALES Quantity	ROYALTY Per Copy	AMOUNT	TOTAL
THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK	McClurg Popular	49	.25	12 25	12 25

1/31/53

[McCrae]

August 27, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois, Request for information.

Several years ago, eleven to be exact, I sat among the freshman class of Williston High School, Wilmington, N.C. and listened to an address by one of America's foremost educators. Like numerous other freshmen, who had just begun to realize that life had a meaning, I was not particularly impressed by this person's name or great abilities as an educator. I was, however, very greatly impressed after having heard the address. For this reason it has been my pleasure to hear and read Dr. Du Bois at every opportunity.

It has been my intention to write to you for some time for advice on such problems as will have to be faced upon my return home and after reading your editorial on "Ethiopia Is Ready for Pioneering," I decided to wait no longer.

Because I stand among those Negroes who, though proud of their African ancestry, know very little about it. I am asking that you recommend literature from which I may gain some knowledge concerning this, particularly

20-20-38

concerning Ethiopia. I'm seeking, in my
search for knowledge, information
on the country's resources, terrain
and most of all, her people. I sincerely
believe that by learning the people I
shall have learned the country.

For years I've wanted to make a
noticeable contribution to my people
but was couldn't find too much of value
to offer them. Although I've worked with
the young people around my community
I don't feel as though my contributions
have amounted to much. That is why
I am interested in your editorial. It may
be that I can find a way to do more for
my people there. In all sincerity, I want
to spend the greater portion of my efforts
trying to win that freedom for my
people that they so richly deserve.

In closing, may I express my hope
that many will read your article
and at least desire to know more about
this great country.

Yours truly
Pvt. Aaron A. McCrae USMCR

Pvt. Aaron A. McCrae 955-949

20-20-39

20-20-40

October 5, 1945

Pvt. Aaron A. McCrae - 955944
Easy Battery
51st Defense Battalion
C/O Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, California

My dear Mr. McCrae:

I have your letter of August 27th and thank you for your kind words.

Among books which I can recommend are "Black Folk Then and Now" published by Holt, and "Color and Democracy" published this year by Harcourt, Brace & Co. I think perhaps they would give you the information you want.

Very sincerely yours,

D:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

[McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church]

5 January 1945

My dear Mr. Rankin:

This is to confirm my engagement to speak for you Sunday, February fourth, the remuneration to be fifty dollars. Herewith we are sending a photograph. Will you kindly let me know the exact hour and place of the lecture? The subject will be "Colonies in the Post-War World".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Arthur E. Rankin
3105 Haverford Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

RELIGIOUS
EDUCATIONAL

Lecture

RECREATIONAL
SOCIAL

McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church

21st & Columbia Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.
REV. ARTHUR E. RANKIN, PASTOR
Residence: 3105 Haverford Avenue

January 15, 1945

20-24-89

Dr. William E. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your letter and the photograph. Contents noted and approved. We are already in the midst of an advertising campaign to put your appearance over in a big way. Will you want me to secure accommodations for you, and will you remain over night? If so, I will be very glad to do so.

The meeting is to be at our Church, 8 o'clock sharp, and we hope to give you a full audience. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Arthur E. Rankin

Arthur E. Rankin

aer/dj

30 January 1945

My dear Mr. Rankin:

I have your program for the lecture February fourth. I shall arrive in Philadelphia from Baltimore at 6:18 p. m. at the Twenty-fourth and Chestnut Street station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. Will you please meet me and take me to the church? I shall have had dinner and shall be glad merely to rest until the lecture. After the lecture, I would be glad if you would arrange to have me taken to 212 West Penn Street, Germantown where I am to spend the night.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Arthur E. Rankin
McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church
21st and Columbia Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

7 February 1945

20-24-91

My dear Mr. Rankin:

I want to thank you very much for the audience you gave me and the excellent program. I enjoyed the opportunity very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Arthur E. Rankin
McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church
21st and Columbia Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

RELIGIOUS
EDUCATIONAL

RECREATIONAL
SOCIAL

McDowell Memorial Community Presbyterian Church

21st and Columbia Avenue

Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. ARTHUR E RANKIN, PASTOR

Resident: 3105 Haverford Avenue

December 7, 1945

Lectures 1946

Dr. Wm. E. Burghardt DuBois
20 W. Fortieth Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

20-10-07

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were so pleased with your last visit to our Church and the City, we would like the honor of making it an annual affair.

How about booking you again for the first Sunday evening in February which will be the 3rd of February. Kindly let me know as soon as possible.

With the Seasons Greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Arthur E. Rankin

Arthur E. Rankin
3105 Haverford Avenue

aer/dj

OTTO McFEELY
200 Forest, Ph. Euclid 228
Oak Park, Illinois

Real Estate
and
Investments

20-6-11

July 12
1945

Mr.W.E.B.DuBois
c/O Harcourt, Brace & Co.
New York City

Dear Sir; I have just read a review of your latest book in the New Republic.

What I am about to say to you should not be misunderstood. All my life I have picked on the rich and powerful and defended the poor.I would enjoy living in a society where kindness and justice prevailed but that is beyond hope.

Today 400,000,000 colored people in India are "asking" England, thousands of miles distant and with but 45,000,000 people, to "give" India freedom.

Why is this so?

Freedom, no more than skill with the piano, can not be "given". It must be won.

The American Indian, not so educable as the Negro, is not discriminated against, nor Jimcrowed, in the USA. A recent vice president boasted that he had Indian blood. A recent mayor of Chicago boasted of his Indian blood. A kinsman of mine, by marriage, only the other evening boasted of an Indian ancestor.

None of these lost caste.

Had they had Negro blood they would have been beyond the pale.

Why is this so?

The Indian excelled the Negro only in one respect. He refused to be enslaved. Before the Civil war stringent laws in southern states required a master to state in the bill of sale of a slave if that slave had any Indian blood. If he had Indian blood he was a dangerous fellow, liable at any moment to kill his masters.

The Indian refused to trade off his dignity for ease and safety.

Being unable to ensalve the natives of America, the white men went to Africa where they found a race of men who were docile and meek, ready to trade their own dignity for ease and safety. In many rural regions of the south, the black slaves outnumbered their white masters but there was no determined revolt. The white master went off to war and left his women and children in the hands of black slaves who tended them tenderly.

Up to the day of Pearl Harbor, (and no doubt after this war) the Jap was treaded as a social equal for the same reason that the Indian is a social equal of the whites.

20-6-12

In South Africa, Negroes are more Jimcrowed than in the USA and seldom is there a revolt and certainly no bloody revolt like the white man's war.

Today the Negro fights brawely in white men's armies for white men's objectives. He does not demand, he pleads, as you plead, as India pleads.

Those who depend upon the good will and kindnes, a sence of justice and a feeling of brotherhood of other men, lean on a frail reed.

The Indian fought the white man to a stand-still and eventually it was cheaper to buy him off and debauch him than to fight him. The Indian fought when he had no chance whatever to win.

It seems to me that there is no evidence whatever that and group of people (labor unions for instance) ever gained power except by force or the threat of violence. No nation ever gained dignity and power except by violence. Socety is held together by force and the threat of violence backing up all laws and court decrees by armed men.

Then how can the black and colored people win dignity and power by pleading and crying for justice. Such pleading is safe for men like you and you find some dignity in the white man's lands.

The Bible says the meek shall injerit the Earth. If that is true the Negro is to get the Earth because he is the world's champion meek man. He will not take up arms for himself as the white man wars for power and wealth, fighting all colors and his fellow whites.

It is interesting to observe that the Negro, so meek, has given western civilization a new art form in music. His manners have been adopted by the whites and he is even affecting our dress styles, the "lounging coat" is an example.

Respectfully Submitted

Otto McFeely

Otto McFeely

July 19, 1945

20-6-13

My dear Mr. McFeely:

I have read your letter of July 12th with interest. Most people thank God black and white do not revolt - they believe in peace.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Otto McFeely
200 Forest
Oak Park, Illinois

[McGovney]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

August 1, 1945

SCHOOL OF JURISPRUDENCE
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

20-20-32

Professor W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Professor DuBois:

I am sending you under a separate cover a reprint of my recent essay entitled, Racial Residential Segregation by State Court Enforcement of Restrictive Agreements, Covenants or Conditions in Deeds is Unconstitutional.

Many critics believe that my argument will win credence in the courts and it is now being used in several pending cases. In one case in Los Angeles I have induced the American Civil Liberties Union to intervene with a view to carrying it to the Supreme Court.

I send you this pamphlet by way of introducing myself and inducing you to believe that I am worthy of assistance in other studies I am making of "the Negro problem." For many months, in fact years, I have been studying as exhaustively as I can the history of suffrage laws and their operation in the United States from colonial times to the present. I am now down to the current situation. I appeal to you for some aid on a few points affecting Negroes in the South.

Lewinson, Race, Class and Party confesses the extreme difficulty of getting the facts in this field.

(1) At the present time in how many states are Negroes excluded by party rule from membership in the Democratic Party?

A brief reference to this subject in a recent letter to me from Mr. Thurgood Marshall states: "Negroes are still excluded from voting in the white primaries in all of Georgia, all of Florida, all of South Carolina and parts of Alabama."

Is this statement based upon definite data in the files of the N.A.A.C.P.? I note that Lewinson, Appendix III, p. 244, was unable to get documentary evidence on this subject in some of the states. Observe what he says about Mississippi.

You will note that Mr. Marshall does not include Mississippi in his list while Lewinson does. Is there evidence that the Democratic Party in that state has changed since Lewinson wrote?

20-20-33

As a long time professor of Constitutional Law, I feel qualified to say that the decision of the Supreme Court in the case from Texas, Smith v. Allwright, does not prevent exclusion of Negroes from party primaries where it is done exclusively by party action, wholly unabetted by state law. Hence the recent action of South Carolina in repealing substantially all her statutes with respect to primaries. The very grounds of reasoning in the Supreme Court's opinion show that with this change in South Carolina law political parties there can get away with exclusion.

Hence it is vital to me to know what was actually the party action in the states at the election of 1944.

(2) Louisiana frankly gives official publication to the fact that only 1,672 Negroes were registered as voters in October, 1944, out of 473,562 Negroes of voting age. Eighty per cent of the white adults were registered and only 35/100 of 1% of the Negro adults. Louisiana has abolished the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. She has several tricky devices that may be discriminatorily administered to exclude Negroes while admitting whites. Negroes seem not to be barred now from the primaries in that state.

It is difficult to believe that discrimination in registration is the sole cause of that small number, 1,672. Lewinson's questionnaires in 1930 received 48 responses from Negroes in Louisiana giving causes for non-registration. Among them were, "Sure of refusal," 17; "Political cynicism," 1; "Humiliation, threats," 3; "Public opinion," 11.

Is there anything you can add to that,--for the present time?

(3) Florida presents the most puzzling problem to me. She has no legal devices that can be administered discriminatorily to exclude Negroes. She no longer makes payment of a poll tax a prerequisite to voting. So far as her law is concerned any adult citizen can register as a voter, excepting only persons under guardianship, the insane and convicted felons. Legally her electorate is as all inclusive as anywhere in the world. If it be true that the Democratic Party excludes Negroes from its primaries in Florida, it of course follows that there is small incentive for them to register as voters in the final elections. They might in some localities, however, carry an election for an independent candidate.

I think Negroes and their friends should frankly face this situation in Florida. Is it apathy that prevents Negro registration in that state? Is it fear of threats?

What actually is the number of Negroes who are registered in Florida? I would like very much to find that out. Has the N.A.A.C.P. facilities for finding out that number?

In recent times have Negroes carried any local election in Florida? Have there been any Negroes elected to office of any kind? Particularly have there been any Negro members of the legislature in recent times?

Very truly yours,

D. O. McGovney.

M:S

Color & Democracy [McGrath]

20-13-95

October 30. 1945.

Dear Mr Du Bois:

I find that I have neglected to drop you a note which I fully intended to do some two months or more ago after reading Color and Democracy. It presented the problem in a new form, And I am glad to have read the book: and feel that it is very worth while. I wish that it were being more widly read both by the educated colored & white so that they would get some of the understanding which you have.

It seems to me that the Negro

20-13-96

and Chinese (especially the boys & girls) have made great progress during this period. The Mexican Philipino & some others have done little. I am fearful the affect of an economic depression on these people - they have come far - they show culture - taste - balance and most of them a kindly considerate attitude. I don't want to see them hurt. Nights and Sundays I sell on Olive a street so I have a chance to see many people.

Again may I tell you that I think you have done a valuable out standing piece of work.

Sincerely

T. W. McGrath
251 So Olive Street
Los Angles 12 California

20-12

R. C. MACK

PASSENGER REPRESENTATIVE
THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD
THE LONG ISLAND RAIL ROAD
PENNSYLVANIA 6-6000

390 SEVENTH AVENUE
PENNSYLVANIA STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y.

********** 20 West 40th Street

20-12-52

30 November 1945

My dear Mr. Mack:

I want to thank you very much for your courtesy and assistance when my wife arrived at Pennsylvania Station, November twenty-seventh. I appreciated your services.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. R. C. Mack
390 Seventh Avenue
Pennsylvania Station
New York City

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

SALLIE LOU MACKINNON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CHINA
Europe and Africa

January 25, 1945

20-4-42

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Nat'l Assoc, for Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Your letter of January 8 came just as I was leaving for the meeting of the Conference on a Just and Durable Peace. I am interested in your thought of calling a small colonial conference and hope you will be able to carry out your plan. I am planning to leave for a visit to the work of the Methodist Church in Africa, and I am hoping daily to receive plane passage. As you may imagine the securing of passage is most uncertain, though I have the necessary permits. For this reason I shall possibly not be in the country at the time of the conference. I am confident that some of the staff and some of the Board members of the Board of Missions would be glad to have a part in the conferance. Dr. Donohugh, whom you know well, is interested. Miss Lucile Colony is our secretary for India.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Sallie Lou MacKinnon

SLM:mc

9 March 1945

20-4-43

My dear Madam:

I am sending you enclosed a copy of the invitation and statement for our Colonial Conference, April sixth. I would be glad to have any advice from you or names of persons who could represent any of the colonies. If this finds you already out of the country perhaps some of your colleagues will cooperate with us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Sallie Lou MacKinnon
Board of Missions and Church Extension
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

SALLIE LOU MAC KINNON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CHINA

March 27, 1945

Europe and Africa

20-6-41

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

My passage for Africa has been delayed. I hope to be in New York on April 6, and shall be most happy to attend the Colonial Conference. We have no native inhabitants of the various colonies near New York at the present moment.

I should like very much to have Miss Lucile Colony, formerly a missionary in India and now secretary for the Woman's Division of Christian Service for India, attend the Conference. She is deeply interested in the problems affecting the colonies. I am therefore taking the privilege of suggesting that you invite her, if this fits into your plans. Her address is 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

Sincerely yours,

Sallie Lou MacKinnon

SLM:mc

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

SALLIE LOU MAC KINNON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
~~SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CHINA~~
Europe and Africa

April 5, 1945

20-4-44

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have been out of town and arrived this afternoon to discover that I must make certain necessary arrangements in regard to my Africa trip tomorrow and will not be able to attend the full meeting of the Colonial Conference as planned. If it is possible for me to come for a short while, I shall.

Thank you for the invitation to Miss Colony. I hope she can attend.

Sincerely yours,

Sallie Lou MacKinnon

SLM:mc

31 January 1945

Gentlemen:

I have recently returned to New York from a ten year job as head of the Department of Sociology in Atlanta University. My new work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which began in September has to do with the problem of colonies and democracy among colored peoples.

In connection with this work I am calling a small conference in New York this spring composed of representatives from various colonies who have lived there recently or have unusual knowledge and who will prepare written reports on what the colonies are specifically asking for today. It has occurred to me that out of this I might arrange and write a book on "Colonial Demand for Democracy and Freedom in the Twentieth Century"; or possibly I might even include the nineteenth century.

20-24-135

At any rate, there are a number of papers and manifestoes which in many cases deserve to be regarded as state papers. They are well written, incisive and dignified. I have in mind the Manifesto of the Congress of West Africa in 1919 and the Charter for Peoples of the Caribben Area a little later.

I am writing to ask if you would be interested in undertaking the publication of a work of this character. I believe that it will fill a neglected field. Most readers and thinkers seem to have no idea that the colonial peoples have ever expressed themselves in anything but vague and indefinite terms. A book such as this might be used as reference in schools and colleges as well as being in demand by general readers.

If you are interested, I would be glad to consult with you further on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Editorial Department
The Macmillian Company
60 Fifth Avenue
New York City

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SIXTY · FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 11

GEORGE P. BRETT, JR., PRESIDENT
H. S. LATHAM, VICE PRESIDENT

E. L. MEAD, SECRETARY
R. M. BRETT, TREASURER

February 13, 1945

20-24-136

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for theAdvancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are very much obliged to you indeed for your interesting letter of January 31st.

Whether we would be interested in the book which you are thinking of putting together on "Colonial Demands for Democracy and Freedom in the Twentieth Century" is something which could be told only by an examination of some of the material. Because of the paper shortage we are having to restrict our publishing output considerably, and are passing by many books which in a normal season we might conceivably have undertaken. We are taking, too, more or less, the general position that before dealing with any publishing suggestion we must see the manuscript, or a large part of it.

This proposed volume may very well meet a real need for a limited group of readers. It may go way beyond that group. Just what its appeal and value will be only the suggested examination of the manuscript can determine.

Is it practicable for you to let us see the manuscript, or at least a large part of it? We should be most happy to give it our best attention if that can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

H S Latham

Vice President
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

HSL:MH

14 February 1945

20-24-137

My dear Mr. Latham:

Referring to your letter of February thirteenth, may I say that the material which I propose for this book has not yet been collected except a few articles which have been sent me. I propose, however, in the next two or three months to make a systematic collection with the aid of a number of colonials who are going to meet with me in April in a small colonial conference. As soon as I get that material in order, which I trust will be before May first, I will be glad to bring it to your attention again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. H. S. Latham
The MacMillan Company
Sixty Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

GUARDIAN

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1945

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SMUTS "LEFT ME COLD" — says San Francisco Delegate

At the time of the San Francisco Conference the South African Press quoted the fulsome praise and compliments given to General Smuts when in San Francisco. But no newspaper reported the many criticisms of Smuts, as representing South Africa's Native policy, made by prominent delegates to the Conference.

Here is one by Dr. W. E. du Bois, an official consultant at the Conference:

"Everything that Field Marshal Smuts said the other day on the rostrum concerning a Bill of human rights in the Charter of the United Nations I agreed with.

"Yet his statement left me cold, because here was a man representing perhaps the worst case of organised denial of human rights in any nation to-day.

"The world has looked upon Africa not as he promised, a field for Native development, and Christian civilisation of black-millions; but as a place of increasing exploitation of labour and materials", he declared.

32-39-28

Dr. W. E. du Bois,
c/o "The Crisis",
69 Fifth Avenue,
U. S. A.

Dear Dr. du Bois,

Thank God for your penetrating mind.

Yours sincerely,
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika Makanya.

I had the pleasure of meeting you fifteen years ago when I was studying in New York.

[Makanya ?]

21-6-72

E.M. Manasse
Durham, N.C.
1808 Washington Str.

July 18, 1945

Professor W.E. B. Du Bois
c.o. N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Max Weber

Dear Professor Du Bois:

Several months ago, I asked you whether you are in possession of any material which would be of interest for the establishment of Max Weber's views on the American race problem. You kindly answered me that at that time you could not get to your files due to the transfer of your household from Atlanta to New York.

In the mean-time I have almost finished a paper which I hope to publish under the title "Max Weber on Race." I would however not finish my manuscript without having asked you once more whether you could round out my material by personal records. I take the liberty to enclose the wording of a footnote of my manuscript. In case you could either confirm or correct the statements made therein, I would be very thankful. My doubt as to whether you had met Weber already in 1892 is due to the fact that at that time Weber was a very young instructor of commercial law. I have however not been able to look up a catalogie of the University of Berlin of that year.

I certainly would greatly appreciate any information you would be willing to pass on to me.

I am, dear Professor Du Bois,

sincerely yours,

Ernst Moritz Manasse

Ernst Moritz Manasse

[ENCLOSURE]

21-6-73

From a foot note of a manuscript on Max Weber:

"Weber's biography does not mention that he met Booker T. Washington personally. On the other hand, he seems to have been in contact with B.T. Washington's opponent, W.E. Burghart Du Bois. Cf. the latter's autobiography Dusk of Dawn, New York, 1940, p. 67. (If the person, mentioned in the same book at p. 47, is identical with Max Weber, as the index would indicate, the contact would date back to Du Bois' studies in Berlin in 1892/93.) Probably from these contacts resulted the publication of Du Bois' article "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten," in the Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, vol. 22, 1906, pp. 31 ff. Weber was one of the three editors of the Archiv, and also brought home from his journey the promise of an American Indian to write an article on the Indian problem in the same periodical; cf. Biography, p. 307. This article, however, did not appear."

August 1, 1945

21-6-44

Dear Mr. Manasse:

I am not yet in such position with my books and files so as to be able to use them. We are planning to move into a new building in September and I hope then to be able to get at things.

I remember the article in the Archiv and I am sure it was written at the personal solicitation of Max Weber. I think he visited me in Atlanta. In Berlin, while I was in his class I did not have, as I remember, any personal contact.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Ernst Moritz Manasse
1808 Washington Street
Durham, North Carolina

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. McLAURIN
NATIONAL SECRETARY

March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350

440

April 2nd
1945

Lectures

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
69 5th Avenue
New York City

20-21-54

Dear Sir:

You are cordially invited to deliver an address on the subject "The Negro and the Peace" at the meeting to be held on April 13th, 1945, in the Y.M.C.A., 180 West 135th Street, New York City at 8:45 P.M. in the evening.

The importance of your visit to the San Francisco Conference, and your familiarity with the subject would confer an honor upon us if you will be gracious enough to accept this invitation.

You are further informed that I, as Chairman would take exceptional pains to boast your latest book, which I hope will be off the presses by that time, and I shall be indeed grateful if you will favor me with an early reply so that suitable notice of your appearance can be announced.

No other speaker will be billed if you will accept and a brief discussion by the audience will be permitted.

Very truly yours,

Reuel M. Jordan

RMJ/ag

REUEL M. JORDAN
Chairman
209 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
CAthedral 8-9032

[March on Washington Movement]

4 April 1945

20-21-55

My dear Mr. Jordan:

I regret to say that I have an engagement for April thirteenth and indeed all my spare time for public speaking is taken from now until after the San Francisco conference. I appreciate your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Reuel M. Jordan
209 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

[MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT]

20-18-36

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

NAACP 69 FIFTH AVE NYK=

:AM APPRECIATIVE OF INVITATION TO SEND RESOLUTION FOR IMPROVEMENT OF DARKER RACES TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR PRESENTATION TO THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERRANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT HAS NOT AS YET DRAFTED ANY RESOLUTION ON THE SUBJECT BUT IF IT DOES WE SHALL BE HAPPY TO HAVE YOUR COOPERATION IN GIVING IT A HEARING IN THE AFORE MENTIONED CONFERANCE=

A PHILLIP RANDOLPH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[MARCH ON WASHINGTON, 1945?]

STATEMENT ON DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

PREAMBLE

"Let us raise a Standard..."

As in war, so in peace, the abiding strength of nations lies in the hearts of men and women. Nothing could be more illusory and fleeting than a peace built only on the power and profit considerations of state concillors. Plans for world collaboration which fail to arouse the confidence and loyalty of the peoples are doomed to collapse of their own weight.

Stirred to the depths by the experiences and sufferings of the past years, the peoples of all the world have asked their leaders to establish a world system which can abolish the scourge of war and provide the opportunities through which all human persons, without distinction of any kind, can "pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity." (Philadelphia I.L.O. Charter)

Millions look with hope to San Francisco. Out of the consciences of all of us, there arises a heartfelt desire for a better world and better men. Whether the forthcoming agreements can command the indespensable adherence of the common people of this earth will depend on the evidence given of sincere dedication to justice and peace. Certain features of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are like to jeopardize the heavy investment of human values that have gone into victory. There is danger that at this last moment we may forget the high resolves conceived in the dark night of war and the agony of the helpless and innocent. There is danger that we may set up a mere power mechanism, without moral sinews, without cooperative purpose, without vision into the future, without the prophetic passion to stir the hearts of men.

Certain tests of the good intentions of the statesmen at San Francisco are here suggested, by which the world may know whether it can have justificable hope, in spite of the pride and greed of men, that the coming world organization will fulfill the hopes placed in it. Let us raise in these days a Standard to which all men of good will can repair!

BELIEVING THAT the greatest service the citizen can at this time render to the cause of world security and rebuilding is to support a constructive and not merely acquiescent public opinion on the program of Dumbarton Oaks, presently to be taken up by the San Francisco Conference, the undersigned put forward the following propositions:

1. THE ASSEMBLY of the Nations should be open to <u>all</u> nations. The distinction between peace-loving nations and the rest should be abondoned as being unhistorical and divisive.

MORE

2. THE ASSEMBLY should be more than merely an advisory body. It should be the strong foundation of the whole world system and should have power to lay down general rules for the conduct of internation relations. Only so can there be the authority of law and not merely the sanction of power. It should have the over-all authority to review and revise any decisions made by the Peach Settlement.

3. A BILL OF RIGHTS, setting forth the essential liberties of men and groups and nations, should be incorporated in the charter of the world organization; and the Assembly of all nationa should be made the custodian of these essential liberties.

4. NO NATION should be above the law, and no nation should be permitted to be judge, or to prevent judgment in its own case, whether in the Security Council or before an International Court. The voting formula agreed to at Yalta does not conform to this principle.

20-19

5. REGIONAL FEDERATIONS, economic and politacal, should be encouraged not discouraged. The Great Powers should not place any barriers in the way of those nations which may desire to remove their disabilities or strengthen their economic position through a federal form of organization.

6. ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES, without consideration of color or race, who are animated by a consciousness of their nationality and desirous of national autonomy, should be assured of their right to independence within the framework of regional and world-wide federation, and it should be a function of the international organization to give them aid and guidance toward the attainment of this right.

7. ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD ENTER UPON A PROGRAM of general disarmament; no international police force can be safely set up in a world of competitively armed nations.

M O R E *

8. The CONSTITUTION of the world organization should be subject to amendment by vote of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly and such amendment should not be subject to a veto right vested in a few Great Powers.

WE HOLD that unless these propositions are written into the charter of world organization and hopes of all men for a lasting peace will rest on the uneasy alliance of three great powers. It will be at the mercy of the jealousies and dissensions of these powers. Such an alliance is already viewed with suspicion and resentment by the smaller nations and the colonial peoples. It will be unable to withstand the conflicts of power politics and the crisis they breed. The only secure basis of lasting peace is a world of cooperating nations, equally bound by a common law to which they equally subscribe.

No plan for a world organization, however perfectly conceived, can ensure enduring peace if its purpose is to freeze the status quo and perpetuate exising injustices and errors.

20-19

. . . . . .

The March on Washington Movement
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 - 7th Avenue
New York 27, New York

I am pleased to sign your Statement on the Dunbarton Oats proposals.

Signed: _____

Address _____

4 April 1945

My dear Madam:

The pageant "Star of Ethiopia" has never been published and can only be used under special circumstances and at considerable cost.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-2

Miss Elizabeth C. Marlow
1215 Tea Street Northwest
Washington 9, D. C.

Request to read manuscript

25 Green Hall
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.
August 10, 1945

Dr. Wm. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

16-02-02

My dear Sir:

I am the Librarian at Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C., at present studying in the Graduate Library School here. Preliminary to the compilation of "An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Materials about Afro-American Women," I have made the enclosed tentative checklist. I plan to use the checklist in locating material for the Bibliography.

Because of your research and your great interest in Negro history, I write to solicit your cooperation. Would you be willing to scan through the enclosed list and add to it, either in pencil or pen, the names of persons whom I may have omitted? I am interested in women who made some significant contribution, in whatever field, prior to the present century. You will note that some women who are still living are included. They are women who began their work before 1900, according to information that has come to me.

Thank you so much for returning the checklist at your early convenience. I shall be here until August 23. After that date, I may be addressed at 1945 Seventh Ave., New York City, in care of T. A. Hill.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Constance H. Marteena

Constance H. Marteena

Enclosures - 2

[ENCLOSURE]

CHECKLIST OF AFRO-AMERICAN WOMEN WHO MADE SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS PRIOR TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

NAME	DATES	BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION
Adams, Agnes Jones	1858 - 1923	Teacher and Club Woman - Baltimore
Ash, Mary Ann Israel (Later Mrs. Lee)		Mortgaged home for slaves, San Frans.
Anderson, Phoebe J.		One of Original Fisk Jubilee Singers
Anderson, Dr. Caroline V.		Grad. Phila. Women's Med. College
Baldwin, Maria Louise	1856 - 1922	Teacher, Prin., Cambridge
Baltimore, Anne E.	1836 - 1922	Grad., Oberlin Conservatory of Musi c
Barrett, Janie Porter	Late Nineties	Club and Social Work, Va.
Brent, Linda		Biographer
Brown, Frances Jane	1819 - 1914	Underground Railroad
Brown, Hallie Quinn	Late Nineties	Biographer, Club Work
Brown, Laura A.P.	1874 - 1924	War Relief Worker, Politician
Cary, Mary Ann Shadd	1823 - 1893	Lecturer, Underground Railroad, Ed.
Coleman, Lucretia		Biographer
Cook, Mary V.		Editor in 1886
Cooper, Anna Julia		Writer - publication 1892
Coppin, Fannie Jackson	1835 - 1912	Lecturer, Writer, Educator
Cook, Eliza Anne		Founded Sch., D.C., 1854
Cook, Helen		First Club Pres., 1892, D.C. -
Craft, Ellen		Daring Escapee from Slavery
Davis, Elizabeth Lindsay	Late Nineties	Club woman, author, Chicago
Dean, Jenny		Founder, Manassas Ind. School
Dove, Mrs. W.A.		Wrote a biography in 1892
Dubois, Silvia		Biographer
Ducrete, Mrs. Henrietta		Undertaker in Phila. before 1894
Eldridge, Eleanor		Biographer
Foster, Mrs. Addison		Undertaker before 1894
Fayerweather, Sarah H.	1802 - 1868	Underground Railroad, Kingston, R.I.
Ferguson, Catherine	1749?- 1854	Founder first Sunday Sch., N.Y.
Forten, Charlotte L. (Mrs. Francis Grimke)		Poet
Fox, Eliza P.		Pres., Woman's Bapt. Asso., Va.
Forten, Sarah		Poet
Frazier, Susan Elizabeth	1864 -1924	Teacher, N.Y., 1895
Fuller, Meta Warrick		Sculptor-Exhibited as early as 1893
Gannett, Deborah (alias Robt. Shurtliff)		Served with Continental Army of U.S.
Gardner, Eliza Ann	1831 -1922	Underground Railroad, Social Work
Garnet, Belle		Grad. Chi. Medical & R.N.

- ~~Race not verified~~

Garnet, Sarah J.S.T.	1831 - 1911	Sch. Prin. and Club Woman, N.Y.
Garrison, Lucy McKinn		Composer of Slave Songs
Hackley, Emma Azalia	1867 - 1922	Concert Artist, Detroit
Hall, Anne Maria		Founded School in Washington
Harper, Frances E.Watkins	1825 - 1900	Lecturer, Author, Poet
Heard, Mrs. Josephine		Published book of verse before 1894
Hudlin, Anna Elizabeth	1840 - 1914	Club and Welfare Worker, Chicago
Jackson, Jennie		With Original Fisk Jubilee Singers
Johnson, Mrs. A.E.	Late 19th cent.	Author
Johnson, Mrs. Harvey		Wrote children's stories before '94
Jones, Siseretta(Black Patti)		Vocal concert artist
Jones, Sarah G.	"Born soon after Civil War"	Physician, Richmond, Va.
Keckley, Elizabeth	1818 - 1900	Modiste, Biographer
Lambert, Mrs. M.E.		Poet before 1894
Laney, Lucy		Founder, Haines Institute
Lee, Jarena		Preacher
Lee, Sarah Gould	1821 - 1905	Teacher, N.J.
Lewis, Edmonia	1845 -	Sculptor
Loguen, Sara M.		Grad. in Medicine, Syracuse, 1876
Mahoney, Mary E.P.	- 1923	Grad., New Eng.Hosp., 1879
Mason, Mrs. Biddy	1818 - 1891	Social Work, Wealthy land owner, Calif.
Matthews, Victoria Earle	1861 - 1898	Journalist, Club Worker
Mossell, Mary Ella(Forrester)	1853- 1886	Missionary to Haiti
Nahar, Edmona		Cleveland
Nelson, Alice Dunbar		Author
Nelson, Ida Gray		First Negro woman dentist, Chi.
Patterson, Mary J.	1840 - 1894	Teacher, Washington, D.C.
Paul, Susan(See Vashon, Susan Paul)		
Porter, Maggie L.		With Original Fisk Jubilee Singers
Peaks, Mary S.		Educator, Hampton
Plato, Ann		Author
Putnam, Georgiana Frances	1839 - 1914	Principal, N.Y.City

20-20-53

Pyles, Charlotta G. McH.	1806 - 1880	Anti-Slavery Movement
Ray, Cordelia		
Roach, Sarah		"Master of Pedagogy" fr. NYU befor 1894 Author
Ruffin, Josephine St.P.	1842 - 1924	Club Organizer, Journalist
Scott, Elizabeth Thorn		Organized Calif. school,1854
Selika, Marie(Mrs.Wm.Sampson		Vocal concert artist
Sessions, Mrs.	-1910	Social Work, Los Angeles
Sheppard, Ella		With Orig. Fisk Jubilee Singers
Shorter, Susie I. Lankford	1859 - 1912	Teacher, Writer, Indiana
Smith, Amanda	1837 - 1915	Foreign Missionary, Biographer
Smith, Elizabeth M.	appr1826 -	Prin.,Prudence Crandell Sch.
Spear, Chloe		Biographer
Steward,Susan McKinney	1848 - 1918	Physician, Wilberforce
Stewart, Priscilla		Teacher, Poet, Brooklyn,1858
Still, Vina		Author
Talbert, Mary B.	1862 - 1923	Club Executive,Spingarn Medal
Tate, Minnie		With Orig. Fisk Jubilee Singers
Terrell, Mary Church	184	First Pres.,Nat. Asso.Col.Women
Thurman, Lucy Smith	1849 - 1918	Lecturer, Club Worker
Truth, Sojourner	1777?- 1883	Lecturer, Anti-Slavery Movement
Tubman, Harriet	1821 - 1913	Underground Railroad
Vashon, Susan Paul	1838 - 1912	Principal,War Worker,St.Louis
Veney, Bethany		Author
Walker, C. J.	1868 - 1925	Founder, C.J.Walker Mfg. Co.
Walker, Eliza		One of Orig. Fisk Jubilee Singers
Walker, Maggie Lena		Ex. Sec't'y.,St. Luke,1889
Wassoms, Mrs. Frankie		Poet before 1894
Washington, Margaret Murray	1865 - 1925	Educator, Social Service,Tusk
Wells, Ida B.(Mrs. Barnett)		Journalist, Chicago
Wheatley, Phillis(Mrs.Peters)	1754 - 1783?	Poet
Williams, Cecelia		Dramatist, Teacher,San Francisco
Williams, Fannie Barrier		Chicago, Author
Wormley, Mary		Teacher, Washington, D.C.
Yates, Josephine Silone	1852-1912	Teacher Journalist, Poet

48-02-82

28-20-95

August 23, 1945

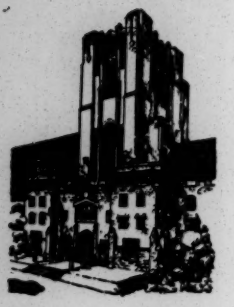
My dear Miss Marteena:

I would like to help you on the bibliography which you sent me August 10th, but I think you must realise how much time and trouble this means if it is to be of any real worth.

I am laying it aside on my desk and if I can possibly find time to get at it I will do so, but do not be disappointed if I do not get to it. The idea is very good.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois



Affiliated with the
University of British Columbia

Union College of British Columbia

Vancouver, Canada

June 8. 1945

21-6-51

Dear Dr Du Bois

As I have been trying to shape an appraisal of the strengths and defects of Booker T. Washington's programme and policy my mind has gone back to a talk that I was privileged to have with you some years ago when I was staying at Atlanta University and Spelman College. And I have been re-reading your The Souls of Black Folk which - with your Darkwater - has given me so much stimulus and guidance (as well as sheer enjoyment of your enviable command of the nuances of our English prose).

Should I be imposing too much on you if I asked whether, during the forty years of experience and reflection since you wrote the chapter "Of Mr Washington and others," your appraisal has modified to any degree; and if so, whether you would care to indicate in what directions?

I know how busy you are and hesitate to impose on your time and energy. But I know no one whose mature judgement I should value so highly as yours; and I do want, in lecturing and writing, to arrive at the most just estimate possible.

If you should happen to see President Clement or Miss Read would you be so good as to convey my kind greetings and good wishes

Ever sincerely yours,

Basil Mathews

21-6-52

July 11, 1945

My dear Mr. Mathews:

Answering your letter of June 8th may I say that I do not think my opinion of Mr. Washington has changed essentially but there is a more recent interpretation of my attitude in the book, What the Negro Wants . The editor is Dr. Rayford Logan and the publisher is the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I have a chapter in that on my evolving program of Negro education, also in my autobiography, Dusk of Dawn, (Harcourt Brace) the matter of Mr. Washington's policy is treated.

I am very glad indeed to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Basil Mathews
Union College of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

TIMOTHY DWIGHT COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY

27th March, 1945;

From
Maung Saw Tun,
1669 Yale Station,
New Haven, Conn.

20-4-133

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I met Dr. Raymond Kennedy yesterday and he showed me your letter. Incidently, your letter to me must have got lost or has been delivered at the wrong place.

I am sorry that the two other Burmese boys Tun Wai and Tha Gyaw Wai are unable to attend your conference. Friday is a very busy day for us. Even then, I will manage to arrange with my professors and will come over definitely to New York to attend the Colonial Conference. I am sure I will enjoy it very much and learn a great deal too. And of course I will try my best to be as useful as possible.

In the meantime, if you would be kind enough to let me have a few details about the conference, its nature and the kind of information you would expect from us, I shall be very thankful and delighted.

Thank you very much for having thought of us.

Yours very truly,

Maung Saw Tun

28 March 1945

20-4-134

My dear Sir:

Let me thank you for your letter of March 27. I am enclosing an invitation and statement. I should be very glad if you could write out for us a concise factual statement of conditions in Burma before and during the present war. I should be glad to have the paper contain some statements of the movements toward independence in Burma and plans for the future.

It would be well if we could have the text of any manifestos or statements concerning Burman progress and independence. Your statement could be read either as a whole or in part.

As I wrote to Dr. Kennedy, we will be glad to meet your expense of travel and board in New York if you will let me have a memorandeum.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Maung Saw Tun
1669 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

TIMOTHY DWIGHT COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY

20-4-135

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you very much for your letter. My friends and I have been collecting data for the paper that you asked me. with regard to Burma. Since we came by plane only a few months back we virtually left everything in India. Now we find great difficuly in getting the right information. But so far we have been able to collect some and am now writing it out. All the same, with my class work too at hand, I doubt whether I would be able to send it to you before Friday. Instead, I think I will bring it along with me on Thursday evening when I come down to New York to attend the conference on Friday.

2nd April, 1945.

Very sincerely yours,

Maung Saw Tun

Maung Saw Tun,
1669 Yale Station,
New Haven, Conn.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY

13th April, 1945.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

20-4-130

Thanks a lot for sending me the draft. In general, I think it is very good. ~~and~~ The only thing is, I have heard a number of Colonial experts speak and am rather skeptical about them. ~~Of course~~ I also feel that it will be to the liking of the colonial people ~~themselves~~ if mention is made that they must really be represented effectively by themselves.

Sincerely yours

Maung Saw Tun

P.S. My address is 1669 yale station & not 1668.

Maung Saw Tun.

[MARYLAND]

7 February 1945

Gentlemen:

I wish to declare personal property as follows: a automobile, Buick, Model 67, year 1937, Sedan, eight cylinder, passenger car weighing 3,750. I have just transferred this car from Georgia. Please let me know the assessment. My Baltimore address is 2302 Montebello Terrace.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17

Bureau of Taxes
Municipal Building
Baltimore, Maryland

20-4-140

718 Greene Avenue
Brooklyn N Y
April 3, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I regret that I cannot attend the Colonial Conference on April 6. The African Academy of which I am executive secretary is holding an affair at Carnegie Hall on that night. (see program enclosed.) If in the future I can be of any service, kindly advise.

Yours sincerely,

D. Buyabuye Mdodana

D. Buyabuye Mdodana

[MEMPHIS MID-SOUTH FED. OF CHURCHES]

REV. ROY LOVE
ASSOC. PRESIDENT

REV. W. E. MACK
ASSOC. PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF

THE MEMPHIS FEDERATION
OF
CHURCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS

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OUR AIM

Realizing that the church represents the only eternal infallible plan of world peace and security; we endeavor to unite our mighty forces for a very definite Christ approved stand and concerted activities along the following lines.

1

A more aggressive and militant clergy and membership with a broader vision and conception of the great responsibility of unselfish sacrificial service to which we are called.

2

To foster a united program of year round evangelism.

3

To foster a United Youth Movement, in cooperation with other agencies concerned with child welfare and juvenile delinquency.

4

Patriotic, law abiding citizenship.

5

Social uplift, economic security, civic welfare and post-war planning with inter-racial goodwill.

20-18-2

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
N. A. A. C. P. Rep.
World Security Conference
San Franciso, Calif.

The Memphis Mid-South Federation of Churches represented five hundred (500) christian colored Americans in body assembled voted unanimously to send you it's greeting and to pray that the great head of the Church will be with, and guide you in your deliberations and to the much desired goal of a lasting peace. It was the united mind of this body that we pray urgently that the Americans Delegation will take the initiative in an effort to align the world security plan with the ideals expressed in the sacred declaration of our founding fathers that "All men are created equal and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty and the persuit of happiness"; and the Bible declaration that "Righteousness exalteth a Nation".

We also respectfully and ardently pray that "A Human Rights" commission be set up and that the well-being of minority groups of all nations be especially vouchsafed race, color, creed and previous conditions notwithstanding.

We also pray that religious liberty be guaranteed all men through the instrument of international agreement.

Done by order of the Memphis Mid-South Federation of Churches this the 31st day of May, Nineteen Hundred and forty five.

Signed,

W. H. Brewster

W. H. Brewster, Pres.

W. C. Webb

W. C. Webb, Sec.

WHB:jd

"For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God"—Bible

O. D. WILLIAMS
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF MANAGERS

S. M. DOUGLAS
VICE CHAIRMAN

A. J. LORING
RECORDING SECRETARY

CARLTON AVENUE BRANCH
of the
BROOKLYN & QUEENS
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
405 CARLTON AVENUE
BROOKLYN 5, N. Y.

Telephone, NEvins 8—4368-4369

March 22nd, 1945

20-4-167

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In connection with your forthcoming colonial conference, may I suggest the following persons for participation:

K. Ozumba Mbadiwe (Nigeria)
55 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

D. Buyabuye Mdodana (South Africa)
718 Greene Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Howard Swain (Barbados, B.W.I.)
Managing Editor, The Brooklyn Eagle
24 Johnson Street
Brooklyn, New York

I have sent a copy of your letter to each one of these men and I hope that they will participate. Please send them the date of the conference.

Yours sincerely,

H. T. Miller

Herbert T. Miller
Executive Secretary

htm/cs

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS TOWARD AN ENDOWMENT WOULD GREATLY AID IN ENLARGING THE WORK OF THE CARLTON AVENUE BRANCH.

9 March 1945

20-4-23

My dear Sir:

Enclosed is an invitation to our Colonial Conference and a statement indicating the kind of information that we are seeking. I am writing to ask your advice as to what individual Indians should be invited to take part. I should like to have as wide a variety of representation as possible representing perhaps several of the Indian provinces and native states and the leading religions. Would you kindly give me your best advice?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Ramkrishna Shahu Modak
425 East 86th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Rev. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak

(AHMEDNAGAR - DECCAN - INDIA)

FORMERLY IN INDIA

President: Society of Christian Servants.
President: Bombay Provincial Employment Bureau of Indian Christians. (Reg. by G. R. 4457 of 1933)
Member: Ahmednagar District Local Board.
Member: Ahmednagar City Municipality.
Pastor: Ahmednagar 1st Church (U. C. N. I.)
Moderator: Synod of Bombay (U. C. N. I.)
Vice-Moderator: General Assembly (U. C. N. I.)
Member: Bombay Legislative Council.
Vice-Chairman: Ahmednagar District School Board.
Special Honorary Magistrate.

Association
Executive Chairman: One World ~~Citizen's League~~, N. Y. C.
Address: 425 East 86th Street, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.
Telephone: SA 2-4630

March 12, 1945

20-4-24

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Replying to your letter of the 9th inst. I gladly accept your invitation to the colonial conference to be held on 6th April. I have a lunch engagement on that day which will be over by 2 o'clock, so that I can attend the conderence from 10:00 to 2:00 and 3:00 to 5:00. Since I have been speaking On India far and wide all over USA, I will gladly cooperate with your program. If will be possible for me to write a statement to be read for your conference but it will be easier for me to make a speech on "Some Facts About India." I will gladly answer questions arising from my speech.

I come from Deccan in the province of Bombay. Dr. K. Shridhrani comes from Gujrat in the province of Bombay. He can be reached c/o Columbia University. Dr. S.C. Mukerji comes from Bengal and can be reached at 318 West 108 Street. Dr. M. K. Alexander comes from the Travancore State in South India and can be reached c/o The Kenmore Hotel 145 East 23 Street. Miss Kamala Kosambi comes from both southern and western India and can be reached at 541 West 113 Street. I have suggested the above names for you to try and contact for your conference if you desire. These are well educated Indians from the various pasts of the country.

The enclosed statement on a world organization will give you some idea of what I am trying to do now in USA. I invite your cooperation in it. We have appeared before a congregational committee for Puerto Rican freedom. We sent a statement to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on colonial freedom. We have also done such other things in support of our aims.

Yours sincerely,

R. S. Modak

R. S. Modak

bp

Rev. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak

(AHMEDNAGAR - DECCAN - INDIA)

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Executive Chairman: One World Association, N. Y. C.
Address: 425 East 86th Street, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.
Telephone: SA 2-4630

20-4-25

March 23, 1945

Dr. W.E.Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Replying to your invitation in regard to the Colonial Conference which is to meet on the 6th of April in the Auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 2 P.M. to 5 P.M., I would like to know if I have to make a speech and if so of what length. Do you want me to make a factual statement regarding India's political advance? Will it be all right if I spoke briefly on India's no need for freedom and her fitness for it?

I have a lunch engagement on that day but can be at your conference between 2.30 and 3 P.M. If you will schedule me on the program from any time after 3 P.M. it will suit me.

Kindly let me know immediately what I have to do at the Conference and whether it would be all right for me to be there at 3 P.M.

Wishing you all success, I am

Sincerely yours,

R. S. Modak

(per M.S.C.)

28 March 1945

22-4-76

My dear Mr. Modak:

I shall be glad to have you attend the Colonial Conference, April sixth, in the afternoon. What we want is not a speech but a written statement of the essential facts concerning conditions in the part of India which you know best. That statement can be read in part or as a whole. It should not be long but it should be confined to essential facts.

I hope that you are going to cooperate with us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Ramkrishna Shahu Modak
One World Association
425 East 86th Street
New York City

[MONTEFIORE HOSP]

Form [illegible]43

197

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL

GUN HILL ROAD NEAR JEROME AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

PRIVATE PAVILION BILL

Bills are due when received

When Accounting Dept. is closed, the Nursing Office will accept payments.

For more details see other side

Mina B. Illu Bros

Mr. William Duboise
2302 Monticello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Date NOV 30 1945 194

FOR SERVICES TO Mrs. Mino Duboise

Room Charge:

From	11/27	to 11/30	at $ 6.00	per day	$ 24.00
	12/1	12/31	6.00		186.00

20-18

Routine Laboratory Charge: 10.00

$220.00

Special Nursing:

Day - from to at $ per day

Night - from to at $ per night

Other Special Charges:

DEC 28 1945

Paid on account 190.00

Per

Amount Due $ 30.00

~~190 00~~
120 00

If any explanation is desired in regard to this bill, kindly communicate with the Accounting Dept.

Tel. OLinville 2-3800

Extension 43

Patient's Accounts Bookkeeper

Approved

Comptroller

RULES CONCERNING PRIVATE AND SEMI-PRIVATE PATIENTS

1. Patients will be required to pay charges one month in advance, subject to a refund for shorter periods.
2. The charge for room entitles the patient to bed and board, medicines, routine nursing and the services of the resident physician.
3. Extra charge will be made for the use of the operating room, hospital anesthetist, services of special nurses, expensive drugs, x-ray examinations, x-ray and physical therapy treatments, blood transfusions, etc. Payment for special charges must be made upon request.
4. Private patients are expected to select and make private arrangements for their care with a member of the visiting or courtesy staff of the Montefiore Hospital.
5. CHILDREN MAY NOT BE BROUGHT TO VISIT PATIENTS IN ANY PART OF THE HOSPITAL.
6. Relatives or friends of patients desiring to use the second bed in the patient's room should make arrangements in advance with the Accounting Dept.
7. The Hospital does not furnish meals to visitors.
8. The Hospital is not responsible for money or valuables, but these may be deposited in the Accounting Dept.
9. Patients may be visited daily (subject to the orders of the resident physician) from 1 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. and from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M.
10. Charges to patients admitted under the Associated Hospital Service plan will be governed by the terms of the plan.
11. If more information is desired please refer to pamphlet relating to Private Pavilion.

[Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church]

Drawer #630
Dover, Dela.
Jan. 22, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P
69 fifth ave
New yorPR Petty

20-10-43

Kind Sir:-

I wish to invite you to Dover, Delaware under the sponsorship of Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church. We are building our program around the Negro History Week and the Celebration of Richard Allen Day.

The date is Sun. Feb. 11,

1945.

There is a possibility that I can arrange a short address over Station W.D.E.L in connection with the celebration.

The program I am hoping is the afternoon one at 3:15 p. m.

In your reply please state your fee.

Very truly yours,

Rev. H. Emory Matthews

7-10-45

[Mount Zion AME Church]

24 January 1945

My dear Sir:

I regret to say that on February eleventh, I am speaking in Cleveland and on February eighteenth in Detroit. Between these two dates I might come to Dover but I presume that a week-day engagement would not suit you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend G. Emory Matthews
Drawer #630
Dover, Delaware

[Mt. Zion AME Church]

Drawer # 680
Dover, Del.
July 19 1943

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
New York, N. Y.

20-7-46

for colored people throughout
the world. You may remain
if you desire.

Yours very truly,
Secretary.

20-2-417

August 1, 1945

84-7-02

My dear Reverend Matthews:

I could speak for you at 3:30 P.M. on September 16th.

The fee would be $100.00.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Reverend G. E. Matthews
Pastor
Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church
Drawer #630
Dover, Delaware

[Mt. Zion AME Church]

Dover #630
Dover, Dela.
Aug. 17, 1945

20-7-49

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 5th Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. :—

I regret that I have been unable to get the needed pledges to care for your fee. I will still go on however. As soon as I get the pledges I would like to make a new date.

Yours very truly
Rev. Emmy Mathews

318 West 108th Street
New York 25, N.Y.
April 4th 1945.

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
69 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

20-4-161

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I will be very glad to be present at the Colonial Conference on April 6th at the Public Library on 135th Street. I thank you for including me as a native of Bengal, India.

Due to lack of time, I am sorry that I am unable to submit a written report to you, but I will be glad to take part in the discussion.

Very sincerely yours,
for a free world,
Sarat C. Mukerji
Sarat C. Mukerji

891 Perkiomen Street.
Philadelphia 30, Penna..
December 24, 1945.

Re pamphlets

Dear Dr. Du Bois -

I am taking the liberty of writing to you to make a very special request, which I only hope you shall grant me.

I have started a collection of autograf ed photograf's of "Distinguished Authors" and would deem it both an honor and a pleasure to add your personally signed photograf to my very worthwhile collection, which wouldnt be complete without the inclusion of yours.

20-19-42

When you send it, please see that it is carefully wrapt - for in transit it is handled none too gently and dont want it bent or mutilated in anyway.

You shall find return postage enclosed and I would appreciate your making an exception in my case.

In my sparetime I compose poetry and keep busy writing - since being disabled at Salerno - and would like this from you, but dont mean to be of any undue trouble to you.

Thanking you and may I here wish you "A Merry Xmas" and "A Happy and Healthful New Year!" I am

Most cordially

James P. Murphey

[ETHEL WAICE]

Ethel Ray Waiche

Seattle - Jan. 27

Dear Andre:

20-14-39

I meant to write much sooner, naturally. It was awfully good to have a peek at you and Miss Diggs - it sort of made my last trip East more enjoyable - both of you belong to New York, somehow.

We went to Philly the afternoon I saw you, and I was clumsy enough to fall at my friend's home there, and was confined to bed a whole week - I had originally planned to return to New York for a few days. (Damn those ladder-like indoor steps in Philadelphia!) But it did give me a rest, and after I realized I couldn't put any weight at all on my foot I relaxed like a lady - and took all the waiting on I could get. My husband could only spend two days in Philly and I am quite sure thought I fell on purpose so I couldn't return with him - you know the masculine turn of mind?

I staid East long enough to sort of have a hankering to stay -- know that sensation? But now that I am back out here I suppose I'll remain - at least for the time being. Where do you think the depression will be worst? East or West? Suppose you stay on the East coast and I stay on the West - and whichever one fares the best can reach out a sandwick to the other? Yes? I'd like to hear your individual answer on that one.

They elected me to the Exec. Board of the NAACP a couple of Sundays ago - have 1500 members but do nothing); and was appointed to the Bd. of Directors of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA -(which I shall use my efforts to have combined with the white Y downtown - Portland has done that, and made an interracial branch out of the outlying one - we'll see.) But I hate Boards - I imagine you ~~would~~ too. I manage to shove caustic bits down the poor publics throats through a monthly newsletter, masquerading under the name of Council for Minority Rights - I've gotten by this far.

Now my conscience feels better - I've explained how I fell out of the picture so suddenly. Of course you would expect that of me I know.

If you ever get a moment that you get tired of doing everything you should do, drop me a line.

Love,

Marielle

Marielle

1019 Washington St., Apt. A

Seattle 4, Wn.

ETHEL RAY NANCE

20-14-40

15 February 1945

Dear Marielle:

Nobody could invent a lie of the proportion that you tell me about your recent visit. It must have been true but how on earth you managed it, I don't know. I thought you were just walking out on me because you had your new husband along and didn't want any complication. I am glad that you pulled out as well as you did. It must be interesting to keep at work as you are.

It is hard to say anything about East or West after this war. You can, however, count on it that if there is anything loose: food, shelter or fun, New York will have its share. I am not sure about Seattle. However, count on the sandwich.

Let me hear from you from time to time.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Ray Williams
1019 Washington Street, Apartment A
Seattle 4, Washington

[1945]

Mrs E R Norris

NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

FEDERAL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY

1019 Washington St., Apt. A
Seattle - June 8th

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope your oranges arrived while you were there to help eat them up - (I thought that's what you anticipated anyhow when you so carefully counted the days they would take in transit)! Mine came through but were the large size instead of the juice size I had ordered. Perhaps you got the smaller ones!

Thanks again for the one-of-its-kind experience in being at San Francisco. It has certainly done wonders for me. (besides the added weight) . Everyone speaks of the marvels of the weather down there, but I have sense enough toknow it is the "inside" shining through. I feel again I have some interests that will carry me along toward making a fairly rounded out life. I had gotten into an awful mud-puddle, and so few people here have any suggestions as to extrication from mud-puddles - in fact, do they ever have fun making puddles into lakes and standing off and observing "My, what a mess!"

The staff "condescended" to have me speak to them - gave me 30 minutes - I promised to only take 10, but they kept me for 45. Not knowing anything about Peace plans (who does) I took very unfair advantageof them and enjoyed myself thoroughly.

I told the women at the YWCA yesterday at a luncheon meeting they should put on their boots and spurs and gave "Mary" a beautiful send-off, touching but effective, and made quite an ethereal creature out of her, giving her some of your depth and some of Walter's geniality.

A letter from Mr. Griffin asking if I can give any definite answer about S.F. - and when - makes me rush this note to you. A phone call from my husband in New York (will probably be there 4 to 5 weeks) makes me wonder if there is any immediate prospect of anything. It would be rather nice to fill in for a summer (in case the short leave is to be taken) and then possibly return to S.F. to "stick the pin" where you suggested it might do the most good.

Hope you are getting some rest and that all the family are very well.

Sincerely,

Marielle

Marielle

3/-13-34

Parcel
Phone - Times NO-1256
Shirt - Polarmax - Blue D

2 - K

2:30 Arrive

3 Leave

5 Dinner

9:25 Train

Whidbey
Sawlake
Champagne

20

Can you work July and August at $200 per month?
Wes

[NANCE]

NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

FEDERAL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY

20-14-35

1019 Washington Street
Apt. A
Seattle 4, Washington
June 14, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

You suggested that I write you after your return to New York reminding you to see if you had any books on African history for children - or anything that would create a sense of dignity in their heritage. If you have any titles to suggest, won't you please let me know them?

And you also promised if I would remind you, a copy of "Color and Democracy" would be sent me - with an autograph.

Why do people have such good memories? Oh, I don't know...perhaps people shouldn't make promises for the future!

Needless to say, in retrospect San Francisco was a grand experience, and Ifeel the outside meetings contributed more than a little to the feel that some things could be accomplished by getting together "from all ends of the earth".

Sincerely,

Ethel Ray Nance

Ethel Ray Nance

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

20-14-37

21 June 1945

Mrs. E. R. Nance
1019 Washington Street
Apartment A
Seattle, Washington

COULD YOU WORK JULY AND AUGUST AT TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS PER MONTH stop
WIRE ANSVER.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[1945]

Room 206
12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, Calif.
September 17th

My dear Andre:

To tell you the truth, I can't say yet whether I arrived safely or not - all I know is that I am here! Didn't report until the 10th (a week ago today) because I arrived in Seattle a tired-out wreck. The trip across was very tiring with the boys, and a stop in Duluth only added to my weariness. When I reached Seattle I staid in bed the better part of 3 days, and indoors most of the rest of the time - I did manage to visit the schools and get the boys started.

I am glad the work is starting off gradually here - I need a bit of slowing along for a while....

31-1-9

I can imagine you are very busy with Miss Diggs gone. So she got her chance after all. I know she will be glad to finish up. How long will it take? I presume by "the girl" you mean Miss Davis, Mr. Graham's secretary. She is thorough in her work from what I observed and would like to have known her better.

I did get 500 3-cent stamps and the balance of the roll should be in the top drawer of the desk where I sat. Did you find it?

My husband is on his way West for a discharge from the Navy so perhaps at long last I shall be settled somewhere. Right now everything indicates it will be San Francisco.

I do hope you can get to London - it really won't be a Congress without you. I hope you can get back from over there, but if you can't for a few months I am sure you will have a happy time of it - you get so much out of places and people as you go along!!!!

Thanks for everything - and perhaps I may get a line from London, who knows?

Sincerely,

Marielle

Marielle

31 January 1945

My dear Sir:

I am quoting in a forthcoming book the enclosed abstract from an article by Freda Kirchwey. "Palestine was not the intellectual creation of persons searching, objectively, for a solution of the specific problem. . . . To a western mind, all the old difficulties still obstructed the road, an do today: the political problem of reconciling a Jewish National Home with the political expediencies of British imperial ambitions; the problem of Arab-Jewish relationships, both as part of the political problem and as part of the social-religious complex of the Middle East; the internal Jewish problem, found up in the divergencies of opinion and of interests in Europe and the West. These are complicated enough to afford the subject matter for endless arguments, to create international controversies and partisan divisions. But they become relatively simple if they are viewed in the light of a warm yet realistic understanding of all the human needs involved."

Will you kindly tell me just where it was printed and if there is any objection to my quoting it?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Editor
The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York City

20-3-9

THE Nation

(B)

February 8, 1945

20-25-1

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The excerpt which you quote in your letter of January 31 is taken from Zionism and Democracy by Freda Kirchwey, a chapter in the book "Chaim Weizman" edited by Meyer W. Weisgal and published by the Dial Press.

Miss Kirchwey is quite willing for you to quote the passage with credit to her and the book, but you will also have to obtain the permission of the Dial Press.

In your letter there are one or two typographical errors. The sixth line should read "....and do today:." The twelfth line should read "bound up in the divergences of opinion, etc."

Sincerely yours,

Caroline Whiting

Secretary to Miss Kirchwey.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N. A. A. C. P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

[NATION]

20-13-40

May 8, 1945

Miss Freda Kirchwey
Room 8012
Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California

My dear Miss Kirchwey:

This is a sort of outline and forecast of what I think my conclusions on San Francisco are going to be. It can, of course, be changed and toned down in places but I think it represents about what my conclusions will be.

I am sending it to you for your judgment as to whether The Nation would like an article on these lines.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

[NATION]

The Palace Hotel
SAN FRANCISCO, 19

May 11, 1945

Mr. W.E.B.DuBois:
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
San Francisco, California

20-13-41

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I am writing for Miss Kirchwey, who left for New York this morning. She asked me to tell you that she received your outline and was very much interested in it, and that she has taken it with her to New York to show to the Managing Editor. They will get in touch with you very soon.

Yours sincerely
Decca Treuhaft
Decca Treuhaft

May 21, 1945

20-13-42

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We appreciate very deeply your suggestion that you do a piece on the conference for us. As you know, however, several of our staff writers were in San Francisco, and they have sent us so much material - and are sending more! - that we simply can't find room for anything else in our crowded pages.

I'm sorry - and I hope that you will think of us again for a piece.

Yours sincerely,

J. King Gordon
Managing Editor

JKG:dwt

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

[Nation Associates]

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

May 7, 1945

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Burghardt:

20-19-28

On June 25, The Nation Associates, of which Miss Freda Kirchwey is President, is arranging a dinner to mark the seventieth birthday of Dr. Thomas Mann, the distinguished novelist.

I have assumed the Chairmanship of the Committee which is arranging the dinner, in association with Hon. Henry A. Wallace and Dr. Frank P. Graham as Honorary Chairmen; Professor Albert Einstein, Sir Norman Angell, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Dr. Otto Loewi and Pearl Buck as Honorary Vice Chairmen; and Jo Davidson, Marc Connelly, Dr. Harry Scherman, Carl Van Doren, Joseph Wood Krutch, Lillian Hellman, Carl Sandburg, Katherine Anne Porter and Edna St. Vincent Millay as Vice Chairmen.

In their behalf I extend an invitation to you to serve as a member of the Sponsoring Committee.

We have chosen to honor Dr. Mann not only because he is one of the greatest of living writers, but because he stands as an unconquerable exponent of intellectual, spiritual and moral values, which need urgent reaffirmation at this time. We hope to provide through this dinner a forum for a discussion of how the intellectual and creative forces of the nation may be harnessed to the cause of freedom and human progress.

Dr. Mann, who has no liking for public tributes, has consented to this dinner because of his profound understanding of the importance of these forces among all peoples in building the world of tomorrow.

I shall hope, therefore, that you will find it possible to accept this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Sherwood

Robert E. Sherwood

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
630 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK CITY

The Nation

May 25, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
69 - 5th Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On June 25, The Nation Associates, headed by Freda Kirchwey, is arranging a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to mark the seventieth birthday of Dr. Thomas Mann, the novelist.

I have assumed Chairmanship of the Dinner Committee, in association with Henry A. Wallace and Dr. Frank P. Graham as Honorary Chairmen. Professor Albert Einstein, Sir Norman Angell, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Dr. Otto Loewi, Marshall Field, Eugene O'Neill and Pearl Buck are Honorary Vice Chairmen; Lillian Hellman, Jo Davidson, Marc Connelly, Dr. Harry Scherman, Carl Van Doren, Joseph Wood Krutch, Carl Sandburg and Katherine Anne Porter are Vice Chairmen.

In their behalf I extend an invitation to you to attend this dinner in which a distinguished group will participate in addition to the guest of honor.

We have chosen to honor Dr. Mann not only because he is one of the greatest of living writers, but because he stands as an unconquerable exponent of intellectual, spiritual and moral values which need urgent reaffirmation at this time. We hope to provide through this dinner a forum for a discussion of how the intellectual and creative forces of the nation may be harnessed to the cause of freedom and human progress.

Dr. Mann, who has no liking for public tributes, has consented to this dinner because of his profound understanding of the importance of these forces among all peoples in building the world of tomorrow.

Reservations are $25 per person. A fund will be presented to Dr. Mann from the proceeds of the dinner, to be used for a program of political education for democracy.

We hope, therefore, that you will find it possible to accept this invitation and join in honoring a great man and a great work.

The enclosed card is for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Sherwood

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

June 16, 1945

20-19-4

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I want to share with you the very welcome news I have just received that Dr. Juan Negrin, Prime Minister of the last Republican government of Spain, will be a guest speaker at the dinner in honor of Dr. Mann on Monday evening, June 25, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. This will be Dr. Negrin's first and only public appearance in the United States.

His participation adds further distinction to a program which, as you know, already has a number of memorable features. Our other participants will include our guest of honor, Dr. Mann, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, and William L. Shirer.

We are, of course, counting on you to be present and shall be looking forward to receiving your reservations promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Sherwood

Robert E. Sherwood

P.S. If for any reason you cannot come yourself, won't you make a reservation anyhow -- and permit us to invite a member of the Armed Forces in your place?

21 June 1945

20-19-5

My dear Mr. Sherwood:

I think that I registered for the dinner of Dr. Mann June twenty-fifth. On looking over my mail, I find that the cover charge is $25. This is more than I can afford. Will you, therefore, kindly cancel my registration?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Robert E. Sherwood
630 Fifth Avenue
New York City

[Nat. Assn of College Women]

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Circle 5-8000

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New York City

April 18, 1945.

Dear Dr.Dubois:

Immediately on receipt of your telegram yesterday, regarding the San Francisco Conference, I telephoned your office. Your secretary informed me that you were out but that she would have you call me this morning. However, not to delay the information that you requested, may I state that the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses is a member of the National Council of Negro Women. We have passed on to Mrs. Eunice Carter what we believe is the status of women in the Post-war world. Enclosed is a copy for your information.

As a member of the West Indies National Council, I was selected by the group to attend the San Francisco Conference as a representative of the Council. I have stated to Mr.Benjamin Moore, chairman of the Council's Conference Committee, that I will not accept this assignment, since I believe that in any effort on behalf of Colonials, wherever located, they would best be served through a program of united action. I believe that we lessen our effectiveness when we do not coordinate our efforts.

Although this is my personal belief, I thought it important to pass it on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mabel K. Staupers

Mabel K. Staupers, R.N.
Executive Secretary

mks/el

Dr.W.E.B. Dubois
Nat'l. Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 - 5th Avenue
New York City.

[ENCLOSURE]

20-16-34

April 18, 1945.

Dear Mrs.Carter:

It has come to our attention that you have been designated as a representative of the National Council for Negro Women at the San Francisco Conference.

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, as a member of the Council would like to state its position in relation to its hopes and aims for the women of the world.

1) That the dignity of the individual be respected.

2) That they be given an opportunity for educational advancement that their status in the community may be raised.

3) That special talents in women be developed in relation to their social, economic, political and professional advancement.

4) That they be given the right of suffrage.

5) That discriminatory and degrading practices which now face women become the concern of the Government under which they live.

I thought it important to pass this on to you since for a long time I had been hoping that some group of women would bring these matters to the attention of the United Nations Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Mabel K. Staupers, R.N.
Executive Secretary

mks/el

Mrs.Eunice H. Carter
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

[NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEANS..]

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

CONSULTANT TO AMERICAN DELEGATION REPRESENTING

NATIONAL ASSOC FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SFRAN CONFERENCE SFRAN (TRY CONSULTANTS LOUNGE

OPERA HOUSE=

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEANS AND ADVISERS OF MEN IN NEGRO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. ENDORSE PROPOSAL TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF COLONIAL PEOPLES APPEAR BEFORE CONFERENCE. REVEALING THEIR PRESENT STATUS AND WHAT THEY HOPE THE POST WAR WORLD WILL MEAN IN TERMS OF DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION. ENDORSE REVIVING PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS AND MORE EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION OF SMALL NATIONS IN

ORGANIZATION TO KEEP THE PEACE=

WALTER R BROWN SEC.

20-16-31

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20-16-27

April 18, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Consultant to the American Delegation
N. A. A. C.P. Building
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The National Association of Ministers' Wives would like to make two suggestions in reply to your request for our resolutions to be considered for enforcement during the conference to be held at San Francisco:

1. Be it resolved to abolish the inhuman, ungodly, humilitating, irritating segregation of races so widely practiced in our country.

2. That, for a safe national or international foundation, we have the governments authorize the teaching of basic religious principles in all schools.

Thanking you, sincerely, for an opportunity for self expression, we remain

Yours, for a government in Christ,

The National Association for Ministers' Wives

Elizabeth Coles Bouey

(Mrs.) Elizabeth Coles Bouey,
President

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20-4-202

January 17th, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of January 9th and I am deeply interested in the Colonial Conference which you propose.

It happens that I head a department for Social Service for the National Baptist Convention and I would only wish to attend such a conference as a representative of the Convention because of the Convention's interest in Africa and in the mandate system and the religious freedom of the people of Africa.

At present I do not know any colonial representative and if you accepted us as an intragal part of the Conference I would appoint as spokesman for our organization, Dr. Rayford W. Logan, of the Department of History at Howard University. Dr. Logan is interested in the mandate system of colonial Africa and I should like to have him as our scholar with you at the Conference, whenever it is called. If I may be permitted, I should sit in on the Conference because of the like interest above mentioned.

Sincerely yours

James B. Adams

James B. Adams

JBA/gk

20-16-23

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April 18,1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP Offices
69-Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Conference
San Francisco
Resolutions

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of April 14th, which was sent to the office of the Secretary of the National Bar Association and then forwarded to me.

In reply, I wish to state that there has not been an Executive Committee meeting of the Association since our December annual Convention, and as such the organization has not taken any action in reference to the proposed San Francisco Conference, or adopted any resolutions relative to the same, per your inquiry. However, I have just requested Messrs Loren Miller and Vince M. Townsend, Jr., members of the Los Angeles, California Bar, to represent the National Bar Association as observers at the conference.

You may feel certain that the National Bar Association will cheerfully cooperate with you and the NAACP as Consultant to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

CWA/dwm

C. W. Anderson, Jr.

[Nat'l Builders Ass'n]

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20-13

July 16, 1945

Dear Mr. DuBois:

On June 7th we sent you an invitation to join us as a member of the Executive Council of National Citizens PAC. I hope that you have been giving this invitation your careful consideration and that before long we will have your acceptance.

The work ahead is momentous. In less than 15 months we will hold Congressional elections and the hopes of millions of people will either be sustained or broken by the kind of Congress we elect. Electing a good Congress, a truly representative Congress, requires one thing above all else, i.e. a heavy vote. In the past, those Congressional elections which have been held without the drawing card of a presidential campaign have generally resulted in light votes and far-from-representative congresses.

National Citizens PAC is focusing on the 1946 elections, and we are concentrating all our resources on stimulating political interest in the belief that most Americans will understand that political interest is true self-interest. We need your help in planning and executing our work. We need your help in any or all of the many forms it can take - advice, political activity, money, prestige.

This week C. B. Baldwin, our Executive Vice-Chairman and I are setting out on a coast-to-coast trip to survey the political picture. I do hope that you will supplement what Mr. Baldwin and I are going to be able to pick up in our travels by writing me your own observations of the political scene in your state at this time.

Looking forward to having you with us as we work to assure the people's peace, I am

Sincerely,

Elmer A. Benson
Chairman, Executive Council

uopwa #1

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ★ TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-5580

10

[NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE]

July 19, 1945

20-13-83

My dear Mr. Benson:

I shall be glad to join the Executive Council of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, but I cannot promise much in the way of money or work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Elmer A. Benson
Chairman, Executive Council
205 West 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

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Orson Welles
A. F. Whitney
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

General Counsel
John Abt

Treasurer
Jerome I. Udell

Comptroller
James H. McGill

Secretary
Clark Foreman

20-13-85

July 23, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The enclosed statement and letters were written as a result of a unanimous decision by the Steering Committee of National Citizens PAC at its last meeting.

We are sending covering letters and the statement to all members of Congress, the State Governors, Democratic and Republican State Chairmen, members of both the National Democratic and the National Republican Committees, and the members of the National Executive Council of National Citizens Political Action Committee.

I would appreciate any comments you might want to make on this material.

Sincerely yours,

C B Baldwin

C. B. Baldwin
Executive Vice Chairman

Encls - 3
uopwa #1

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ★ TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-5580

[NAT. CIT. ...]

COPY

July 23, 1945

Mr. Robert E. Hannegan, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hannegan:

The Steering Committee of the National Citizens Political Action Committee has adopted unanimously a statement on the question of racial and religious hatreds in American life. The last paragraphs of the attached statement read in part:

> "We request that the Chairmen of the Democratic and Republican parties call special meetings of their National Committees and publicly declare their support for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee; and declare themselves unalterably opposed to racial hatred and religious intolerance. . . The common citizenry of America want leadership. They ask for action now."

It is the opinion of our Steering Committee that both parties betrayed a callous indifference toward the democratic principle of equal job opportunity in the fight over Fair Employment Practices' appropriations. Particularly in the light of Democratic party platform pledges of 1944, we know that the Negro people, the Jewish people, Catholics, and other minority groups are fully conscious of this neglect. We believe that the elected officials of both major parties have a responsibility to the country and to their parties to use their full authority and prestige to see that party platforms and pledges are carried out.

20-13

As a national organization of independent voters we protest the inaction of the Democratic National Committee on this vital issue; we urge you to rectify this short-coming by positive, vigorous action now in behalf of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. We believe that a meeting of the Democratic National Committee should be called for this specific purpose.

Since we feel that both major party organizations share equal guilt in failure to act on this important issue, we are requesting similar action from both you and Mr. Herbert Brownell, Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

We are sending copies of these letters and the enclosed statement to the Governors of all states, to all Members of Congress, to all members of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, and to the State Chairmen of both parties, soliciting their views on this important subject.

Will you kindly advise our organization what action we may expect?

Sincerely yours,

Elmer A. Benson
Chairman, Executive Council

uopwa #1

[ENC 1945]

STATEMENT OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL CITIZENS PAC TO THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND TO THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHAIRMAN ON DISCRIMINATION

A long, difficult and costly war is approaching a victorious end; a victory for which millions on millions throughout the world have given their blood and lives. They have given gladly because in their own flesh and with their own minds they understood the naked unrestrained brutality and horror of fascism. Race superiority, race hatred, race and religious intolerance, every manner and form of race and religious abuse was and is approved Nazi and fascist practice.

The time has come to recognize that all doctrines of racial and religious hate must die. Not alone in fascist Germany or Japan, but in the hearts and minds of man, of free man, everywhere. This is a simple, clear thought which men who died in this war understood. It is an elementary belief which has become the profound conviction of millions on millions at home and abroad.

20-13

This war has been fought by different countries and groups for different reasons; but we are confident that within the hearts of the mothers and fathers, and in the hearts of our fighting men, the belief which gave them courage was the sure knowledge that we fought for human dignity, for elementary decency between man and man.

In our own national life, the seeds of fascist race and religious hate still exist. As honest citizens, we do not blink at this fact. We ask you to face it with us.

The F. E. P. C. is the one federal agency whose duty it is to prevent or correct discrimination in job opportunity because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Its birth as a war agency was symbolic. That the great Roosevelt had the inspiration and the faith to establish the F.E.P.C. will enshrine him as one who watered the roots of our democracy.

In recent days, an unparalleled attempt, brazen and ruthless, to destroy the F.E.P.C. has been made by those in our national life who would perpetuate here what our sons have died to uproot in Germany.

More than this, statements have been made on the floor of the Senate of the United States which Hitler himself would have found difficulty in rephrasing. Permit us to quote Senator Bilbo:

"There are a few Catholic priests in this country, who, along with some Jewish Rabbis are trying to line up with the Negroes in teaching social equality...Some of my best friends are Catholics...but that does not do away with the fact that some of them are rotten."

Senator Bilbo does not hesitate to vilify Catholics, Jews and Negroes. Perhaps the fact that Negroes worship side by side with whites in the Catholic Church in the South is considered by Senator Bilbo to be an unethical and irreligious practice.

Whatever his reasons, Senator Bilbo is talking fascism; he is preaching race and religious hate; he is giving free rein to blind prejudice.

We regret that public spokesmen of both parties did not instantaneously answer Senator Bilbo. We regret exceedingly that neither the House nor the Senate had the faith in democracy to pass full and adequate appropriations for F.E.P.C.

20-13

For the noble efforts of Representatives Norton, Marcantonio, and La Follette, of Senators Chavez, Morse, Aiken, and others, we have the highest praise. They lead the fight outside of and in large part against the established leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The people of America are watching the Congress. Indeed, they are watching the Democratic and Republican parties. In our opinion they are profoundly disturbed with the failure of the Congressional leadership of both parties to fight for the elementary democratic principle of job opportunity. We cannot express the regret and often, the anger, with which the Negro people, the Jewish people, all minority groups of race and religion have felt this abject failure of the Congress, and of the Democratic and Republican leadership.

May we go further? Disturbing reports from various sections of the nation tell us of a fresh flowering of anti-semitism. We hear echoes of anti-Catholic demagogery. We are conscious of systematic attacks on the Negro people.

We believe that America has come to a crossroads. One path through prejudice, race hate, religious intolerance is the path to fascism. The other, the path of democracy, calls upon all of us to fight day by day for equal opportunity under law in all walks of life.

A national crisis is impending; a crisis in the hearts and minds of the common citizenry; a crisis because we stand at the crossroads of fascism and democracy in the life of the nation.

Will you give leadership in this crisis? Will you join hands in this struggle? A long road lies ahead of us. Eternal vigilance and eternal struggle for equal rights: this is the path we have chosen. We ask you to join us. We beg you to join us.

The nation is moving forward now to difficult days, days when native fascists will attempt to organize national disunity. They will attempt to organize our common citizenry on the basis of carefully stimulated race and religious prejudice. To organize the prejudices of the people: this is the essence of fascist method.

As our millions of men and women return home, as millions of war workers shift jobs -- we may find unemployment in the millions.

20-13

We ask you to join us in meeting the basic need of the people for jobs and equal opportunity: this is democracy's method. To make democracy work -- this is our dedication.

Day by day, you and we shall face this crisis, these difficult days, this basic choice. In our hands and in yours, lies the supreme opportunity. We ask you to give leadership, to stand and fight for America's heritage.

The primitive democratic right protected by F.E.P.C. demands that you support this agency and similar legislation. We ask that the Congress enact permanent F.E.P.C. legislation. We ask every Congressman to sign Discharge Petition Number 4 to bring H.R. 2232 -- to create a permanent F.E.P.C. -- to the floor of the House for a vote. May we expect you to act, to act publicly now, to speak out now, to let it be known now, where you stand?

We request that the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican parties call special meetings of their National Committees and publicly declare their support for a permanent F.E.P.C.; and declare themselves unalterably opposed to racial hatred and religious intolerance. We request that the National Committees of both parties act now to execute their campaign pledges on F.E.P.C. made to our people in 1944.

The common citizenry of America want leadership. They ask for action now.

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Honorary Chairman

Sidney Hillman

Chairman Executive Council

Elmer A. Benson

Vice-Chairmen

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Verda White Barnes
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General Counsel

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Treasurer

Jerome I. Udell

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James H. McGill

Secretary

Clark Foreman

20-13-84

July 24, 1945

Mr. Mr. DuBois,

I am delighted that you have joined us as a member of the National Executive Council of National Citizens PAC. We have a big job ahead and we are going to do it.

For your information and appraisal I enclose a copy of a memorandum on organization which is subject to suggestions, additions, and revisions in consultation with state committees.

C. B. Baldwin, our Executive Vice-Chairman, and I are on a coast-to-coast tour of strategic states and cities. We will be in contact with the leading political figures and state and civic leaders in the communities we visit, and on our return I hope to have an interesting report to send you on the National political scene with particular respect to the 1946 congressional elections. The results of municipal elections and several contests to fill vacancies in the Congress since last November have given us ample warning that unless we can turn out a big vote in 1946 the forces of reaction will triumph. The recent claim of reaction that a Montana congressional election was evidence of a change in the public mind has no factual basis. Lethargy - political lethargy - which resulted in a vote far less than 1/2 of that last November in the same district was the cause for reaction's rejoicing.

We have also launched a campaign to raise funds, and I am happy to report that we are making progress in this direction, though raising funds for the costly business of political action is a never-ending task.

It is, as I said above, a big job that we have ahead. But it is a job we can do, if we all pitch in and help. You'll hear from us regularly about the work here in the national office and out in the field. Let me hear from you, when you have some suggestions - they are not only welcome, they are needed.

Yours sincerely,

Elmer A. Benson
Chairman, Executive Council

enc;

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ★ TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-5580

10

[NAT. CONC. & ART. CORP.]

Social News

March 28th, 1945

Dear Mr. DuBois:-

Aubrey Pankey, one of America's leading baritones, is giving a concert at Town Hall on Thursday evening, April 19th which I am delighted to support because he has been so generous with his time in singing for organization meetings, War Bond Rallies and for the men in the armed forces and especially because he has a great voice.

As you may know, Mr. Pankey spent some time in Europe singing in 60 European cities and has also made a Good-Will tour of South America with the approval of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In addition he has sung at Carnegie Hall and has recently returned from a tour of Western colleges and other organizations contributing to their inter-cultural programs.

20-15

More important than Mr. Pankey's distinction as a finished artist, is his contribution toward inter-racial unity and understanding. He brings a message of good will to peoples of all nationalities, races and creeds through his voice and is making a vital contribution to American culture.

I think all of us who are concerned with building a truly democratic America will want to support such an outstanding artist. I do hope that you will send me your reservation on the enclosed blank as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Alta Douglas

3 April 1945

My dear Mrs. Douglas:

I regret to say that on April nineteenth, I am planning to start for San Francisco and therefore cannot have the pleasure of listening to Mr. Pankey.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-15

Mrs. Alta Douglas
National Concert and Artists Corporation
711 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Nat Concert & Artists Corp

July 20, 1945

20-20-55

My dear Miss Jepsen:

I have been lecturing more or less widely ever since and even before 1900. I still deliver from 12 to 20 lectures a year before various organizations, including colored churches and schools, white churches and clubs.

I am not sure that you could be of any particular help to me in this respect, or I to you, but if you have any particular proposition I should be glad to consider it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Edythe Jepsen
Publicity and Promotion
National Concert and Artists Corporation
711 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, New York

NATIONAL CONCERT AND ARTISTS CORPORATION

711 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

LECTURE DIVISION
PHYLLIS MOIR
DIRECTOR

PLAZA 3-0820

45-02-02

May 25, 1945

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
c/o National Assn. for Advancement
of Colored Peoples
69 Fifth Avenue, N
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. DuBois:

Aren't there a great many things you would like to say personally to the American people at this time? If so would you be interested in speaking on the lecture platform this coming season under the management of National Concert and Artists Corporation?

We think there is a place peculiarly yours in the lecture field because of your own individual gifts, your authoritative position as the recognized Negro leader and your understanding of one of the international problems of peace.

National Concert and Artists Corporation books extensively in Negro Colleges and cultural organizations in addition to hundreds of other organizations throughout the country. We have on our list, at the present time, some outstanding personalities of the Negro race. I am enclosing some of their circulars.

The National Concert and Artists Corporation was formerly the Talent Division of the National Broadcasting Company but now functions as a separate organization. Our headquarters are in New York City and we have complete representation in Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco and Hollywood. The Lecture Division is headed by Miss Phyllis Moir, who was formerly associated with Winston Churchill. Her own experiences on the Lecture Platform as a celebrity, give her an acute awareness of all problems connected with it.

On our list are some of the most distinguished names of the day covering all branches of the arts and contemporary living. I do hope you are interested in speaking for us. I am sure we can work out a financial agreement that will be satisfactory to you.

Sincerely

Edythe Jepsen

Edythe Jepsen, Lecture Div.
Publicity and Promotion

EJ:eh

NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

718 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GEORGE L-P WEAVER, Director
Telephone: EXecutive 5581

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
James B. Carey, Chairman
Willard S. Townsend, Secretary
James J. Leary
Ferdinand Smith
Boyd Wilson

Telephoned from Washington for an appointment March 2d, 10:30 a.m.

20-2-29

February 21, 1945

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Director of Research
National Association For The
Advancement Of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I would like to come in to talk to you in the very near future in relation to some of the more important questions that should be included in the subjects to be discussed at the coming peace conference.

The way events are shaping up, it looks as though organized labor will be the most powerful voice speaking in behalf of the exploited and underprivileged throughout the world. Since you have devoted a lifetime to the study of these unfortunate groups, particularly the colonial peoples, you are the logical one to turn to.

I trust you will see your way clear to grant this request.

Very respectfully yours,

George L-P Weaver

George L-P Weaver
Director

GLPW/as

[NATIONAL CID COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH RACIAL DISCRIM]

9 March 1945

20-2-30

My dear Mr. Weaver:

Answering your letter of February twenty-first, I would be glad to make an appointment with you at any time to talk on the peace conference.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George L. P. Weaver
718 Jackson Place Northwest
Washington, D. C.

19 March 1945

20-2-31

My dear Mr. Weaver:

I am sorry to say that after all I find that I shall not be in town March twenty-fourth. However, I shall be here from now until the twenty-third and from the twenty-sixth through the month. I shall be glad to see you during these days.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George L-P Weaver
National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination
718 Jackson Place Northwest
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

718 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

GEORGE L-P WEAVER, Director
Telephone: EXecutive 5581

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

James B. Carey, Chairman
Willard S. Townsend, Secretary
James J. Leary
Ferdinand Smith
Boyd Wilson

April 5, 1945

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association For The Advancement
Of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-9-1

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are some materials from the World Trade Union Conference recently held in London which I think will be of interest to you. I would like to specifically call your attention to paragraph 25 of the World Trade Union Conference Declaration on the trade union attitude to the peace settlement.

The full proceedings are still at the publisher. As soon as they are available, I will send one to you.

Sincerely yours,

George L-P Weaver

George L-P Weaver
Director

Enclosures

[NATIONAL CIO...]

July 9, 1945

20-9-2

My dear Mr. Weaver:

I am expecting to be in Washington, Wednesday, July 11th. I should like to talk with you about the Pan-African Congress.

I will telephone you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

Mr. George L. P. Weaver
Care of National C.I.O.
1718 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

[NATIONAL CIO, ...]

September 14, 1945

Mr. George Weaver
Congress of Industrial Organization
718 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

20-9-3

My dear Mr. Weaver:

I presume that this letter will find you in Paris but even in that case, I hope to get into communication with you.

After a long delay, the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked me to attend the Pan African Congress called to meet in London, October 15th to 21st. Whether I can get there or not, I do not know. I am writing the State Department and shall try to get a British visa. Of course, I should like very much to come by Paris and see something of the Trade Union Congress but I am afraid it is too late for that. Any advice or help that you can give will be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH DISCRIMINATION

718 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

GEORGE L-P WEAVER, Director,
Telephone: EXecutive 5581

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
James B. Carey, Chairman
Willard S. Townsend, Secretary
James J. Leary
Boyd L. Wilson
Morris Muster
Harry Read
M. Hedley Stone
Geo. W. Crockett, Jr.

September 21, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-8-42

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am delighted to hear that you are going to attend the Pan African Congress in London.

I was not able to arrange to attend the Labor Conference in Paris. However, if you are able to get to Paris I am sure Mr. Carey would be more than delighted to see you and offer any assistance that you may need. Mr. Carey is staying at the Grand Hotel in Paris. I hope if you get there you have a chance to look in on him.

If there is any way that we can aid you in cutting through the red tape which generally follows dealings with the State Department, please let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

George L-P Weaver

George L-P Weaver
Director

[National Convention of the Churches]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DR W E B DUBOISE=

69 5 AVE NYK

=THANK YOU FOR YOUR TELEGRAM RELATIVE TO RESOLUTION FROM OUR RELIGIOUS BODY. THIS ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN BY OUR OFFICIAL BOARD AND IS BEING FORWARDED TO YOU VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY=

BISHOP K H BURRUSS PRESIDENT NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CHURCHES OF GOD..

20-21-76

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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90-16

San Francisco Conference

May 4, 1945

Memorandum re: Attached "Analysis of the Hoover-Gibson Program."

With the hopes of the whole world centered on the United Nations Conference meeting in San Francisco, there is no greater duty before all patriotic Americans than to exert every effort toward helping to insure the success of the conference and toward combatting every effort to undermine it.

It is universally acknowledged that the cornerstone of any effective world organization must be continued unity of the Anglo-American-Soviet coalition. Therefore the greatest danger to the establishment of effective world cooperation lies in the efforts to cause dissension among these three nations, which at the present time are finding their main expression in a new outcropping of attacks on our Soviet Ally. Since the interests of our country require above all else the success of the San Francisco conference along the lines laid down by Franklin D. Roosevelt and being carried forward by President Truman, the present anti-Soviet campaign which threatens the success of the conference, represents the greatest single danger to the security and welfare of our country.

For this reason the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship considers it essential to issue a most serious warning against the continuance of the anti-Soviet campaign, and to clarify for the American people the issues that are being utilized to stir up anti-Soviet feeling. Each of these issues will be dealt with in a series of commentaries to be issued during the coming weeks to important leaders of public opinion. The first, dealing with the type of amendments that are being offered not to strengthen but rather, we feel, to weaken the structure of world security, is enclosed herewith.

Edwin S. Smith, Director
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.

uopwa 19-91
enc.

mailed copy of letter to U.S. Delegation dated 5/16/45

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[NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN]

20-16-41

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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WU F5 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC APR 16

WALTER WHITE, NTL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE:

=WE ARE HAPPY IN THE THOUGHT THAT YOU ARE ONE OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE AS A CONSULTANT TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE WORLD SECURITY CONFERENCE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN VIEW OF THE EXCELLENT THOUGHT GIVEN TO THIS PROBLEM BY YOUR ORGANIZATION AND THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN ENDORSES THE POINT OF VIEW EXPRESSED IN THE RESOLUTIONS OF THESE TWO ORGANIZATIONS FROM THIS STANDPOINT WE OFFER THE USE OF OUR NAME AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE 61/2 MILLION NEGRO WOMEN OF AMERICA AND PUSHING FOR CONFERENCE CONSIDERATION OF THESE POINTS AFFECTING THE COLONIAL

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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AND DEPENDENT AREAS OF THE WORLD=

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE.61/2.856A

20-16-42

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[NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOC.] ✓

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NBP44 23=CHARLOTTESVILLE VIR 19 100P

1945 APR 19 PM 1 32

DR W E B DUBOIS=

69 5TH AVE= 1

PLEASE INCLUDE NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION AND NATIONAL DENTAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION IN YOUR RESOLUTION FOR WORLD PEACE BASED ON EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL=

D H TURPIN PRESIDENT.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

20-16-40

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(NATIONAL GAY NORTHEASTERNERS)

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WUA11 NL PD 2 EXTRA=NEWYORK NY APR 20

W E B DUBOIS, CONSULTANT TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

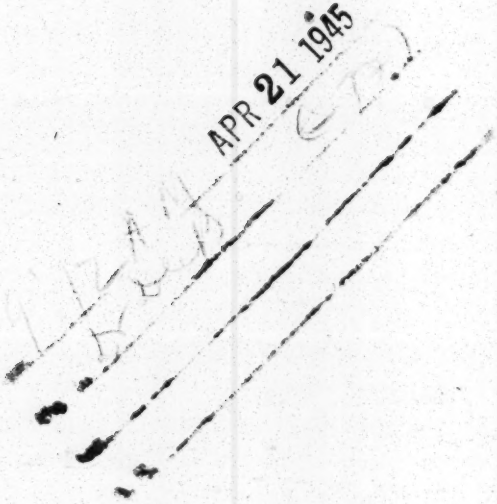
SANFRANCISCO CONFERENCE NAACP=

LIKE ALL GOOD AMERICANS THE GAY NORTHEASTERNERS WHOLEHEARTDLY SUPPORT THE FFORTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO RATIFY AT SANFRANCISCO THE PROPOSALS FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION MADE AT DUMBARTON OAKS. NATURALLY WE BELIEVE OTHER PROPOSITIONS SUCH AS THE COLONIAL QUESTION SHOULD BE GIVEN WISE CONSIDERATION BUT IN THEIR NATURAL SEQUENCE. WORLD ORGANIZATION COMES FIRST WE TRUST NAACP AND OTHER LIKE ORGANIZATIONS WILL USE ALL AVAILABLE MEANS TO BRING ABOUT THESE CONDITIONS=

NATIONAL GAY NORTHEASTERNERS JANICE KING NATIONAL PRESIDENT=

912A APR 21....

SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE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(40)

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N326 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14

1945 APR 14 PM 5 40

=W E B DU BOIS=

CARE ROY WILKINS=DELIVER 409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

=YOUR TELEGRAM 13 TO NATL HOSPITAL ASSC MR R R CARNEY PRES 4666 STATE ST CHICAGO ILLINOIS IS UNDELIVERED. MR RR CARNEY HAS BEEN DECEASED SINCE 1942=

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20-21-86

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(N.I.A.L.)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

CANDIDATES FOR MEMBERSHIP WHO HAVE QUALIFIED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENTS

1945

Alphabetically Arranged

ART

FRANK W. BENSON

Born, Salem, Massachusetts, 1862

Principal Works: Represented in Cincinnati Museum; Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh; Buffalo Fine Arts Academy; Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Worcester Art Museum; Indianapolis Art Association; Chicago Art Institute; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Detroit Athletic Club; Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D. C.; Detroit Institute of Art; Art Institute, Chicago; Butler Art Institute, Youngstown, Ohio; Harrison Gallery, Los Angeles.

Awards: Medal, Chicago Exposition, 1893; Carnegie Institute Pittsburgh, 1899; 2 prizes Boston Art Club; 2 prizes Jordan Gallery, Boston; prize, Cleveland Art Association; Shaw Fund prize, Society of American Artists, New York; Clark prize, Hallgarten prize, National Academy of Design; Ellsworth prize, Chicago, and silver medal, Paris Exposition, 1900; Gold Medal, Carnegie Institute, 1903; Lippincott prize, Philadelphia, 1904; 2 Gold Medals, St. Louis Exposition, 1904; Gold Medal, Philadelphia Art Club, 1906; Silver Medal, Corcoran Gallery, Washington, 1907; Potter Palmer Medal and Prize, Chicago, 1910; Logan Prize, Chicago Society of Etchers, 1918; William A. Clark Prize, and Corcoran Gold Medal, Corcoran Gallery, 1919; T. W. Logan Gold Medal, Chicago, 1922; Gold Medal, Sesquicentennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1926.

20-3

AYMAR EMBURY, 2nd

Born, New York City, 1880

Principal Works: Architect for the Port Authority of the Lincoln Tunnel; the anchorage of the George Washington Bridge and the approach road through High Bridge Park; Triboro Bridge, including all approaches; Henry Hudson and Whitestone Bridges; Central Park Zoo; Prospect Park Zoo; Orchard Beach bath Houses; Buildings along the East River Drive; Gas Stations and Bridges on Grand Central Parkway, New York. Architect or consulting architect for the Rainbow Bridge at Niagara Falls; St. George Bridge at St. George, Delaware; Aqueduct and Jamaica Race Tracks; Guild Hall, Easthampton, Long Island; also numerous library buildings, residences, banks, clubs, etc. Has practiced in New York since 1901. Instructor in architecture, Princeton University, 1904 - 1905. Architect Park Department City of New York; Member President's Advisory Committee on Architecture. Author: 100 Country Houses, 1908; The Dutch Colonial House, 1912; Country Houses, 1914; Early American Churches, 1914; The Livable House, 1917; Asher Benjamin, 1917.

EDWARD HOPPER

Born, Nyack, New York, 1882

Principal Works: Represented in Metropolitan Museum; British Museum; Phillips Memorial Gallery; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; Art Institute of Chicago; Brooklyn Museum; Fogg Museum, Delgado Museum, New Orleans; New York Public Library; California State Library; Lewisohn Collection; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Museum of Modern Art and Whitney Museum, New York; Cleveland Museum of Art; Addison Gallery; Indianapolis Museum; Toledo, Ohio Museum; Museum of University of Nebraska; Randolph Macon College for Women, Lynchburg, Va.; Newark Museum and Library of Congress. Awards: W. A. Bryan prize for etching, International Print Makers Exhibition, Los Angeles, 1923; Logan prize, Chicago Society of Etchers, 1923; Baltimore Museum Art Award, 1931; Temple Gold Medal, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1935; Purchase prize, Worcester, Mass., Museum, 1935; First W. A. Clark award and gold medal, Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D. C., 1937.

FRANKLIN WATKINS

Born, New York City, 1894

Principal Works: Represented in Museum of Modern Art, Whitney Museum of American Art, Hamilton College, all New York, N. Y.; Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.; Smith College Art Museum, Northampton, Massachusetts; Rodin Museum, Pennsylvania; Courtland Collection, London, England.

Awards: First prize and Lehman prize Carnegie Institute, International Exhibition, 1931; bronze medal, Paris Exposition, 1937, and Musee de Jeu de Paume, Paris, 1938; 1st prize and Corcoran gold medal, 1939; 2d prize in unrestricted division International Art Exhibit at Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939; Beck gold medal for painting, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1941; also awards at Chicago Art Institute; Philadelphia Sketch Club, Art Club, Philadelphia.

LITERATURE

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

Born, Chicago, Illinois, 1881

Principal Works: Tobogganing on Parnassus, 1910; In Other Words, 1912; By and Large, 1914; Weights and Measures, 1917; Something Else Again, 1920; Overset, 1922; So There!, 1922; So Much Velvet, 1924; Half a Loaf, 1927; Christopher Columbus, 1931; The Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys, 1935; The Melancholy Lute, 1936. Wrote (with O. Henry) musical comedy, "Lo," 1909; The Week-end Companion (with D. Taylor), 1942. With Chicago Journal, Chicago, Illinois, 1903-04, New York Evening Mail, 1904-13, New York Tribune, 1914-21, New York World, 1922-31, New York Herald Tribune, 1931-37; with New York Post, 1938-41; conducted "Conning Tower" column. Member cast of "Information Please," radio program, since 1938. Translater of Horace, Propertius and other Latin poets.

ROBERT P. T. COFFIN

Born, Brunswick, Maine, 1892

Principal Works: Christchurch (poems), 1924; Book of Crowns and Cottages (essays), 1925; Dew and Bronze (verse), 1927; Golden Falcon (verse), 1929; An Attic Room (essays), 1929; Laud, Storm Center of Stuart England (biography), 1930; The Dukes of Buckingham (biography), 1931; Portrait of an American (biography), 1931; The Yoke of Thunder (verse), 1932; Ballads of Square-Toed Americans (verse), 1933; Lost Paradise (autobiography), 1934; Strange Holiness (verse), 1935; Red Sky in the Morning (novel) 1935; John Dawn (novel), 1936; Saltwater Farm (verse), 1937; Kennebec: Cradle of Americans (Rivers of America series; historical), 1937; New Poetry of New England (Turnbull Lectures, Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1938; Maine Ballads (verse), 1938; Collected Poems (verse), 1939; Captain Abby and Captain John (biography), 1939; Thomas-Thomas-Ancil-Thomas (novel), 1941; Christmas in Maine, 1941; Primer for America (poems), 1942. Compiler: A Book of Seventeenth Century Prose (with A. M. Witherspoon), 1942.

Awards: Gold medal as national honor poet, 1935; golden rose of New England Poetry Society, 1936; Pulitzer prize for poetry (Strange Holiness), 1936.

BERNARD DE VOTO

Born, Ogden, Utah, 1897

Principal Works: The Crooked Mile, 1924; The Chariot of Fire, 1926; The House of Sun-Goes-Down, 1928; (in collaboration) The Taming of the Frontier (history), 1925; The Writer's Handbook (text book), 1927; Mark Twain's America, 1932; We Accept with Pleasure, 1934; Forays and Rebuttals, 1936; Minority Report, 1940; Essays on Mark Twain, 1942; Year of Decision, 1943; Literary Fallacy, 1944; As "John August" Troubled Star, 1939; Rain Before Sevon, 1940; Advance Agent, 1942.

Editor: The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, 1930; Mark Twain in Eruption, 1940. General editor, Americana Deserta; editor, Harvard Graduates' Magazine, 1930-32; editor of The Easy Chair, Harper's Magazine since 1935, the Saturday Review of Literature, 1936-38.

Contributor of stories, literary articles, historical essays, reviews to magazines, etc.

LILLIAN HELLMAN

Born, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1905

Principal Works: The Children's Hour, 1934; Days to Come, 1936; The Little Foxes, 1939; Watch on the Rhine, 1941; Four Plays, 1942; The Searching Wind, 1944; With Horace Liveright, Inc., publishers, New York City, 1924-25; theatrical play-reader, 1927-30; book reviewer for Herald Tribune, 1925-28; scenario writer since 1935. Dramatized for motion pictures: The Dark Angel, 1935; These Three, 1935-36; Dead End, 1937; The Little Foxes, 1940.

Awards: Annual Award of the New York Drama Critics Circle, 1941 for Watch on the Rhine.

CHRISTOPHER La FARGE

Born, New York City, 1897.

Principal Works: Hoxie Sells His Acres, 1934; Each to the Other, A Novel in Verse, 1939; Poems and Portraits, 1940; The Wilsons: A story of a family (novel) 1941; East by Southwest, 1944. Contributor to magazines.

JAMES THURBER

Born, Columbus, Ohio, 1894

Principal Works: Is Sex Necessary? (with E. B. White), 1929; The Owl in the Attic, and Other Perplexities 1931; The Seal of the Bedroom and Other Predicaments, 1932; My Life and Hard Times, 1933; The Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze, 1935; Let Your Mind Alone, 1937; The Last Flower, 1939; The Cream of Thurber, 1939; The Male Animal (play), (with Elliott Nugent), (1940; Fables for Our Times, 1940; My World—and Welcome to It!, 1942; Many Moons, 1943; Men, Women and Dogs; a book of drawings, 1943.

In journalistic work since 1920; reporter Columbus Dispatch, 1920-1924; with Chicago Tribune in Paris, 1924-25; Member of the staff of the New York Evening Post, 1925; contributor to the New Yorker since 1926.

ELWYN B. WHITE

Born, Mount Vernon, New York, 1899

Principal Works: The Lady is Cold (poems), 1929; Is Sex Necessary? (with J. Thurber), 1929; Every Day is Saturday, 1934; The Fox of Peapack, 1938; Quo Vadimus, 1939. Editor: Ho Hum, 1931; Another Ho Hum, 1932; A Subtreasury of American Humor (with Katharine S. White), 1941. One Man's Meat, 1942 (a Dept. in Harper's Magazine). Editorial writer and contributor New Yorker Magazine.

MUSIC

CHARLES IVES

Born, Danbury, Connecticut, 1874

Principal Works: (orchestral) Fourth Symphony (2 movements); Fourth of July; Lincoln (for Chorus and Orchestra); Symphony "Holidays" first movement; Theatre Set; Three Places in New England. (choral) Sixty-Seventh Psalm. (vocal) Charlie Rutlage; Evening; Serenity; Seven Songs; The Greatest Man; Walking; Where the Eagle (Cos Cob Song Volume); Eighteen Songs; The Cage; Thirty-four Songs. (Chamber music): Sonata for Violin and Piano "Children's Day at the Camp Meeting." (Piano:) Movement from Theatre Set; Concord Sonata.

JEROME D. KERN

Born, New York City, 1885

Principal Works: Very Good Eddie, 1915; Theodore & Co., 1916; Have a Heart, 1917; Love o'Mike, 1917; O Boy, 1917; Leave It to Jane, 1917; O Lady, Lady, 1918; Rock-a-Bye Baby, 1918; Head Over Heels, 1919; She's a Good Fellow, 1919; The Night Boat, 1920; Sally, 1920; Good Morning Dearie, 1921; The Cabaret Girl, 1922; The Bunch and Judy, 1922; The Beauty Prize, 1923; Stepping Stones, 1923; Dear Sir, 1924; Sunny, 1925; The City Chap, 1925; Criss-Cross, 1926; Lucky, 1927; the score for "Show Boat," 1929; Men of the Sky (musical film-drama), 1930; The Cat and the Fiddle (musical love story), 1931; Music in the Air, 1932; Roberta, 1933; I Dream Too Much, 1935; Swing Time, 1936; When You're in Love, 1937; Joy of Living (motion picture) 1938; Very Warm for May, 1939; One Night in the Tropics (motion picture), 1940; Scenario for Orchestra, (based on Show Boat) first performance by Cleveland Orchestra, 1941. Mark Twain, suite for orchestra, 1943.

A group of variations on eight of his most familiar songs has been widely played in concert and recorded (Decca) by the Gordon String Quartet. He specializes in application modern school harmony to lighter forms of opera.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
~~69 FIFTH AVENUE~~ 20 West 40th Street
NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

20 November 1945

My dear Miss Geffen:

We are expecting Dr. Du Bois to return from London on November twenty-sixth.

Please note our change in address.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Irene Diggs

20-18

Miss Felicia Geffen
National Institute of Arts and Letters
633 West 155th Street
New York 32, N. Y.

[NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD]

ROBERT W. KENNY
ATTORNEY GENERAL

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Conference

May 22, 1945 San Francisco

20-16-7

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Associate Consultant
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The National Lawyers Guild will act as host at a cocktail party in honor of the Consultants to the World Conference on Thursday, May 24th, from 5 to 7 o'clock in my office here on the Sixth Floor of the State Building, Civic Center, San Francisco.

We trust that because of all consultants sharing a basic common interest, that as many of this group as possible will be able to be with us at that time.

With cordial regards.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. KENNY
Attorney General

Arranged Interviews

Pan Africa

H1/B8/04

THIS CARD TO BE SHOWN TO THE HALL PORTER ON THE FIRST VISIT

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB

Mr. W.E.B. duBois

has been elected a Temporary Member of the National Liberal Club from 17. 11. 45. to 16. 12. 45., both dates inclusive.

G. R. LEGRYS,
Acting Secretary

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2D-16-25

National Medical Association, Inc.

ORGANIZED 1895
Constituent State and Local Societies
John A. Andrew Clinical Society
National Insurance Examiners Association
National Medical Association Woman's Auxiliary

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
2510 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

April 19, 1945

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Attention of Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Consultant
American Delegation

The National Medical Association subscribes to the following that should be done at the San Francisco Conference. Note:

1. Health problems considered and participation in the Negro health workers in those countries and provinces comparable to Liberia, Virgin Islands and South America. That the present restrictions facing minority peoples and professional workers may not rule them out of participation here and there.

2. Better hospitalization and such facilities be made available to minority people, both professional and patient within the provincial boundaries of the continent of United States of America and its dependencies or countries who the United States may be protectorate of such people.

3. Abolishment of segregation in the armed forces.

4. Better medical research facilities made available for minority professionals and returning G. I.'s be given equal opportunity for medical education.

5. Negro doctors will serve on boards for examining returning veterans when being discharged.

20-16-26

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6. We are bitterly opposed to the establishment of any segregated veterans facilities.

E. I. Robinson, M.D.

E. I. ROBINSON, M. D.
President

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Gary, Ind.
J. G. Gathings, M. D., '45
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National Organizer, St. Louis, Mo.

20-16-24

National Medical Association, Inc.

ORGANIZED 1895
Constituent State and Local Societies
John A. Andrew Clinical Society
National Insurance Examiners Association
National Medical Association Woman's Auxiliary

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
2510 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

APR 23 1945
11522

April 19, 1945

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

If inclosed information is too late for Doctor DuBois to have before leaving for the coast, I will be glad to hand him copy of same in San Francisco as I plan attending the meeting.

The telegram went to Norfolk, Virginia was relayed to me by mail, therefore, I am late in answering.

You might advise me as to where Doctor DuBois will be stopping in San Francisco inorder that I might hand him statement.

Very truly,

E. I. Robinson, M.D.

E. I. ROBINSON, M. D.
President

EIR:PB
Enc.

Telephone MOnument 2-4570

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

MAX YERGAN, President
EDWARD E. STRONG, Executive Sec'y.*
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DOROTHY K. FUNN, Labor Secretary
MAYME BROWN, Director of Organization

* On leave in the Armed Forces

National Office
307 Lenox Ave., Room 204
New York City
113

January 6, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Research Director, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-15-52

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We would be greatly honored to have you as our guest at the meeting of our National Executive Board on Sunday, January 14, 1:00 P.M., at the Institute for International Democracy, 23 West 26 Street, New York City.

Our appreciation of your contributions toward furthering and cementing the unity of the Negro people with the democratic coalition makes us especially desirous of having your help in our discussions of the program by which the Congress will promote the united effort for full integration of the Negro people in all phases of American life as a major factor in achieving final victory in 1945.

For your convenience in reply, a self-stamped addressed envelope is enclosed.

Very sincerely yours,

Max Yergan

Max Yergan,
President

Enc.
MY:rj
uopwa: 19

17 January 1945

20-15-53

My dear Mr. Yergan:

I regret to say that I was unable to attend the meeting of your executive board January 14. I appreciate the kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Max Yergan
National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

[Natn'l Negro Insurance Ass'n]

20-16-43

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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WUF196 DL PD=ATLANTA GA 19 355P

W E B DUBOIS=
:NAACT=

:THE NATIONAL NEGRO INSURANCE ASSOCIATION HAS NOT HELD A GENERAL SESSION SINCE JUNE OF 1944 THEREFORE WOULD NOT HAVE SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS TO BE BOUGHT BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT SANFRANCISCO/WE FEEL HOWEVER THAT YOU KNOW THE DESIRES OF AMERICAN NEGROES IN GENERAL AND WILL UTILIZE EVERY AVAILABLE OPPORTUNITY THAT WE REALIZE FULL AMERICAN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

20-16-44

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CITIZENSHIP FREEDOM OF EXERCISE IN THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL WELFARE NEGROES BEING FULLY AWARE OF THE ACCOMPANYING RESPONSIBILITIES TO OBTAIN UNDER A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT WE ARE FOURTUNATE TO HAVE YOU REPRESSENT US AS CONSSULTANT TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT SANFRANCISCO=

CHARLLES W GREEN PRESIDENT
NATIONAL NEGRO INSURANCE ASSOCIATION.
524P.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Jan. 31
5:10 PM

Miss Diggs -

My apologies please. This came over the teletype this afternoon. I have requested Western Union hereafter to please deliver messages for Dr. Du Bois in a sealed envelope.

CTFreeland.

20-10-39

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[National Negro Museum and Historical Foundation]

WUA216 DL PD=CHICAGO ILL JAN 31 313P

DR W E B DUBOIS OFFICE OF NAACP=

=MAYOR KELLY HAS ISSUED PROCLAMATION OBSERVING FEB 11 TO 18 NEGRO HISTORY WEEK IN CHICAGO NATIONAL NEGRO MUSEUM AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATION ALONG WITH OVER 100 OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ARE SPONSERING A MASS RALLY CLIMAXING ACTIVITIES OF WEEK ON SUNDAY FEB 18 AT DUSALLE HIGH SCHOOL COMMITTEE ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOU AS MAIN SPEAKER ON TOPIC PLANNING THE NEGROS FUTURE WILL YOU BE WITH US —

20-10-40

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PLEASE WIRE COLLECT TERMS OF ACCEPTANCE=

=SAMUEL STRATTON.

.505P..

20-10-41.

11 18 100 18.

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[National Negro Museum & Historical Foundation]

Charge to the account of $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

1 February 1945 collect

Mr. Samuel Stratton
c/o Du Sable High School
Chicago, Illinois

20-10-42

REGRET TO SAY THAT I AM SPEAKING IN DETROIT FEBRUARY EIGHTEENTH.

W. E. B. Du Bois

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 AS THE PLAYGROUND ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

April 18, 1945

11179

APR 19 1945

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. White

20-16

Your telegram to Mr. Attwell regarding presentations at the San Francisco Conference has come in his absence on an expended field trip. Copy of your message and this acknowledgment will be forwarded to Mr. Attwell promptly. The National Recreation Association has not taken any special action with reference to the San Francisco Meeting, nor does it have any special presentation for consideration by the delegates of that body. Of course, our Association is fully in accord with all groups which trust that from this highly important peace conference there will come an international organization and working plan which will insure to all groups throughout the entire world greater opportunity for richer and more abundant living.

Sincerely yours

Chas E. Reed

Charles E. Reed
Manager, Field Department

CER/es

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[Natnl Soc. of Med. Technologists]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

124

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)N162 DH DM=NEWYORK NY APR 15 1945 APR 15 PM 2 29

W E B DUBOIS, NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMTN OF
COLORED PEOPLE. CARE WALKER OR RAY WILKINS
409 EDGECOMBE AVE DELIVER=

YOUR TELEGRAM OF APR 13TH TO NATIONAL SOCIETY OF MEDICAL TECHNOLOGISTS MISS MARY A POPE SEC PROVIDENT HOSPITAL CHICAGO ILL IS UNDELIVERED. BOTH PARTYS NOT KNOWN THERE=

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO SERVICE BUREAU
WORTH 2 7300.

20-12-43

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WUF187 21 10 EXTRA=MILWAUKEE WIS APR 16 218P

WALTER WHITE, SECRETARY=

: NATIONAL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

TELEGRAM ACKNOWLEDGED OUR RESOLUTION FOR SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE WILL FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY:

20-21-74

MOST BISHOP DAVID WM SHORT PRESIDENT NATIONAL I
DAVID SPIRITUAL TEMPLE OF CHRIST CHURCH UNION INC.
MOST BISHOP.418P.....B

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

4 P M APR 16 1945

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY ROOM 826 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TELEPHONES: CHELSEA 3-1838-39

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
GENERAL SECRETARY

LESTER B. GRANGER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
JULIUS A. THOMAS
DIRECTOR

FIELD SECRETARIES:
REGINALD A. JOHNSON
GUICHARD PARRIS

SECRETARY, BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE:
ANN TANNEYHILL

April 9, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Re: ROBINSON, Audrey Clinton
189 Mary Street
Galesburg, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The individual whose name appears above, has filed a personnel record with this Bureau, and has indicated a desire to be considered as a candidate for future employment with the National Urban League or one of its affiliated organizations.

We are anxious to complete the personnel record by securing statements from persons who can evaluate the professional training and ability of the applicant.

The applicant has given your name as a reference. From your knowledge of the background, education, and employment experiences of the applicant, and from contacts you have had with him, you are doubtless in a position to give an estimate of his abilities, and to tell us something about his character and personality.

If possible, your statement should give information on personal qualities, work performance, administrative ability, and any qualifications and assets for working in the field of race relations.

Your statement will be greatly appreciated, for it will assist us in evaluating the candidate's fitness. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,
BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE
National Urban League
by Ann Tanneyhill

Enc.
AT:HS

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes.

13 April 1945

My dear Madam:

20-9-6

I have known Mrs. Audrey Clinton Robinson for several years and know her family. She was a student in my classes at Atlanta University. I think you will find her a very helpful person of excellent character and capable of doing good work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ann Tanneyhill
National Urban League
1133 Broadway, Room 826
New York 10

[NATION'S SCHOOLS]

The NATION'S SCHOOLS
ARTHUR B. MOEHLMAN, Editor
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

October 17, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-24-113

A copy of your recent publication, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: Colonies and Peace was recently sent me as a review copy by Harcourt-Brace. I have been tremendously impressed by your thesis and the skill with which you develop it. I believe this book should be widely read by American school administrators and I have been pondering for some time on a method to make the presentation concerning it more effective than is possible by means of a conventional book review. Here is my suggestion:

I would appreciate your attempting to summarize your dynamic and quite explosive thesis within the compass of 800 words, emphasizing the implications of the thesis for public education. I would like to publish such an article in The NATION'S SCHOOLS; you may carry a footnote reference to your book. My idea is that so brief an article, properly presented, would attract the reading attention of the schoolmen and stimulate them to the desire for further reading.

Much to my regret we cannot offer you any financial recompense for the article although I would hope that the sales stimulus given to your books would serve as recompense for the trouble of writing such a summary.

May I also take this opportunity to compliment you on DUSK OF DAWN, which I enjoyed reading last year.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Moehlman

ABM/s

[NATION'S SCHOOLS]

********** 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-23-117

My dear Sir:

Your letter of October 17, found me in England attending the Fifth Pan African Congress. On account of difficulties of transportation I was unable to return until November 26, when I landed at LaGuardia Field. I have your letter before me and if you still want a summary of my book Color and Democracy, I will be glad to prepare it for you.

Please let me know at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur B. Moehlman
The Nation's Schools
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The NATION'S SCHOOLS
ARTHUR B. MOEHLMAN, Editor
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

December 4, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

21-15-20

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of November 29 concerning the possibility of your writing an article on the subject of Color and Democracy. Rather than a regular summary of the book, I suggest that you write a striking 800-word article based on the central thesis of the book. I believe such a presentation would be most effective in arousing school people to read the volume in its entirety.

I shall look forward to receiving such an article and will plan to use it in an early issue of 1946 if you can have it in my office by January first.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Moehlman

ABM/s

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8800

February 6,1945

20-20-87

Dear Doctor DuBois: I am sure you are acquainted with the work that NEGRO DIGEST has done in the Negro magazine field since its beginning nearly three years ago. When we started publication, the idea was to condense a great number of articles appearing in leading magazines and other periodicals in the country so that they could be brought in one book to the Negro population and a large group of white liberals who are very much interested in the Negro problem. We have made great strides and today can say with pride that we are the biggest monthly Negro publication in America if not the world.

In our experience of the past two years, we have discovered a number of facts concerning the type of material which is published in most of the mass circulated magazines in America. While the character of this material has made great advances during this war period, it is still evident that there is a need for pointed, wide-awake material which actually comes to grips with a number of the problems of the Negro people. There is still too much portrayal of Negroes as servile, subservient inferiors. There is no effort made in most of the magazines to point up the valuable contributions that Negroes have made to American life and to give a true picture of the "darker brother."

In line with these findings, we are endeavoring to change slightly the character of NEGRO DIGEST. We want to make it perhaps about fifty per cent digest material and fifty per cent original contributions from leading Negro and white writers and authorities on the race question. In order to do this, we are asking your cooperation.

We are inviting you, along with a number of other prominent authors and authorities in this field - white and Negro - to become a contributing editor. The obligations involved are not as extensive as the title would seemingly connote. What we are asking you is to agree to write one, two, or perhaps three articles a year for NEGRO DIGEST on subjects which will be suggested by us. These need not be too long, perhaps a minimum of a thousand words depending, of course, on the nature of the subject. We will agree to pay you a minimum of $25.00 for each article. We do not want you to feel that we are asking you to agree to anything as

20-20-88

stringent as a written contract that will absolutely bind you to do a set number of articles per year, but would like you to make a mental note of agreement to do these articles and to attempt, as best you can within the limitations of your schedule, to make these contributions.

We know that the designated payment is not much, but in the present stage of our development, this is the best financial compensation we can offer. We hope that you will feel, along with us, that you are helping to build the magazine, and that as the magazine grows, the amount of compensation will increase.

NEGRO DIGEST feels that in many respects it is pioneering in this field since virtually no Negro magazine in the past has attempted to reach a broad interracial audience with material which ordinarily would not find its way into the pages of white magazines. We still stand by our policy of attempting to present a balanced, unbiased, sober view of the race problem, giving our readers as often as possible both sides whenever there are two sides to a situation. That has been the thought behind our Round Table, and although at times we have been criticized for publishing the point of view of many southern whites, we still feel that open, above-board debate of these issues contributes to better race relations and helps to douse many of the wild, hysterical rumors which sometimes lead to unfortunate tension and violence. Free discussion is the American way, and we hope to make NEGRO DIGEST a champion of the American way of life.

Please let us hear from you as soon as possible on your reaction to this proposal whether your response is negative or affirmative. If you agree to be a contributing editor, we would like to list your name in our publication as such.

I want to thank you for your cooperation in the past, and hope to have you as co-editor in the future.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Johnson

John H. Johnson
Editor and Publisher

JHJ:mc

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N.Y.

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8900

20-13-32

February 9, 1945

Dear Doctor DuBois: Please accept our sincere apologies for confusing the forthcoming publication of your own book Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace with that of One America our Racial and National Minorities which is to be published by Prentice Hall and Company.

In the light of this correction, we are wondering if you will consider favorably our request for permission to use excerpts from your book in the book section of NEGRO DIGEST.

As we pointed out before, we will be able to pay our usual compensation of $50.00 to either the publisher or the author. Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

John H. Johnson
Editor and Publisher

JHJ:NT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o The Crisis
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

15 February 1945

20-13-39

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of February ninth, I suggest that you communicate with Harcourt, Brace and Company, 383 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John H. Johnson
Negro Digest
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

20-20-89

27 February 1945

My dear Mr. Johnson:

In answer to your letter of February sixth, Dr. Du Bois asks me to say that he cannot at present undertake any further literary responsibilities. He regrets not to be able to accede to your proposal.

Very sincerely yours,

Assistant to Dr. Du Bois

Mr. John H. Johnson
Negro Digest
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

[NEGRO DIGEST]

---------- 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-3-7

My dear Sir:

I have just returned from six weeks in England and I want to congratulate you on the good job in circulation and publicity which you are doing. I have seen white people reading the DIGEST and colored people from Europe, Africa and the West Indies. The publication is held in high regard.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John H. Johnson
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8900

December 5, 1945

Dear Doctor DuBois: Thank you for your favorable comment on NEGRO DIGEST. Our staff works rather hard in publishing and circulating it and it is always encouraging to receive letters such as yours, particularly from a person as important as yourself.

With appreciation for your interest and assuring you that we shall strive to continue to merit your commendation, I am

Very truly yours,

John H. Johnson

John H. Johnson
Editor and Publisher

JHJ:NT

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

20-3-6

(NEGRO FARMERS CONFERENCE)

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK
IN
AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING
NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES AND UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE COOPERATING

EXTENSION SERVICE
COUNTY AGENT WORK

82-91-02

Box 68
A. and T. College
Greensboro, N. C.
April 17, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Consultant to the American Delegation
N. A. A. C. P. Headquarters
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Unfortunately, the Negro Farmers Conference in North Carolina has not held a session since the war began. Consequently, there are no resolutions passed by the body. I do, however, appreciate your telegram, and wish so much that it was possible to crystalize some sentiment by way of a resolution that might be considered at the conference of Allied nations in San Francisco.

We believe fundamentally in the position of agriculture in the Nation's economy, and I feel that a greater recognition of the part agriculture plays and will play in the peace will be a very important factor. All of us have confidence in you and your ability to represent the Negro people in the United States as a consultant.

Sincerely yours,

R. E. Jones, Negro State Agent
and 4-H Club Specialist.

REJ:S

NEGRO MINISTERS OF NEW HAVEN

20-16-29

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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(54)

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N271 DL PD=NEW HAVEN CONN 21 301P

1945 APR 21 PM 5 11

DR W E B DUBOIS=

DELIVER NAAC HEADQUARTERS

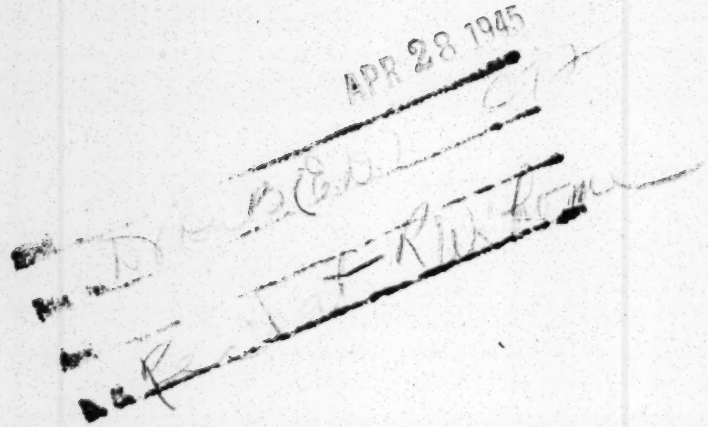
CR ROY WHITE OR WILKINS 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

IN ANSWER TO YOUR TELEGRAM OF APRIL 14TH THE NEGRO MINISTERS OF NEW HAVEN CONN SUBSCRIBE TO THE FOLLOWING THAT FREDOM AND EQUALITY OF ALL RACES CREEDS AND COLORS BE MAINTAINED AND FREEDOM TO LIVE UNDER THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES WITH EQUAL OPPORTUNITITIES SOCIALLY ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY=

REV J E HENRY PRESIDENT REV RICHARD A G FOSTER SECRETARY=

14

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE


APR 28 1945

[Negro Natnl League]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

(29)

SYMBOLS

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N303 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14 1945 APR 14 PM 4 31

W E B DU BOIS SECY NAACP=

CR CR WHITE OR WILKINS 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

:YOUR TELEGRAM APL 13 TO NEGRO NATL LEAGUE MR THOMAS WILSON BALTIMORE MD IS UNDELIVERED. UNABLE LOCATE THERE WE TRIED NAACP BUT DISOWNED BY THEM=

WESTERN UNION TELE CO SERVICE BUREAU WORTH 2 7300.

20-21-83

NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

Office of
The President
3435 INDIANA AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

Copy

San Francisco Conference - Telegrams

April 19, 1945

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York (3), New York

Dear Mr. White:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your wire of April 14 which was sent to me in care of the Afro-American in Baltimore.

We are now polling the members of our organization asking them to make any recommendation or suggestion they may have for the San Francisco conference. As soon as we have gathered this information, it will be sent to you in San Francisco.

Will you please give us the location of the official headquarters of the NAACP in San Francisco in order that we might follow through with you as the occasion may arise.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Sengstacke

20-21

President Roosevelt was killed by a political campaign which was entirely unnecessary. More than any other war president, Lincoln, McKinley and Wilson, he established an administration which cut across party lines and brought the best of both parties into his cabinet. With that cabinet he was winning a war against the bitter hatred of people determined to win anything by personal wealth. The country was back of him to a surprizing degree and yet after deciding that his best campaign was to stand on his record and pursue the business before him, he was compelled by the bitter and unjustifiable tactics of Dewey to go out into the hustings and fight a primitive ferocious battle in order to finish his work. The battle was unnecessary; it accomplished no major objects; it was fought on no real differences of opinion. It killed the President.

After that gruelling battle we all saw death in his face.

W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
Director of Special Research
for the NAACP

For the New Leader
7 East 15th Street

36-6-170

[New Masses]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter
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S15CC LX NL PD

WUX NEWYORK NY FEB 5 1945

DR W.E DU BOIS, C/O NAACP

69 FIFTH AVE NYK

NEW MASSES WILL HOLD ROMAIN ROLLAND MEMORIAL MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL FRIDAY MARCH 30TH. THOMAS MANN HAS AGREED TO BE CHAIRMAN OF SPONSORING COMMITTEE. PROCEEDS WILL GO TO A FRENCH WAR RELIEF. WILL YOU HONOR US BY BECOMING MEMBER OF SPONSORING COMMITTEE AND APPEARING ON PROGRAM. PLEASE REPLY COLLECT.

A B MAGIL ACTING EDITOR NEW MASSES
104 EAST NINTH ST

645P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[New Masses]

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

20-24-80

night letter collect 6 February 1945

Mr. A. B. Magil acting editor New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York City

I SHALL BE GLAD TO BE A MEMBER OF THE SPONSORING COMMITTEE OF THE ROMAIN ROLLAND MEMORIAL MARCH THIRTIETH.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[New Masses]

7 February 1945

28-24-81

My dear Sir:

I telegraphed you yesterday saying that I would be glad to serve on the sponsoring committee of the Romain Rolland Memorial meeting in Carnegie Hall. If you wish me to say a few words, I should be glad to do so.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. A. B. Magil
The New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York City

[New Masses]

23 March 1945

20-21-37

My dear Madam:

I shall be glad to speak for five minutes at the Romain Rolland meeting on "Romain Rolland, Friend of Subject Peoples". I shall send you an abstract of my remarks within a day or so.

I would be glad to have three tickets for the meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Iris Merrick
New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York City 3, N. Y.

NEW MASSES

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART. WASHINGTON EDITOR: BRUCE MINTON. EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: MARJORIE DeARMAND.

104 East 9th Street New York City GRamercy 3-5146

February 12th, 1945.

20-42-82

W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are more than delighted to learn that you will be a member of the sponsoring committee of the Romain Rolland Memorial Meeting, and that you will be able to speak.

Miss Iris Merrick, who is in charge of the meeting for New Masses, will be in touch with you later on.

Very sincerely yours,

A. B. Magil

ABM:eg

A. B. MAGIL
Acting Editor

[New Masses]

ROMAIN ROLLAND MEMORIAL MEETING

Auspices: NEW MASSES

104 East 9th Street **New York 3, N. Y.**

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LISA SERGIO
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JULIAN TUWIM
EDGAR VARESE
RUSTEM VAMBERY
CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN
MARGARET WEBSTER
F. C. WEISKOPF
JAMES WATERMAN WISE
FRITZ VON UNRUH

20-42-85

March 9, 1945

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

Would it be possible for me to have at the earliest possible moment publicity material on your self that I could use for our press-releases.

If you have the time, a short statement on Romain Rolland that could be used for publication previous to the meeting would be very valuable. I know you understand the importance of this type of procedure.

The O.W.I. has called suggesting that they will be very interested in a copy of the speeches, which will be delivered on that night, as they would like to use them in story form for their pamphlets. These can be sent to Miss Rothberg, O.W.I. 224 West 57 Street, NYC.

Thank you very much and I want to hope that this will not place any additional burden on your time.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Iris Merrick

IRIS MERRICK

IM/ew
ang-cio

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CARNEGIE HALL • FRIDAY, MARCH 30 • 8:00 P. M.

[New Masses]

ROMAIN ROLLAND MEMORIAL MEETING

Auspices: NEW MASSES

104 East 9th Street — **New York 3, N. Y.**

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DR. THOMAS MANN

Committee:
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SHOLOM ASCH
NATHAN AUSABEL
MILTON AVERY
WILLIAM ROSE BENET
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
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FERDINAND BRUCKNER
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FRITZ MAHLER
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LEWIS MERRILL
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RUSTEM VAMBERY
CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN
MARGARET WEBSTER
F. C. WEISKOPF
JAMES WATERMAN WISE
FRITZ VON UNRUH

98-42-20

March 22, 1945.

W. E. B. DuBois
c/o NAACP
69-5th Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. DuBois:

I do hope you will forgive me for not getting in touch with you sooner. In order to facilitate the building of a very good program, we are suggesting to our speakers topics that we feel would be appropriate in relation to Romain Rolland. If, of course, you have already decided on your subject, we will understand perfectly. We feel that the subject of Romain Rolland, Friend of Subject Peoples would be very interesting to the public, and that you are the proper person to handle it.

In order to achieve our program within the amount of time alloted to us, we are suggesting to all of our speakers that they limit their speeches to 5 minutes.

If you would like complimentary tickets for the meeting, would you call me or drop me a note within the next few days?

Since the meeting will begin at 8 o'clock, could you possibly be there at 7:45?

Cordially,

IRIS MERRICK

IM:bj

289

CARNEGIE HALL • FRIDAY, MARCH 30 • 8:00 P. M.

[1945]

The Memorial Tribute to Romain Rolland was held at Carnegie Hall on Friday, March 30th to honor the great French writer, Romain Rolland, who died recently in France.

Guests of honor were Etiennette Gallois, Editor of Voix du Midi, Leader of Resistance Movement of the Toulouse Area and Andree Viollis, Correspondent for L'Humanite ce Soir.

* * * * * * * * * * *

46-6-138

PROGRAM

STAR SPANGLED BANNER — MARTIAL SINGHER

INTRODUCTION by Editor New Masses — A.B. MAGIL

CHAIRMAN: Literary Editor New Masses — ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

SPEAKERS:
ERWIN PISCATOR
W.E. DU BOIS

MESSAGE from author of the "Seventh Cross" — ANNA SEGHERS

SPEAKER:
LISA SERGIO

PRELUDE, CHORALE AND FUGUE — CAESAR FRANCK
MARISA REGULES

SPEAKER:
HARRISON FORMAN

MESSAGE from UPTON SINCLAIR

SONGS of the RESISTANCE — MARTIAL SINGHER

INTRODUCTION of — ETIENNETTE GALLOIS & ANDREE VIOLLIS

COLLECTION: — Monsieur PIERRE GARRIGUES

BEETHOVEN LIEDER — MARTIAL SINGHER

SPEAKER:
RICHARD WATTS, JR.
HENRI BERNSTEIN

ADAGIO from the BEETHOVEN QUARTET - Opus 18, #1 -GUILET STRING QUARTET

SPEAKER:
HOWARD FAST

* * * * * * *
* * * * *

NEW MASSES

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. *ASSOCIATE EDITORS:* FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART. *WASHINGTON EDITOR:* BRUCE MINTON. *EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:* MARJORIE D.ARMAND.

104 East 9th Street New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5146

April 5th, 1945.

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R. PALME DUTT
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HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN
ART YOUNG

E8-22-02

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I want to thank you so much for being with us at our Romain Rolland meeting last Friday. Your talk was much appreciated. I know you will be happy to learn that $522.00 was raised which will be used to purchase food and clothing for French children to be sent through American Relief For France, Inc.

I hope we can get together soon for lunch.

Sincerely,

A. B. Magil

ABM:eg

A. B. MAGIL
Acting Editor

(NEW MASSES)

NEW MASSES

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART. WASHINGTON EDITOR: BRUCE MINTON. EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: MARJORIE DeARMAND.

104 East 9th Street New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5146

April 19th, 1945.

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MAX YERGAN
ART YOUNG

Request 1 writeup file

20-24-39

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your article on President Roosevelt which appears in our new issue. A copy has been sent you under separate cover. I greatly appreciate your doing this on such short notice. As you can see for yourself, it has helped make a very handsome page in our magazine.

Sincerely,

A. B. Magil

ABM:eg

A. B. MAGIL
Acting Editor

NEW MASSES

104 East 9th Street • New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5146

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH. Associate Editors: FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK (on leave with armed forces) A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART. Washington Editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. West Coast Editor: MARJORIE DE ARMAND. Literary Editor: ISIDOR SCHNEIDER: Film, JOSEPH FOSTER: Drama, MATT WAYNE: Art, MOSES SOYER: Music, FREDERIC EWEN: Dance, FRANCIS STEUBEN. Editorial Assistant: BETTY MILLARD. Business Manager: LOTTIE GORDON. Field Director: DORETTA TARMON. Advertising Manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.

August 6th, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

20-24-37

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Would it be possible for you to review for us either Mrs. Robeson's forthcoming book on Africa or the book "Congo" consisting largely of photographs with a commentary by John Latouche, or perhaps the two in a joint review? We would be very happy if you could. I would appreciate your letting me know at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Isidor Schneider

IS:eg

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
Literary Editor

New Masses

August 23, 1945

20-24-38

My dear Mr. Schneider:

I have just returned from my vacation.

If it is not too late I will be glad to review both of the books noted in your letter of August 6th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Isidor Schneider
Literary Editor
New Masses
104 E. 9th St.
New York 3, New York

October 12, 1945

20-24-182

Mr. Isidor Schneider
Literary Editor
New Masses
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Schneider:

Yes, I received the two books for review but unfortunately I am asked to fly to London tomorrow morning and will not be back until the third or fourth week of the month. I have not had a chance to read them and we better not undertake anything more until I finish these.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[NEW MASSES]

HOWARD FAST

November 27, 1945.

Dr. W. E. DuBois
NAACP
20 East 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-24-133

At our annual Cultural Awards Dinner to be given on January 14th, 1946 at the Hotel Commodore, New Masses will honor American Negroes who have made the greatest achievements in furthering democracy and interracial unity. NEW MASSES feels that an integral part of America's struggle to win the peace requires the recognition of the splendid achievements of the American Negro. In connection with this the magazine is also giving awards to a few others who have helped to promote interracial unity and destroy Jim-Crow.

I am happy to inform you that a committee of which I am chairman has elected you as Historian and Educator and particularly for your magnificent contribution to the Pan-African Congresses. We would appreciate being notified if you would accept the award and personally attend the dinner to receive it.

Cordially yours,

Howard Fast

HF:b

HOWARD FAST

[NEW MASSES]

********** 20 West 40th Street

17 December 1945

20-24-134

My dear Mr. Fast:

Answering your letter of November twenty-seventh, I shall be glad to attend the Cultural Awards Dinner January fourteenth and receive your recognition. At the same time I do wish that the persons who issued your program had spelled my name correctly.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Howard Fast
Box 115, Sta. D
New York 3, N. Y.

New Masses Dinner

HOWARD FAST
Chairman

December 21, 1945

21-20

Dear Friend:

I am happy to inform you that Mrs. Paul Robeson has joined me as Co-Chairman of the New Masses Dinner which will be held at the Commodore Hotel on January 14, 1946.

Mrs. Robeson joins me in cordially inviting you to a private Reception and Cocktail with our guests of honor (Award Recipients) before the Dinner in Room A - at 6 P.M.

New Masses will be very happy to arrange a table for 6 or 12 for you and your friends. In order to get the best possible seating arrangements, may we have your reservations for the Reception no later than January 3rd?

Cordially,

Howard Fast

HOWARD FAST, Chairman
New Masses Dinner

HF:b

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Carl Van Doren
Mark Van Doren
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Fredi Washington
Max Weber
Margaret Webster
Dr. Mary E. Woolley

[NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH]

20-12-9

The Trustees and Faculties of
the New School for Social Research
have the honor to invite
Mr. William E. B. Du Bois
to the Inauguration of
Bryn J. Hovde
as second President of the New School
on Thursday, December the twenty-seventh
Nineteen hundred and forty-five
at eleven o'clock in the morning
in the Auditorium of the New School

A reply addressed to the Secretary of the
New School, Sixty-six West Twelfth Street
New York eleven, N. Y. is requested by
December the first

Order of Exercises

Presentation of the President Elect

Louis S. Weiss
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Address

James Bryant Conant
President of Harvard University

Welcome to the New President

Alvin Johnson
Retiring President

Inaugural Address

Bryn J. Hovde
President of the New School

PRESIDING: *Horace M. Kallen*
Dean of the Graduate Faculty

********** 20 West 40th Street

30 November 1945

20-12-10

My dear Sir:

I shall be very glad to attend the Inauguration of the President of the New School for Social Research, December the twenty-seventh.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Secretary
New School for Social Research
Sixty-Six West Twelfth Street
New York eleven, N. Y.

(New York (City) Public Library)

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, January 4, 1945

20-24-54

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are all looking forward to your appearance before the class, "A World View of the Negro Question" on Saturday, January 20, 1945 at 2:00 P.M.

If it is all the same to you, we would like to suggest that the subject "Africa and the Peacemaking" be generalized into "The Negro and the Peacemaking." The questions seem to be running in this direction and this larger focus would give us a whole view and would fit in with the general approach of the course. We would want to hear about Africa and anything you would care to say about problems and prospects for the Negro in the West Indies and this country with respect to the peace and post-war plans.

In connection with your appearance here we wish to put on an exhibition built around the idea of the Pan African Congresses. Could we borrow from you materials to supplement our own? We would be very interested in any photographs of the Congresses, the calls, the printed programs of meetings and any special leaflets or pronouncements — for or against the conference by significant individuals or groups.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Nat'l Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

LDR:rrt
Enc. 1

[New York Public Library]

17 January 1945

20-24-63

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I wanted very much to get the exhibit of the Pan African Congresses ready for you before the lecture but it is physically impossible. I have part of my books transferred and in my office but the rest of the files, books and papers there is simply no place for and I do not dare unpack them until I can put them in a safe place. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
The Schomburg Collection
135th Street Public Library
New York City

The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET

New York, 30 New York
March 5, 1945

20-4-126

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have checked on the schedule for our auditorium and committee rooms here and find that April 6 is all clear. Accordingly, if you should wish to hold the conference on the color question here, we would be very happy to have you do so. Maps and other display materials could be handled without too much difficulty.

Please let me know about this as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

LDR:RRT

[NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY]

6 March 1945

My dear Mr. Reddick:

We shall be glad to accept your offer of the auditorium for April sixth and if possible April seventh. I shall write you again in a day or so.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-4-122

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City 30, N. Y.

[1945]
[New York Post]

1. The general demands of colonial peoples and minorities (White)

X 2. An international bill of rights and its application to the present colonies (DuBois)

3. The colonial problems of the Pacific and the question of military bases (White)

X 4. Colonial disfranchisement and the future of democracy (DuBois)

5. The attitudes of the American armed forces and their effect on colonial peoples (White)

6. How colonies and colonial problems cause war (DuBois)

7. American Negroes as quasi-colonials and the effect of this on the international influence of the United States (White)

8. The role of Africa on colonial and racial development and on the Second World War (DuBois)

Bell

May 16, 1945

THE NEW YORK POST, Conference Edition - Att'n: Mr. Paul Tierney
1621 Market Street
San Francisco, California

TO

W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

- -

TO Four Articles Published May 2, 4, 7, 10 .....

20-24

Received Payment

_____

[N.Y.S.-M.V.B]

16 February 1945

Gentlemen:

I have recently removed here from Georgia. I have a Buick car with a Georgia license F 530, 1944 Motor Number 63240389, Model 67, year 1937, Sedan, 8 cylinder, weight 3,750. I want to register the car for 1945 in New York state. Will you kindly let me know the cost and procedure?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17

Motor Vehicle Bureau
155 Worth Street
New York City

17 January 1945

Gentlemen:

For my telephone - Edgecombe 4-9837 - I have no copy of the winter edition of the telephone directory. Also I should like copies of the latest directories for Brooklyn and northern New Jersey.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-3

New York Telephone Company
New York City

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Addresses: See Back of Stub
Telephone: Dial 811 or Call "Business Office"

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Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
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Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
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Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
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Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			3 79
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	8 72 ★

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Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			2 50
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	7 43 ★

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Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			1 06
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	5 99 ★

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JUNE 11, 1945

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Local Service for One Month in Advance	Local Calls Included 66		4 93 ★
Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			1 18
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	6 11 ★

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JULY 11, 1945

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Local Service for One Month in Advance	Local Calls Included 66		4 93 ★
Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			5 61
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	10 54 ★

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AUGUST 11, 1945

EDG 4 W E B DU BOIS

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Local Service for One Month in Advance	Local Calls Included 66		4 93 ★
Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			2 86
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill	(Please disregard this amount if paid)		
		Total	7 79 ★

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Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

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APR				
12	N BRUNS			50
	PRINCETN			35

Total U. S. Tax (Tax Schedule on reverse) 21

Total Carried to Bill 106

A-1305 7-44

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

EDG 4 9837

			Subject to 15% Tax	Subject to 25% Tax
MAR				
11	BALTO			45
13	BOSTN			75
APR				
1	BALTO			45
8	PHILA			35

Total U. S. Tax (Tax Schedule on reverse) 150

Total Carried to Bill 250

A-1305 7-44

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

EDG 4 9837

			Subject to 15% Tax	Subject to 25% Tax
JAN				
14	BOSTN			75
17	CHEYNEY	TLGRM		24

99

Total U. S. Tax (Tax Schedule on reverse) 25

Total Carried to Bill 124

A-1305 7-44

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

EDG 4 9837

			Subject to 15% Tax	Subject to 25% Tax
JUN				
5	NORFOLK	TLGRM		94

Total U. S. Tax (Tax Schedule on reverse) 24

Total Carried to Bill 118

A-1305 7-44

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

EDG 4 9837

			Subject to 15% Tax	Subject to 25% Tax
FEB				
24	BALTIMORE			75
26	WASHN	TLGRM		36
	AUSTIN	TLGRM		1 02
MAR				
5	BALTIMORE			45
5	BOSTN			45

303

Total U. S. Tax (Tax Schedule on reverse) 76

Total Carried to Bill 379

A-1305 7-44

15 February 1945

20-2-34

My dear Sir:

I visited Haiti for the first time this fall and was tremendously interested. I believe there is need for an article emphasizing a new view of this island. Voodoo is not a relapse from civilization. It makes on the other hand the complete picture which is lacking in the United States and in many other countries, of a continuous cultural tradition from the Valley of the Niger past the efforts of Haiti to free the worker in the West Indies, down to the day when a new Haitian art is making real nexus between a French civilization and ancient African cultural patterns.

I wonder if you would consider an article on this subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Editor
New Yorker
25 West 43rd Street
New York City

THE
NEW YORKER
No. 25 WEST 43RD STREET

EDITORIAL OFFICES
BRYANT 9-8200

February 20, 1945

20-2-36

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for the suggestion of an article about Haiti. We have to discourage this lead, however, so far as we are concerned, because so recently as January 20 this year, we had a Haiti article. It was not, probably, along the lines you had in mind, but still it closes the subject for us for some time.

Very truly yours,

CO.

The NEW YORKER

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

co-q

20-3-2

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your literary aid has meant so much throughout years that I want to say thanks again. None other in the midst of busy successful living would have dreamed of taking one moment to give hope to the insignificant.

With remembering and appreciation,

Effie Lee Newsome

Wilberforce, Ohio
August 21, 1945

August 23, 1945

M-310
2-3-10

My dear Effie Lee Newsome:

Thanks for your too kind words of August 21st.

What are you up to in writing just now? Let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Effie Lee Newsome
Wilberforce, Ohio

20-3-1

Wilberforce, Ohio
August 28, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your letter and interest. I am trying to get together the story of an Ohio Negro naturalist who was also the author of vivid war sketches of the first world war, in which he served as Y. secretary. With but little schooling he contributed so much. His service to a great deal people of both races meant ~~much~~, during depression days, for he converted his home into a relief station. He wrote for Dayton dailies, prepared nature cabinets for C. S. U. extension service -- lived so abundantly in his half century. His widow finds more and more revelations of the fullness of his quiet and beautiful life.

Ever gratefully,

Effie Lee Morris

20-20-73

Request for information

2647 Victory Parkway
Cincinnati 6, Ohio
January 15, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I am making a survey of the best books that have been written about the Negro. The choice of those books will be based upon the lists submitted by persons competent to judge the value of books on the subject. Your name has been suggested as one most capable of making recommendationa. I shall greatly appreciate your kindness if you will give me a minimum list of fifteen books with the author and publisher of each, which in your opinion rank highest in their treatment of the major areas of interest or concern, such as the political, economic, vocational, social, religious, educational, etc. life of the Negro. It will aid greatly if you will rank them in the order of your preference. In view of the fact there may be two or more books of equal value, but which treat different phases of Negro life you may wish to give two or more the same rank which form will be quite acceptable.

I thank you for a reply at your earliest convenience and I am enclosing a self addressed envelop for the return of the suggestions. In case there is an additional cost I shall be glad to assume whatever expense that is incurred by the service.

Yours sincerely,

Catherine R. Nichols

Catherine R. Nichols

CRN:zdc

20-02-24

22 January 1945

My dear Madam:

I am unable to gather from your letter of January 15, whether you mean the best books written about Negroes from the beginning of time until the present or the best book written recently and in print about Negroes. Also whether or not you are putting any stress upon the question as to whether or not the author is a Negro.

If you will send me these details, I shall do anything I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Catherine R. Nichols
2647 Victory Parkway
Cincinnati, Ohio

Request for information

20-20-57

2647 Victory Parkway
Cincinnati 6, Ohio
January 26, 1945.

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
Department of Special Research,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York,

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of inquiry concerning the authorship of the requested list of books about Negroes. The authorship of the books is not limited to Negroes. I simply want the ~~books~~ which in your opinion represent the best contemporary thought. I would prefer the books which have been written within the last ten or twelve years, but if there are any books written before that time which in your opinion rank higher you may include them.

In view of the fact I shall make a survey of these books I prefer books which are in

print about Negroes.

I hope this explanation clarifies the question for you.

Yours sincerely,
Catherine R. Nichols.

20-20-52

31 January 1945

20-20-59

Dear Madam:

Enclosed is a list of fifteen books published in the last twelve years:

Myrdal, AMERICAN DILEMMA, 1944
HERSKOVITZ, MYTH OF NEGRO PAST, 1941
Cayton and Mitchell, BLACK WORKERS AND NEW UNIONS, 1939
Holmes, NEGRO STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL, 1937
BROWN, DAVIS, LEE, Negro Caravan
Redding, TO MAKE A POET BLACK, 1939
Logan, WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, 1944
Spero and Harris, BLACK WORKER, 1931
Bond, NEGRO EDUCATION IN ALABAMA, 1939
Embree, 13 AGAINST THE ODDS, 1944
Leyburn, HAITIAN PEOPLE, 1941
Logan, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH HAITI, 1941
Woodson, Works of Frances J. Grimke, 1942
Ottley, NEW WORLD A'COMING
Conrad, HARRIET TUBMAN, 1943

You show a naive faith in assuming that the best work in any line of literature has been done in the last fifteen years.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Catherine R. Nichols
2647 Victory Parkway
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

[1945]

Informal Tea
Sunday April 29, San Francisco Conference
4-6 Pm.
#1 21st ave - MRS Nicholsberg
Dr. Du Bois
Mr. White

20-18-18

61-81-92

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, California
April 30, 1945

Mrs. Nicholsberg
1 - 21st Avenue
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Madam:

I am very sorry that I could not get to your Tea Sunday afternoon. I was unable to leave the Oakland meeting until after six.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Lincoln University
Chester County, Pa.
January 28, 1945

20-4-40

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of January 24, informing me of the possibility of organizing a colonial conference in New York next month. In my opinion this is an excellent idea. I shall be delighted to participate in a conference conducted in the spirit of free inquiry and devoted to clarification of the colonial picture by bringing together representatives of all groups and shades of opinion.

I know several colonial representatives who I think would be most interested in your plan: Mr. F. S. Roland, 952 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, New York; and Mr. A. N. Orizu and Mr. H. A. Jones-Quartey, both of International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York City. I also suggest that you get in touch with the African Students' Association, of which Mr. J. N. Okongwu, also of International House, is secretary, and with Professor H. A. Wieschoff, African Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Very sincerely yours,

Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah

Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah

Lincoln University
Chester County, Pa
April 2, 1945

Dear Sir

I shall be able to attend the Colonial Conference to be held April 6th in the Auditorium of the 135th St. Branch of the N. Y. Public Library.

Wishing you much success.

Sincerely
Francis-N. Nkrumah

20-4-41

FROM LORD NOEL-BUXTON.

10. Lowndes Square.

Sloane 9542. S.W.1.

16. 11. 45

Dear Sir.

I hear from my friend Tracy Philippe that you might like to meet, and I should be very glad to see you. Will you lunch on Monday, the 19th at St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton St. at 12.45.?

Yours sincerely,

pp. Noel-Buxton

Dr. Dubois.

20-15-84

NON-EUROPEAN UNITY COMMITTEE

"UNITE FOR FREEDOM"

OFFICIALS.

Chairman:
REV. Z. R. MAHABANE.

Treasurer:
MR. E. C. ROBERTS.

Joint Secretaries:
MR. E. RAMSDALE.
MR. S. A. JAYIYA.

P.O. BOX 3475, C.TOWN S.A.

1st August, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Editor, "Phylon",
Atalanta.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed Declaration is sent to you in order to solicit your assistance in the campaign for elementary democratic rights for all in South Africa.

You will be doing a service to the cause of freedom and democracy if you would use your influence to obtain the widest possible publicity for the contents of the Declaration. An aroused and sympathetic world public opinion, we are sure, will considerably strengthen the struggle for democracy in South Africa, a democracy that truly takes no account of colour or race.

We are, Sir,

Yours fraternally,

Ramsdale
Jayiya
Joint-Secretaries.

[enclosure]

A Declaration to the Nations of the World

A Declaration to the Nations of the World

We address this Declaration to all the Nations of the world, to all the peoples who fought against the tyranny of Hitlerism and who fight against every form of tyranny. This Declaration speaks for the 8 million Non-Europeans of the Union of South Africa, Bantu, Coloured and Indian—the preponderant majority of this country.

The defeat of Hitlerism in Europe marks the end of a dark chapter in human history. And because we are confident that the peoples of the world share our conviction that the suffering and the travail of the last ten years were endured so that a new beginning might be made, a new chapter opened, we address ourselves to them. For if the peoples of the world are to eradicate forever those dark forces of Fascism which spread like a scourge over three continents, from Ethiopia in Africa to China in Asia, and Spain in Europe, then it is of prime and urgent import that the ills of tyranny assailing every country and every people should be brought into full light before the forum of the Nations of the World.

Moreover, these ten years of bloodshed and war have taught us that peace is indivisible, that there can be no real peace when tyranny is eliminated in one continent but left undisturbed in another. If a new beginning is to be made, if the foundation of the peaceful world is to be secure, then the scourge of Hitlerite tyranny must be uprooted not only in Europe but also in South Africa and in every corner of the globe.

The peoples of the world who were horrified by the inhuman record of Nazism may be unaware of the fact that the Non-Europeans of South Africa live and suffer under a tyranny very little different from Nazidom. Lest it may seem to people far removed from South Africa, that this comparison is either an exaggeration or a figurative expression, we shall demonstrate in more concrete form how closely the life of a Non-European in South Africa is akin to the suffering under Nazi tyranny.

The main characteristics which distinguished the Hitler tyranny from all the tyrannies of the past, may be briefly summarised as follows:

(a) the Herrenvolk ideology which transformed itself into a mania;

(b) the ruthless trampling underfoot of all human rights;

(c) the erection of one system of law and of morality for the Aryans and a different system of law and of morality for the Non-Aryans.

The Union of South Africa, although it is represented abroad as a democracy with a system of parliamentary government, manifests essentially the same characteristics as the three enumerated above.

Nazi Germany provided a classic example to the world of how a people could become obsessed with the idea of their racial superiority and divine mission to rule. What originated as a cunning propaganda design by the Nazi leaders to divert the attention of the people from their real enemies and to make scapegoats of the Jews and other minorities, eventually grew into a malignant obsession with a large section of the German people. The duped masses, drugged by the incessant propaganda from school, pulpit, wireless and press, began to believe in the Messianic mission of the German, the Aryan, to rule over all Non-Aryans—their ordained slaves. This is the very essence of the Herrenvolk ideology, the doctrine of "thinking with your blood."

No less classic, although less known to the outside world, is the case of South Africa. From earliest childhood the poisonous racial arrogance of the Herrenvolk ideology is assiduously injected into the White people of this country by School and Church and State. From the cradle to the grave, every phase of life is consciously regulated and moulded in order to preserve and perpetuate the division of the people of South Africa into the European—the Herrenvolk, and the Non-European—the slave, divinely ordained to minister to all his needs. So deeply has the poison of racial superiority been infused into the life of South Africa, that it has reached the very vitals, and no single phase of public or private life remains untainted by it. And it is a tragic fact that

even those who might have been expected to display more fellowship towards the Non-European as a natural ally, namely, the Labour Party, and the Trade Unions, are no less contaminated by the Herrenvolk mentality. While they may *speak* abroad of equality for all and opportunity for all, they do not for a single moment include the Non-Europeans. For, at home, they *act* in full concord with the Herrenvolk creed of South Africa. The success of this racial indoctrination may be measured by Field-Marshal Smuts's claim in the House of Assembly on 14th March, 1945, that *all* in South Africa are agreed upon the mission of the Europeans to rule over the Non-Europeans in perpetuity, *all*—except those who are " mad, quite mad." Indeed, to such a pass has this Herrenvolk ideology reduced South Africa, that every European who does not conform to it is vilified as insane; everyone, European or Non-European, who in any way attempts to effect racial harmony by eliminating the artificially fostered racial prejudices and artificially erected barriers of race hatred, is branded and hounded as a disturber of the peace who is sowing hostility between the races. In a word, the Herrenvolk mentality of South Africa in no way lags behind that of Nazi Germany.

But it is when we compare South Africa with Nazi Germany in respect of the second characteristic of Nazism, the ruthless trampling underfoot of human rights, that the essential similarity between the two becomes even more palpable. If in Nazi Germany it was the Jew who had to distinguish himself as an outcast by wearing a yellow patch, in South Africa a brown or black face makes the patch unnecessary; but in addition the Non-European is stigmatised by having to carry not one, but many " passes " of different kinds—one proving he has paid his taxes, one permitting him to walk in the street, one permitting him to look for work, one for the day and another for the night! An outraged world recoiled in stupefaction at the trampling underfoot of all human rights in Nazi Germany, so that the Jew was debarred from education, from the professions and skilled trades; he was denied the right to own property, the right to trade, to serve in the army; he was prohibited

from entering places of entertainment, from cultural institutions and the like. But the world has yet to learn that all of these outrages have been, and are still, characteristic of the normal, everyday life of South Africa. The Non-European is debarred from education. He is denied access to the professions and skilled trades; he is denied the right to buy land and property; he is denied the right to trade or to serve in the army—except as a stretcher-bearer or servant; he is prohibited from entering places of entertainment and culture. But still more, he is not allowed to live in the towns. And if it was a crime in Nazi Germany for an "Aryan" to mix with or marry a Non-Aryan, it is equally a criminal offence in South Africa for a member of the Herrenvolk to mix or marry with the slave race. When a man is denied freedom of movement in his own country, when he is denied the right to hire or build a dwelling for himself and his family, the right to sell his labour on the free market; when a man is stripped of all other elementary human rights in his own country, then there can be no two opinions but that he is living under a Nazi-like tyranny.

No less complete is the similarity between the two systems in regard to the third characteristic of Nazism, the erection of one system of law and of morality for the Aryans and a different system of law and morality for the Non-Aryans. In the majority of instances there is a separate law for Europeans and a separate law for Non-Europeans; in those rare cases where one Act legislates for both, there are separate clauses discriminating against the Non-Europeans. While it is true that there are no Buchenwald concentration camps in South Africa, it is equally true that the prisons of South Africa are full to overflowing with Non-Europeans whose criminality lies solely in the fact that they are unable to pay the Poll-tax, a special, racial tax imposed upon them. But this law does not apply to the Aryan; for him there is a different law which makes the non-payment of taxes not a criminal, but a civil offence for which he cannot be imprisoned. But if there is no Buchenwald in South Africa, the sadistic fury with which the Herrenvolk policemen belabour the Non-European victim, guilty or

not guilty, is comparable only to the brutality of the S.S. Guards. Moreover, the treatment meted out to the Non-European in the Law Courts is comparable only to the fate of the Non-Aryan in the Nazi Law Courts. But the fundamental difference in law and morality is not only expressed in the different paragraphs of the Legal Statutes, it lies in the fundamentally different concept of the value of the life of a Non-European, as compared with the value placed upon the life of a European. The life of a Non-European is very cheap in South Africa. As cheap as the life of a Jew in Nazi Germany.

From the foregoing it is clear that the Non-Europeans of South Africa live and suffer under a tyranny very little different from Nazism. And if we accept the premise—as we hope the Nations of the World now do — that peace is indivisible, if we accept that there can be no peace as long as the scourge of Nazism exists in any corner of the globe, then it follows that the defeat of German Nazism is not the final chapter of the struggle against tyranny. There must be many more chapters before the peoples of the world will be able to make a new beginning. To us in South Africa it is indisputable that there can be no peace as long as this system of tyranny remains. To us it is ludicrous that this same South African Herrenvolk should speak abroad of a new beginning, of shaping a new world order, whereas in actuality all they wish is the retention of the present tyranny in South Africa and its extension to new territories. Already they speak of new mandates and new trusteeships, which can only mean the extension of their Nazi-like domination over still wider terrain. It is impossible to make a new start as long as the representatives of this Herrenvolk take any part in the shaping of it. For of what value can it be when the very same people who speak so grandiosely abroad of the inviolability of human rights, at home trample ruthlessly underfoot those same inalienable rights? It is the grossest of insults not only to the 8 million Non-Europeans of South Africa, but to all those who are honestly striving to shape a world on new foundations, when the highest representative of the Herrenvolk of South Africa, Field-

Marshal Smuts, who has devoted his whole life to the entrenchment of this Nazi-like domination, brazenly speaks to the Nations of the World of "the sanctity and ultimate value of the human personality" and "the equal rights of men and women."

We, the Non-Europeans of South Africa and the majority of the population, are the ones who are vitally concerned and genuinely determined that there shall be a new beginning. We declare emphatically before the peoples of the world that we have no territorial demands. We seek no aggrandisement and we do not covet any territories. On the contrary, we who have fought against German Nazism and Italian Fascism to the fullest extent that we were permitted, declare unequivocally that we are opposed to the handing over and to the inclusion in the Union, of the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. We are opposed to such inclusion on principle and on the grounds that it will be detrimental both to the people of the Protectorates and to the Non-Europeans in the Union. For, however intolerable the conditions under which the people in the Protectorates live, there can be no worse fate than their falling under the domination of the South African Herrenvolk. Therefore we dissociate ourselves from all such claims on the part of our rulers.

Nevertheless we have demands. But our demands are not at the expense of other peoples. Our demands can only advance the cause of building a peaceful world on new beginnings. We are a peace-loving people. We have no enmity or malice towards the Europeans, for we wish to live side by side with them in peace and harmony. Yet we can only live side by side with them in peace and harmony as equals and not as inferiors. We are also a constitutional people. And if we make this Declaration directly to the Nations of the World and not through the Government of the Union of South Africa, it is because it must be clear from all the foregoing that it would be both ludicrous and futile to appeal against the tyrants through the tyrants. **Our demands are that the Herrenvolk ideology be eradicated in South Africa, that there shall be an end to this system whereby the rights of the people are trampled underfoot by a**

small minority, and that there shall no longer be one system of law and morality for the Non-Europeans and a different one for the Herrenvolk. To effect these it would require the practical application of the following 10 fundamental human rights:

(1) The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.

(2) Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.

(3) Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.

(4) Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.

(5) Freedom of movement and occupation.

(6) Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.

(7) Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.

(8) Revision of the civil and the criminal code in accordance with the above.

(9) Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.

(10) Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

(Signed) (Rev.) Z. R. MAHABANE.
(Dr.) G. H. GOOL.
E. C. ROBERTS, B.A.
for Non-European Unity Committee.

Issued by the Non-European Unity Committee. Joint Secretaries: S. Jayiya & E. Ramsdale, P.O. Box 3475, Cape Town, South Africa.
Printed by DNP IM 7/45 359

NON-EUROPEAN UNITY COMMITTEE

"UNITE FOR FREEDOM"

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MR. S. A. JAYIYA.

SEP 27 1945

25217

P.O. BOX 3475, C.TOWN S.A.

1st August, 1945.

42/8/6

The Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People,
69 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed Declaration is sent to you in order to solicit your assistance in the campaign for elementary democratic rights for all in South Africa.

You will be doing a service to the cause of freedom and democracy if you would use your influence to obtain the widest possible publicity for the contents of the Declaration. An aroused and sympathetic world public opinion, we are sure, will considerably strengthen the struggle for democracy in South Africa, a democracy that truly takes no account of colour or race.

We are, Sir,

Yours fraternally,

Joint-Secretaries.

[NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE]

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

May 28, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Frances Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

20-15-59

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Illness of two members of my family made it necessary for me to leave San Francisco on May 17.

I want to take this first opportunity to sincerely thank you for your cooperation during the weeks I covered the United Nations conference. Your assistance materially facilitated my coverage.

In addition I want to earnestly solicit your continued cooperation in this respect--please send by air mail any statements, news releases or other material which you have for release or which may come to your attention, in any way bearing on the conference. This may be addressed, as follows:

P. Bernard Young Jr.
The Journal and Guide
Box 209
Norfolk, 1, Virginia

I am having back copies of the issues in which there are stories and pictures on the conference, and your activities, mailed out to you.

Very truly yours,

P Bernard Young Jr

P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.
Editor in Chief

PBYjr/nb

July 12, 1945

20-15-60

My dear Mr. Young:

I have just gotten a chance to answer your kind letter of May 28th.

I was sorry I could not see more of you in San Francisco and shall be glad at all times to cooperate with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. P. Bernard Young, Jr.
Editor in Chief
The Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

[NORTH CAROLINA- AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE]

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

March 5, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-11-02

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are sending under separate cover a copy of our program for research at the Agricultural and Technical College. This program of course, covers all phases of research, but I thought that you would be interested in that part relating to social studies.

I should be pleased to have any comments or suggestions you may care to make concerning same. May I say to, that I am happy to know that you are continuing to participate in our Land Grant College Cooperative Research Project.

Very truly yours,

Warmoth T. Gibbs

Warmoth T. Gibbs
Dean

WTG:ALM

[NORTH CARLINA - AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE]

13 March 1945

My dear Mr. Gibbs:

20-11-7

I have received a copy of your program for research at the Agricultural and Technical College. I am cooperating with Mr. Frazier, the new Coordinator of the Land Grant Colleges' Social Studies Project, and expect to see him soon. I know he will agree with me about your report.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dean Warmoth T. Gibbs
The Agricultural and Technical College
Greensboro, North Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 8, 1945

20-2-10

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I hope you are well and happy. When I come to New York in the near future, I am going to drop in and see you.

Please let me know what you think of Mr. Hugh H. Smythe as a teacher and as a man. What you say will have great weight with me and I will be very glad to have your opinion.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

James E. Shepard
President

JES:CJD

15 February 1945

20-2-11

My dear President Shepard:

Thank you for your kind words of February eighth. Let me know when you are in or near New York.

With regard to Hugh Smythe, may I say confidentially: Smythe is a man of first rate intelligence and excellent training. He is an indefatigable worker; but on the other hand he is head-strong and impatient of conforming to discipline. He has no bad habits and is always willing to work to the limit of his strength. I can't, however, see you and him getting on together in harness.

I trust Mrs. Shepard is improving. Give her my best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President James E. Shepard
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

July 10, 1945

20-7-52

Dr. James E. Shepard
President
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

My dear Dr. Shepard:

I am going to speak at Greensboro July 25th. If your summer school is still in session and you want a speaker for the 26th or 27th I should be glad to come and talk about the San Francisco Conference. My fee would be $100.00.

With best regards to you and family, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 13, 1945

20-2-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. BuBois:

I am always glad to hear from you.

I am anxious for you to come to this institution in the fall as we do not have in the second session a sufficient crowd to warrant having you.

I will be in New York around August 2 and I will make arrangements to see you.

I hope you are quite well.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

James E. Shepard
President

JES:CJD

46-6-75

State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama
March 26, 1945

Colonial Conference

Dr. Nyabongo accepts the invitation of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which will hold a conference on Colonial Problems April 6, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

[1945?]

State Teachers College,
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Du Bois,
I am returning my memoranda with my suggestion on separate page.

4/6-6-76

Truly Yours,

Nyalongo

2 January 1945

The Director of Special Research reports that the manuscript of the book accepted by Harcourt, Brace and Company has been finished and delivered. The Director has edited and had published a report of 103 pages covering the Social Studies Project with seventeen land grant colleges. He is now beginning work on the colonial conference which he hopes to assemble in January or February.

Since the last meeting of the Board the Director has attended a conference between the Secretary of State and other federal officials and a group of publishers and writers at the Savoy-Plaza Hotel. He has also lectured at Hampton Institute on "Colonies in the Post-War World" and for the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity at Atlantic City, December 31.

The Director has also accepted service on the Wendell Willkie Award for distinguished writing in Negro periodicals.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Report of the Department of Special
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

45-6-1-45

CVNAACP

4 January 1945

20-14-21

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

May I borrow for two weeks the picture of Paul Robeson in the foyer? I will see that it is returned unchanged and undamaged.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Of course.
RW

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

4 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

May we have the services of a man very soon to help put the books on the shelves?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NHACP]

Please enter the subscriptions and Mrs Bowman will supply the funds either in advance or pay bills when presented RWS 1-5-45

4 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I should like to have subscriptions to the following periodicals to come to this department in order to give us information about colonies:

20-14-22

New Times and Ethiopia News
3, Charteris Road
Woodford Green, Essex (13s for 52 weeks)
England

The Colonial Review
Livingstone House
Broadway (5s per year)
London, S.W. 1
England

News Letter
The League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street
Westminster, S. W. 1
London, England (5/- per annum)

Left
R. E. Fitzgerald
21, Brookside Road (5/- per annum)
East Barnet, Herts
England

West Africa (£1 5s) West African Publishing Co. Ltd.
London Chansitor House 38
Chancery Lane, W. C. 2

East Africa
London

Empire
Fabian Book Shop (7/6 per annum)
11 Dartmont Street, S. W. 1
London

The New Statesman and Nation
London

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

4 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I should like to have subscriptions to the following periodicals to come to this department in order to give us information about colonies:

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England

West Africa
London

East Africa
London

Empire
Fabian Book Shop (7/6 per annum)
11 Dartmont Street, S. W. 1
London

The New Statesman

London

"West Africa" - London

"East Africa" - London

"Empire" - a bimonthly record of the Fabian Colonial Bureau
annual subscription rate 7/6
Fabian Book Shop
11 Dartmont Street, S. W. 1

"The New Statesman" - London

20-14

(NAACP)

Memorandum to Dr. DuBois from Mr. Wilkins January 5, 1945

20-1-23

I have been wondering if you would consent to do an article for The Crisis on Dumbarton Oaks and the prospects under that sort of plan for colonial peoples and colored minority groups such as we have in the United States.

It occurred to me that if you did not think a separate article on this topic would be advisable, we might be able to get permission from your publishers for the use of a suitable chapter, or a portion of a chapter, in your forthcoming book. I am certain the subject is of great interest to our people, and no one has as yet spread an authoritative interpretation before them in a popular medium.

Roy Wilkins

RW/dp

[NAACP]

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20-12-18

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

WASHINGTON BUREAU
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Walter White, Director
Administrative Assistant
Leslie S. Perry

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LESLIE S. PERRY ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, WASHINGTON BUREAU

January 12, 1945

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The NAACP has been invited to send a representative to attend a Foreign Economic Conference, which is to be held in room 285 of the State Department on January 17th, from 3:30 to 5:00 P.M. I understand that the topics for discussion and questions will be the loan to Great Britain and the International Trade Organization.

As this is definitely in your field of interest would you let me know if you plan to attend? As the State Department is closed today I shall try to put into the mails Monday additional information and material regarding the conference.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S Perry

Administrative Assistant

M.K.T.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

LSP:mt

[NAACP]

23 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I am enclosing a bill for certain expenses connected with my office which I trust may be approved:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

to

W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr.

30-14

for work in transcribing manuscript "Color and Democracy" outside the office	$22.45
to drawing for the book	10.00
stenographer's notebooks	.50
two calendar pads	.86
	$33.81

[NAACP]

Memorandum to Dr. DuBois from Mr. Wilkins January 25, 1945

Miss Cathrine Freeland, our office manager, is a little pressed to supply clerical help on demand, and since she was not here when your department was set up for business, she has asked about any agreements that were made so she can carry on her duties.

I have explained to her that my understanding was that Miss Diggs was to be your assistant and so far as we knew was to attend to all clerical work in connection with your department. I also explained that understandably emergencies might arise in which you would need a typist for brief periods and that one such occasion was the final typing of the manuscript for your book.

20-14-5

I have told her that it is not my understanding that we are to supply from our own clerical staff clerks for general office work in connection with your department.

The question has arisen because one of our clerks did some typing yesterday and today and then informed Miss Freeland that she had been asked to do some filing. All of the members of our clerical staff have specific duties to perform and these must be done every day or they will fall hopelessly behind. Our budget is adjusted to that kind of work allocation. We do not have any general utility or "free" clerks who can be called upon for work here and there over the office. Therefore, whenever a clerk is assigned to an emergency task in your office it means that she is neglecting temporarily work which she is required to do every day.

I would appreciate your informing me whether my understanding of clerical workers for your office is correct. If it is, and there still remains enough work to require a general clerk for your department, then I shall have to take up with the budget committee and the board the matter of adding someone to our payroll. If this work is not sufficient to require a full-time clerk, we would appreciate your calling upon the general clerical staff as infrequently as possible so that our schedules will not be disrupted.

RW

RW/dp

[NAACP]

26 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I am enclosing a bill for certain expenses connected with my office which I trust may be approved.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

to

W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr.

for work in transcribing manuscript "Color and Democracy outside the office	$22.45
to drawing for the book	10.00
stenographer's notebooks	.50
two calendar pads	.86
paper	1.76
	$35.56

20-14

[NAACP]

January
27th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I am glad to approve the statement for certain expenses submitted on January 26 but for the future I would like clarification of certain items.

We have in our general supply room paper, second sheets, stenographers note books, calendar pads and all necessary items customarily used in an office. If there is any absolute necessity for a special kind of pad or a special grade of paper we could doubtless purchase the same from our regular source a little cheaper than it could be bought in small quantities on individual purchase.

With respect to the typing for "Color and Democracy" I am not clear on whether the NAACP agreed to share the expenses of books and pamphlets which are not issued officially by the Association. In other words, if "Color and Democracy" is an agreement between you and the publishers and the book is to be sold in the usual commercial manner with the usual agreements as to royalties between publisher and author, then items of expense incidental to its preparation would not seem to me to be a legitimate item in the budget of this Association.

Roy Wilkins

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

January
27th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I have your memorandum about clerical assistance. As I recall, there is no restriction on the use which may be made of the $1200 miscellaneous expense fund at the disposal of your department and any part or all of it may be used to employ additional help.

However, both as Acting Secretary and as Director of the Budget I do not have the authority to employ additional staff members not covered in the budget.

It has been the regular procedure here for a number of years that all requests from all departments for additional items not covered by the budget shall pass first to the Secretary and be transmitted by him directly to the Board in emergency cases, and by him to the Budget Committee and thence to the Board in cases where there is no emergency.

20-14

Roy Wilkins

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

31 January 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I do not wish mail or telegrams addressed to me opened by any one except Miss Diggs. If telephone calls of any sort come for me they will be referred to me or Miss Diggs. In the absence of both of us, the reply will be that we are not in the office and it is not known exactly when we will return.

W. E. B. Du Bois

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

INCOME STATEMENT

JANUARY, 1945

Branch memberships and apportionment	$7,723.94
Contributions & members at large	1,730.77
Armed Forces-contributions & members	3,308.09
Christmas Seals	3,850.43
Interest & Dividends	13.50
Branch contributions to travel	105.91
Crisis subscriptions income	751.00
Student Conference	5.00
Literature Sales	36.75
Accounts Receivable	1,163.40
	$18,688.79
Special Funds:	
Life Membership Reserve	60.00
Adler Trust Fund	275.00
Willkie Memorial	1,942.00
Total income	$20,965.79

Comparative Income Statement

Actual Jan. 1945	Actual Jan. 1944	Estimated Budget Jan. 1945
$20,965.79	$16, 968.93	$22,500.00

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

EXPENSE STATEMENT

January, 1945

Salaries		$8,858.97
Rent		239.83
Postage		609.25
Printing		2.91
Telephone & Telegraph		190.43
Supplies		445.28
Travel		714.24
Crisis Subsidy		350.00
General Expense		165.14
N.A.A.C.P. Bulletin		3,040.81
Taxes		327.81
Miscellaneous		273.30
Washington Bureau		304.40
Overhead		78.87
Entertainment		10.65
Contributions		130.00
Special Research		70.56
Membership Campaign		2,050.33
Leadership Training Conference		433.78
West Coast Regional Office		210.25
Medical Committee		12.50
Literature		19.16
Crisis Subscriptions		1,502.00
		$20,040.47

Special Disbursements:

Scottsboro Committee	12.00
TOTAL EXPENSES	20,052.47

Comparative Expense Statement

EXPENSES, Jan. 1945	Budget, 1945	January, 1944
$20,052.47	$23,912.00	$13,322.60

20-19

[NAACP]

February
2nd
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Our office manager will observe your request that mail and telegrams not be opened. It will relieve her of some of her work.

For several years we have had a Western Union teleprinter in the office which delivers telegrams direct. If a telegram for you should come over this machine, it would have to be taken by some clerk unless you wish us to inform Western Union not to send any telegrams to you over the machine.

Since the machine is for the purpose of speeding up delivery, and in war time is taking the place of delivery boys, this might conceivably mean that Western Union would either deliver by messenger on a delayed schedule, or mail your telegrams which would mean still more delay.

20-14

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

6 February 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

May we have copies of the interoffice "Daily Mail" which we do not get?

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

February 6, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

The inter-office daily mail sheets are an exchange between executives of all departments and I will be glad to have a set of them sent to you if we can have from Miss Diggs a daily mail sheet of your department.

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins

[NAACP]

7 February 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

If you have time today, I should be glad to talk with you about my report to the Board for February thirteenth. I have just been able to finish up some matters which I wanted to put in the report. Let me know when it will be convenient to consult with you. I shall be here from twelve until five p. m.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

February
7th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

20-14-4

I have your memorandum about your report to the Board, but unfortunately I have a committee meeting today at four o'clock and a fairly heavy schedule of work between two and four. Would it be possible for us to talk some time tomorrow? I will be in the office all day.

Roy Wilkins

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

7 February 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Sorry not to have been able to discuss this with you. I am leaving early tomorrow for lectures in Cleveland and will not be back until late February twelfth.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

January 2 to February 13, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

I am proposing the following revised program for the work of this department:

1. The publication of books to form and guide public opinion concerning colonies and darker peoples.

   I have finished for publication two works which come in this category:
   a. report of Social Studies by the Land Grant Colleges' project.
   b. the prefatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro. These two are both in print.

   In addition to this I have written a book
   c. "Color and Democracy, Colonies and Peace" which has been accepted by Harcourt, Brace and Company and will appear probably in May.

   d. I have signed today a contract with the Viking Press for a book on "The Africas". The manuscript for this will be finished in June and the book will appear in the fall.

2. Lectures: there is a continual demand for lectures on the colonial project. During January, I lectured at the Schomburg Collection, the Saint James Presbyterian Church in New York and the Bethel Church in Buffalo. During February, I have lectured at the St. James Forum and the Museum of Art in Cleveland.

3. The Colonial Conference: I have been corresponding concerning this conference and have received wide encouragement in the United States, England, Africa and the West Indies. I am proposing, therefore, in April to call a small conference of not more than fifty persons so as to come within the limitation of ~~OPA~~ O.D.T. This proposal has already been before the Board. The cost of this conference I have not been able to estimate carefully as yet nor have I checked the matter with the acting-Secretary. I think the outside expense would be within a thousand dollars. I can make this estimate more definite within a few weeks and would simply like the Board to take some action which would put funds at my disposal in March.

46-6-243

4. As I have said before, I plan a collection of documents concerning colonies and I think the most important collection of this sort at this time would be a reprint of the demands and manifestoes issued by colonial peoples or groups within colonies during the twentieth century and possibly also during the nineteenth. These statements are largely unknown and may be lost and yet in numbers of cases are of great importance. I have already approached a publisher with a proposal of this sort and Miss Diggs will be working at the collection. I presume, however, that we could hardly get the publisher to undertake this unless the Association bore some part of the cost.

5. I propose in connection with the Colonial Conference to begin a small exposition or museum of facts concerning the various colonies. This would be for use at the conference and afterwards it ought to be added to and perfected so as to become a permanent exhibit.

6. It is imperative that very soon a history of the American Negro in two world wars should be written. I propose that this be planned upon a cooperative basis, that is, with an editor-in-chief and a number of contributing editors including those who have the best knowledge of events. I think such a board should be organized as soon as Mr. White returns.

7. Finally, I think we ought definitely to join in calling a Fifth Pan African Congress at a date which might tentatively be set as six months after the close of the war with Germany. I can get organizations in Great Britain, Africa and the West Indies to join us in this. I think we ought to call the conference at some place in Africa: Dakar, Freetown or Monrovia. I think it would be wise to make this announcement immediately as Jans Smuts, the Primier of South Africa, is trying to corral the phrase, Pan African, for his regional mandates proposal.

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-244

[NAACP]

16 February 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

We are sending out so much mail now that it would be much more convenient for us to buy our own stamps and bill you for them monthly. As it is naturally often there are not enough stamps on hand in the mailing department.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

February
16th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I have your memorandum about stamps, but in order not to upset the procedure of the office which has been worked out rather carefully, I believe it would be best for your mail to be handled as is other mail that goes out from all sections of the Association.

This is the first intimation I have had in the number of years that there are not enough stamps on hand to handle correspondence. We have on hand practically at all times 500 to 1,000 three-cent stamps, together with a goodly supply of other denominations including airmail and special delivery.

Currently we are engaged in mailing 10,000 three-cent envelopes and 5,000 six-cent envelopes.

I was not aware that your volume of mail was such that the supply would not be adequate to take care of it. If at anytime your mail has been delayed by your inability to secure stamps from any one place, I would be glad to know about it. It has been our practice not to keep a large supply in the so-called "stamp box" on the mailing table, but Mrs. Bowman, our chief accountant, always has an adequate supply.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

February
20th
1945

20-14

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Would your schedule permit and would you be interested in attending this conference for the N.A.A.C.P.?

Attachment
RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

February 20, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I have notified our Chief Accountant, Mrs. Bowman, that the Board voted an initial sum of $300 for traveling and other expenses in connection with the colonial conference you are calling next month.

In the meantime, in conformity with the Board's request, I would appreciate an estimate of the total expenses, since there was no provision for this item in the Budget and it will have to be authorized and inserted by the Board.

This may seem technical to you, but I am under specific instructions from the Budget Committee and the Board not to expend any monies on projects not included in the Budget and not to transfer any funds from one budget item to an unauthorized item.

20-14

RW:DW

[NAACP]

26 February 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I understand the necessity of notifying you beforehand in case of any proposed buget expenditure. I shall go over this matter with you carefully next week.

W. E. B. Du Bois

30-4

2 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I attended the conference on the Bretton Woods proposals held in Washington, February 28. There were present representatives from 106 organizations as per the enclosed memorandum. Luncheon was served at the Willard Hotel.

In the afternoon I took occasion to propound the following question: "There is in the Bretton Woods proposals so far as I can gather no reference to colonies or colonial conditions. Yet colonies are economic rather than solely political problems. Seven hundred and fifty millions of people, a third of mankind, live in colonies. Cheap colonial labor and materials are basic to post-war industry and finance. Was this matter mentioned in any form at Bretton Woods?

The answer was no; that there were other important matters also that had not been considered as for instance cartels. Someone suggested that in determining the fitness of countries for loans certain control over their action toward dependent peoples might be exercised.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Acting-Secretary NAACP

46-9-197

March
2nd
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Thank you for your memorandum on the conference with Secretary Morgenthau on the Bretton Woods agreement.

The request for this Association to cooperate with other groups in support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the Bretton Woods agreement are increasing. I have been telling most of these people that we are critical of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals because of the total absence of attention to colonial peoples and the ramifications of the colonial question. However, it is not accurate for me to say to them that the NAACP disapproves of Dumbarton Oaks on the ground that it ignores colonials.

The latest request we have received is from the East-West Association to act as one of the 17 organizations on the working committee of their Victory Caravan project which aims to send caravans across the country this summer explaining the necessity of a world security organization with Dumbarton Oaks as the basis.

America United, Inc., has called us several times asking our cooperation and particularly asking for speakers to address certain groups (predominantly colored usually).

It all adds up to the fact that I believe our Board should make a statement of policy so we will know how to proceed. Would you be good enough to outline this situation to the Board at the meeting March 12 and perhaps suggest the type of resolution that ought to be adopted?

I will be glad to talk with you about it beforehand if you wish me to.

RW:ELJ

46-6-195

[NAACP]

6 March 1945

20-14-26

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I am proposing this resolution by the Board at its next meeting. It is pretty strong. Have you any suggestions?

I have decided on account of the demands of the Colonial Conference not to make the trip to Texas.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

7 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Of course I agree with Miss Detzer that it would be a splendid thing to have a Negro member of the delegation but I am afraid it is rather fantastic to think that we could thus replace Hull. A more realistic approach would be to have a Negro adviser or consultant attached to the United States delegation.

W. E. B. Du Bois

7 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Enclosed is the text of my proposed invitation for the Colonial Conference. Have you any suggestions?

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-189

[enclosure]

A COLONIAL CONFERENCE

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in cooperation with several organizations and individuals invites you to attend a Colonial Conference to be held April 6, 1945, in the Auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, from ten a. m. to one p. m., and from two to five p. m.

The persons invited to this conference will consist mainly of natives of the various colonies in the world who have resided recently in these colonies or have kept in close touch with developments. Also a few close students of colonial conditions who are not natives of the territories will also be invited.

Will you kindly let us know at your earliest convenience if we can count upon your attendance?

W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research

49-6-190

You are scheduled in our Colonial Conference as a native of_____ or a student of conditions in that colony. Can you prepare for this Conference a concise, factual report of conditions in the colony touching the following subjects and based on the latest and most reliable data: population, health and sanitation, birth rate and death rate; education, political organization, government officials, native self-rule; work and wage, land and property, foreign investment of capital; industry, agriculture, imports and exports; religion and missions; general social conditions?

Also can you bring us the exact text of any demands made by groups of people in this colony during the twentieth century for self-government and social progress or complaining of prevalent conditions and seeking partial or complete autonomy?

[NAACP]

On NAACP
date
2 Carbons

9 March 1945

Memoraundum to Mr. Wilkins:

Here is a proposed draft of a letter to the Department of State.

I should like very soon to print the invitation and statement for the Colonial Conference. Can you recommend a suitable printer?

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-198

DRAFT

[ENC]

Dear Sir:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes to ask if on the agenda of the approaching conference in San Francisco the question of colonies and their future status and treatment will be considered? We have in mind not only colonies which formerly have belonged to enemy nations or international territory taken from them after this war but in particular colonies of empires and free states which are not self-governing.

Moreover, the Association would like to ask if there will be present any commissions or spokesmen from the colonial peoples themselves who can directly or indirectly speak for their aspirations and progress?

Finally, the Association would like to ask if any provision will be made for the representation of American Negroes at the San Francisco meeting in order that they may advocate and advise measures for their own social progress and also be given opportunity to speak for other peoples of African descent whom they in a very real sense represent?

We would be deeply obliged if we could have in the near future an answer to these questions.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

96-6-199

[NAACP]

10 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I am very glad you explained to Miss Diggs just the circumstances under which we can hire additional clerical help. We want to conform to the office rules and the union rules. It would be much more satisfactory to us if the girl could work in the main office and conform to all office rules.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

February 13 to March 12, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Since my last report I have delivered the following lectures on the subject of colonies, race and culture:

Detroit: Colored YMCA - February 18
Men's Club, King Solomon Baptist Church - February 22

Chicago: Arnett A. M. E. Church - February 21
New London Connecticut Interracial Council - February 26

I attended the conference on the Bretton Woods proposals held in Washington, February 28. There were present representatives from 106 organizations. In the afternoon I took occasion to propound the following question: "There is in the Bretton Woods proposals so far as I can gather no reference to colonies or colonial conditions. Yet colonies are economic rather than solely political problems. Seven hundred and fifty millions of people, a third of mankind, live in colonies. Cheap colonial labor and materials are basic to post-war industry and finance. Was this matter mentioned in any form at Bretton Woods?" The answer was no; that there were other important matters also that had not been considered as for instance cartels. Someone suggested that in determining the fitness of countries for loans certain control over their action toward dependent peoples might be exercised.

On Saturday, March 3, a meeting of the preliminary committee to arrange for the Colonial Conference took place in my office. There were present the acting-Secretary, Dr. Reddick of the Schomburg Collection; Mr. Hunton of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. Rayford W. Logan. It was decided to call a conference April sixth in the auditorium of the 135th Street Library. A tentative list of persons to be invited was suggested.

On the same afternoon I attended a conference at the Intercultural Workshop and took part in discussion with Rachel Davis-DuBois, Lillian Smith and others.

I have been invited to join a panel discussion with representatives of the University of Texas and the Jewish community to discuss the subject AMERICA FACES THE FUTURE in six of the leading cities of Texas during March. On account of the Colonial Conference I thought it best to refuse.

I was one of the persons invited to attend the meeting March fifth for the launching of the United Negro College Fund for the year 1945.

I was the guest of Harcourt, Brace and Company, March 6, to a dinner given by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in honor of Mrs. Roosevelt at Hotel Commodore.

419-6-105

The following resolution was passed by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its meeting on March 12, 1945:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People earnestly desires the prvention of war and the future preservation of peace in the world. It believes that one step toward this would be an international military force to curb aggression; but it also believes that beyond and above physical force must stand spiritual faith. For this reason it demands the following steps to make war at once unlikely and unprofitable:

1. A declaration at San Francisco of the racial equality of the great groups of mankind in international law.
2. A further declaration that the ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a frequent and repeated cause of war and oppression; and that therefore it be the sense of the United Nations that the ownership and control of colonies and dependencies be recognized in international law only on the following terms:
   a. That the dominating country solemnly engage to give the peoples of such areas immediately a voice in their own government.
   b. That it solemnly declare its intention that by a given date these peoples shall either be integrated into the polity of the mother country with full rights of citizenship; or shall be allowed to become independent and autonomous countries, as the peoples themselves shall decide.

c. That the natural resources of these countries including mines, forests, land and its materials shall be owned by the colonies and used primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the area; that the organization of industry, the control of labor and investment of capital shall be ordered for the benefit of the people in the area and not simply for profit of invested capital or primarily for the welfare of people outside the colony.

d. That an international Mandates Commission be established and implemented under the supreme authority of the United Nations with the right to supervise the government of territory mandated after the First World War and any such enemy territory acquired in the present war and to investigate, report and recommend action in the case of countries who do not keep their commitments in colonies or will not make such commitments; and that in such cases the conduct and administration of these colonies be placed under control of the Mandates Commission, backed by the authority of the United Nations.

20-16

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People points out that every demand on colonial powers here made has at some time or other been declared by these powers as an integral part of their policy. Lacking only in these promises was any method of checking their sincerity or accomplishment by international supervision. Peace and civilization, humanity and religion today demand this sacrifice of independence on the part of the world's great powers for social progress and democracy. We sincerely believe that no action less than this is going to rescue this world from continued war and the persistent exploitation of a large portion of mankind if not indeed the majority of human beings.

The following resolution was passed by the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its meeting on March 12, 1945:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People earnestly desires the prevention of war and the future preservation of peace in the world. It believes that one step toward this would be an international military force to curb aggression; but it also believes that beyond and above physical force must stand spiritual faith. For this reason it demands the following steps to make war at once unlikely and unprofitable; the ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a frequent and repeated cause of war and oppression; and has long resulted and continues to cause extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. And out of these colonies come large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations.

For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies. Naturally so momentous a change can neither be suddenly begun nor gently achieved but we demand that the United Nations at San Francisco establish an international Mandates Commission, on which the colonial peoples shall have representation.

This body shall be empowered to oversee and facilitate the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

To this end all territories mandated after the first World War and all territory seized and internationalized after this war shall, except as military necessities require, be under the control of the mandates commission.

All other colonies shall be recognized in international law only on the following terms:

a. That the dominationg country solemly engage to give the peoples of such areas immediately a voice in their own government.

b. That it solemnly declare its intention that by a given date these peoples shall be integrated into the polity of the mother country with full rights of citizenship; or shall be allowed to become independent and autonomous countries, as the peoples themselves shall decide.

c. That the natural resources of these countries including mines, forests, land and its materials shall be owned by the colonies and used primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the area; that the organization of industry, the control of labor and investment of capital shall be ordered for the benefit of the people in the area and not simply for profit of invested capital or primarily for the welfare of people outside the colony.

d. That the international Mandates Commission be established and implemented under the supreme authority of the United Nations with the right to investigate, report and recommend action in the case of countries who do not keep their commitments in colonies or will not make such commitments; and that in such cases the conduct and administration of these colonies be transferred to the control of the Mandates Commission, backed by the authority of the United Nations.

In general:

That the interests and welfare of the colonial peoples themselves should be the <u>first</u> concern of any discussions, statements or plans of action involving colonies.

2. That any commiddions - government, international or privately initiated or supported - which shall concern themselves with colonies and colonial peoples shall have real representation of the native people on these bodies.
3. That the same regulations concerning the right to bear arms be applied to native and non-native residents of colonial areas. That all colonial areas be subject to the United Nations' declarations on freedom of speech and freedom of press.
4. That freedom of mobility within the colonial area as well as to and from the colonial area shall not be denied native inhabitants.
5. That there shallbe no transfer of colonial territories without consulting the peoples who inherit these territories.
6. That the minimum labor standards of the International Labor Office shall be applied to all colonial and semi-colonial areas.
7. That the colonial peoples shall have the right to freely associate themselves in civic, social, politican and labor unions and to affiliate with bona fide international organizations to which similar unions in independent nations have access.
8. That all plans of the United Nations for rehabilitation, the extension of credit and the promotion of public works, cooperative industry and commerce and the development of agriculture include the colonial peoples along with all others.

It is understood that the question of establishing a plan of international trusteeship over the colonies of the enemy nations in this war will be on the agenda of the Conference. We believe it to be absolutely necessary that the discussion go further to consider disposition of the colonial territories mandated under the League of Nations, and the larger problem of supervision over the

colonies as a whole. It is most desirable that decisions regarding the colonies of enemy powers be related to decisions with respect to the general problem of dependent peoples and territories, if it is at all possible for this to be done.

The future of colonial peoples and territories is a world problem. World security cannot be achieved unless international responsibility is assumed for the rapid advancement of all dependent peoples so that they may exercise self-determinationand be integrated with other peoples in the general progress of the world toward a hagher and more stable civilization. From the point of view of the needs of both the colonies and the industrially advanced nations, economic progress in the dependent areas is immediately and imperatively essential. The welfare of developed and undeveloped countries alike depends upon the realization of a far greater exchange of goods and services between them than has existed, and this in turn necessitates the general levelling up of the living standards of hundreds of millions of colonial subjects. Such economic progress is possible only within a framework in which the restrictions upon social development, democratic rights, and self-government-restrictions which are characteristic of the colonial world as a whole - are removed. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color, should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.

This Mandates Commission should be composed of representatives of all permanent members of the Security Council, additional representatives elected by the General Assembly, and members who represent directly the several broad groups of colonial peoples. The Commission shouls appoint its own staff of colonial experts and advisors, including the services of qualified persons of all races,

and particularly persons indigenous to the colonies.

The minimum functions of the Mandates Commission, in addition to those already mentioned above, shall be:

1) To establish an International Convention governing economic, social, and political standards to be maintained in the administration of all colonial territories.

2) To use the powers designated below to insure adherence to the Convention by all colonial administrators.

3) To establish the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.

4) To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas. To this end an international fund for colonial development, open to government and private subscriptions from all countries, should be established, which fund the Colonial Commission should have the authority to administer.

89-17

Powers

In addition to the powers vested in the League of Nations Mandate Commission, which would now be extended to cover not only mandatory powers but all colonial administration (except military), the Colonial Commission would be authorized as a minimum:

1) To make direct and on-the-spot inspection or investigation in any colonial territory.

2) To hear and receive direct petitions and oral complaints from established organizations or agents of the inhabitants of any colonial territory.

3) To submit recommendations for action to be approved by the General Assembly in any case in which a mandatory or trustee power is in disagreement with the Colonial Commission or has been found habitually delinquent in adherence to any section of the Convention.

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387

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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LESLIE S. PERRY ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON BUREAU
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Walter White, Director
Administrative Assistants
Leslie S. Perry

20-4-171

March 13, 1945

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I talked with Ralph Bunche this afternoon who says that he will answer your letter at a very early date. The Chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs is Benjamin Garig.

Cordially yours,

Leslie Perry

Administrative Assistant

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

LP:ee

[NAACP]

13 March 1945

Memoraundum to Mr. Wilkins:

1. I forgot to say anything yesterday about the budgeting of the $1,000 for the Colonial Conference. Was that necessary?

2. Since I am to go to San Francisco will you help me with two matters: a. transportation

b. a place to lodge and board?

W. E. B. Du Bois

8D-14

[NAACP]

March 13th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

(1) I think the preliminary authorization of $300 for the Colonial Conference was sufficient to indicate that the Board did not only approve of the venture, but indicated by implication that it would pay the whole cost. Our difficulty was that we could make no estimate of that cost. I feel that the April Board will complete the necessary authorization for whatever sum is required.

(2) We will be glad to help you with transportation to San Francisco. By train it is very difficult. Reservations may not be made more than 30 days prior to the date of leaving and the return must be arranged in the same fashion.

We have found that air transportation, even with the possibility of being bumped off at some spot is easier to arrange. Would you object to flying to San Francisco? I think it may be arranged.

What date would you like to leave? Do you have any idea when you might want to return? I don't suppose you do, and we might well leave that to be arranged after you get out there.

(3) I think we can make arrangements through the president of our San Francisco branch for a suitable place for you to lodge and board. I will have to know about when you would like to arrive in San Francisco in order to make these arrangements.

Out of town
14 March 1945

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

19 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I shall be glad to go to San Francisco by air even if I have to stop off once or twice. Will you kindly arrange this at your convenience? I want to get in San Francisco sometime during the week of April twenty-second as late in that week as is practical. I have no idea about the return and it would probably be best to arrange this after I get there. Please also see about board and lodging if you can. I shall be greatly obliged.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NAACP]

March 21, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I have written to San Francisco asking about a room for you with breakfast. It was sent airmail and we should have some kind of reply in about a week.

I have made the following reservation for you on TWA: Leave New York City April 19, 3 p.m., arrive San Francisco April 20, 9:30 a.m.

This reservation need not be picked up until three hours before plane time.

They wish to know whether you want limousine service from here to the airport and from the airport in San Francisco to the downtown district. Please let me know and I will take care of the details.

We are buying a roundtrip ticket and you can make your own reservations for the return after you decide how long you want to stay in San Francisco.

20-14

Roy Wilkins

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

20-12-14

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

WASHINGTON BUREAU
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Walter White, Director
Administrative Assistant
Leslie S. Perry

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JESSE O. DEDMON — SECRETARY, VETERANS' AFFAIRS
LESLIE S. PERRY — ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, WASHINGTON BUREAU

March 21, 1945

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I am enclosing herewith a clipping from THE WASHINGTON POST of March 18 entitled "Problems of Dependencies 'Potential Dynamite' ", which you may find interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry
Administrative Assistant

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

Enclosure

LP:ee

[NAACP]

21 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I should most certainly like limousine service from here to the airport and from the airport in San Fancisco to the down town district or to my stopping place.

I think it would be a good thing if I had the names and addresses of the president of the NAACP in San Francisco and of the state organization if there is one. I would then write them beforehand explaining just what my work in San Francisco was and just what it was not so that they would not get any wrong idea as to why I was in the state.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NAACP]

22 March 1945

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

May we order the following stationery:

2,500 letterheads and envelopes on "Strathmore Bay Path bond with rag content" (sample enclosed)

1,000 sheets of Miller's Fall onion skin or other mark of similar quality (sample enclosed)

1,000 yellow sheets (sample enclosed)

C1-08

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

23 March 1945

51-21-02

My dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you very much for the clipping which you sent me. I shall appreciate matter of this whenever you find it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
NAACP, Washington Bureau
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

DR. DUBOIS [NAACP]

March 26, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE EXECUTIVE STAFF FROM MR. WILKINS:

Just as we suspected and discussed in staff meeting last Friday, there is a distinct possibility that Mr. White will be returning to New York very shortly.

We have a letter from him this morning dated March 9th which states, "It will take me several more weeks...I have, therefore, decided to turn back at Australia and go later via North Africa to China, India and Burma. Thus, if all goes well, I'll be seeing all of you before many more weeks have passed."

20-14-8

He also states that he was in a plane crack-up in the Philippines, but "I was totally uninjured except for a few very minor bruises." I will pass around the complete letter for your inspection.

In the meantime, I would like to suggest that each one of us put in extra effort and time to bring our work as nearly up to date as possible so that it can be in shape for staff reports on progress and accomplishment when Mr. White returns.

RW:DW

Chickering 4-3800
Cable 5-7676

[NAACP]

28 March 1945

9-41-28

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

This is the latest communication from the Association for the United Nations and the resolution which they finally arranged for the letter to Stettinius. Kindly read and return.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NAACP]

March 29, 1945

(Dictated 3/27/45)

20-14

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I telephoned TWA today and they said they had not had any notice as yet that flights out of Chicago would not proceed as usual. They promised to notify me if they receive such a notice.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

Dr. DuBois

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

At the meeting of the Board of Directors to be held on Monday, April 9, the following matters will be considered:

REPORTS OF OFFICERS:
a - Report of the Acting Secretary (as sent out)
b - Report of the Department of Branches
c - Report of the Treasurer
d - Report of the Editor of The Crisis
e - Report of the Youth Secretary
f - Report of the Director of Special Research

20-19

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES:
a - Report of the Committee on Administration
b - Report of the Legal Committee
c - Report of the Committee on Branches
d - Report of the National Medical Committee
e - Report of the Youth Work Committee
f - Report of the Committee Working with the Publicity Department

REPORTS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES:
a - Report of the Committee on Permanent Site
b - Report of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution

SPECIAL ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

REVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION: The April and May Board meetings will consider suggested revisions in the N.A.A.C.P. Constitution which will be presented by a committee appointed for that purpose.

RETURN OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: The last letter the National Office had from Mr. White was dated March 9 and said that he had decided to return to this country before going to India, and that he would be seeing us "soon". We have no way of knowing exactly how soon he will arrive, but our guess is that it will be on or before April 15. It may even be in time for the April Board meeting.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS:

NEW BUSINESS:

March 30, 1945

Roy Wilkins
Acting Secretary

[NAACP]

30 March 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

According to the Times this morning the American Organization for the United Nations is selecting twelve representatives from one hundred national organizations to represent it at San Francisco. I have already written to Mr. Eichelberger. I think we ought to bring pressure upon him to see that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is among these twelve.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NAACP]

March 30, 1945

Dear Mr. Eichelberger:

We have noted the statement in this morning's Times that twelve representatives of national organizations are being selected by your group to act as observers at the World Security Conference in San Francisco.

Through your correspondence with this Association, and particularly with Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois whose entire time on our staff is being devoted to the subject of the relationship of colored peoples to a permanent peace, you know that we are deeply concerned.

I believe this Association is the only prominent Negro organization in the country which has been actively interested in this subject. We do not mean that other groups are not concerned, but they are smaller and younger. This Association has been in existence since 1909 and since 1910 it has included in its activities study and work in behalf of the colored peoples of the world. The first and second Pan-African conferences were held in Europe at the call of this Association and were planned and directed by Dr. Du Bois.

In the light of this long record and of the unquestioned eminence of Dr. Du Bois in this field, we are moved to ask most earnest consideration of our request that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People be designated as one of the twelve observers in San Francisco. We realize the problem confronting you in selecting

twelve out of approximately 100 organizations, but we submit that the importance of colonies and colored peoples in the plan for the peace makes it highly desirable that the largest Negro organization (425,000 members) be among the ones designated.

Very sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary.

20-13

COPY

Mr. Clark M.Eichelberger
Director
American Association for the United Nations, Inc.
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

The Crisis Publishing Company
Comparative Report
March, 1945

	Actual 1945	Actual 1944	Cumulative 3 months Actual 1945	Actual 1944
Income				
Sales, net of returns	$ 296.83	$ 315.54	$ 784.94	$ 703.32
Subscriptions, NAACP	2205.00	3292.30	6585.00	5652.90
" Direct	451.12	365.34	1344.40	1113.75
Advertising Income	397.92	546.82	1468.60	1230.37
Book Income	131.17	329.58	412.17	399.87
Bad debts recovered	-	-	6.50	35.00
Total:	$3482.04	$4849.58	$10601.61	$9135.21
Subsidy NAACP(Feb.& March)	700.00	700.00	1050.00	1050.00
Total Income	$4182.04	$5549.58	$11651.61	$10185.21

9-02

The Crisis Publishing Company
Comparative Report
March, 1945

	Actual 1945	Actual 1944	Cumulative 3 months Actual 1945	Cumulative 3 months Actual 1944
Cost and Expenses				
Production Cost				
Paper	$ 717.89	$ 695.08	$1912.44	$1490.87
Printing	1258.14	823.74	4111.79	3295.59
Engraving	156.24	96.32	468.23	322.25
Photographs	58.50	287.65	174.65	368.65
Total:	$2190.77	$1902.79	$6667.11	$4577.36
Salaries				
Editor	$ 200.00	$ 125.00	$ 600.00	$ 375.00
Business Manager	-	100.00	-	300.00
Editorial Assistant	200.00	-	600.00	-
Office	974.60	757.69	3173.86	2270.41
Total:	$1374.60	$ 982.69	$4373.86	$2945.41
General Expenses				
Circulation Promotion &	$ (	$ (	$(	$(21.60
Publicity	(76.25	(76.25	(228.75	(228.75
Copyright	2.00	2.00	6.00	6.00
Discount & Commission	23.27	-	58.32	37.96
Editorial Expense	55.00	45.00	335.00	110.00
General Expense	139.21	60.72	211.71	154.85
NY Unemployment Ins.	37.06	26.53	119.20	79.39
Office Supplies	75.35	200.89	416.37	353.16
Postage	264.73	167.63	834.42	494.51
Rent	56.00	54.00	168.00	162.00
Social Security	13.74	9.83	44.21	28.96
Telephone & Telegraph	33.37	33.33	100.11	99.99
Transportation	4.45	20.55	42.55	46.55
Wrappers	265.13	-	517.63	252.50
Stencils	70.70	-	86.70	-
Tax	-	-	-	-
Insurance	-	-	7.77	4.79
Entertainment Fund	-	3.57	-	29.17
Total:	$1119.26	$ 700.30	$3176.74	$2110.18

9-08

The Crisis Publishing Company
Comparative Report
March, 1945

	Actual 1945	Actual 1944	Cumulative 3 months Actual 1945	Cumulative 3 months Actual 1944
Total Expenses:	$4684.63	$3585.78	$14217.71	$9632.95
Net Income or Loss:	$-502.59	$1963.80	$-2566.10	$ 552.26

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

INCOME STATEMENT

March, 1945

		Cumulative for 3 months
Branch memberships and apportionment..	$13,961.54	$34,407.97
Contributions & members at large.....	1,038.00	3,586.52
Armed Forces--Contributors & members....	8,194.95	18,581.61
Christmas Seals.....	813.49	6,795.30
Interest & Dividends.....	554.36	590.36
Branch Contributions to travel.....	141.00	256.91
Crisis Subscriptions income.....	1,475.00	3,559.00
Student Conference.....	-- --	5.00
Literature Sales.....	32.35	107.22
Accounts Receivable.....	-- --	1,163.40
Button Sales.....	214.50	516.66
	$26,425.19	$69,569.95
SPECIAL FUNDS:		
Life Membership Reserve.....	710.00	2,412.00
Adler Trust Fund.....	-- --	275.00
Willkie Memorial.....	5,893.90	11,474.82
TOTAL INCOME.....	$33,029.09	$ 83,731.77
COMPARATIVE INCOME STATEMENT:		
Actual, 1945	33,029.09	83,731.77
Budget, 1945	22,500.00	67,500.00
Actual, 1944	25,184.99	64,483.25

20-9

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

EXPENSE STATEMENT

	March, 1945	Cumulative for 3 months
Salaries	$9,958.48	$27,651.18
Rent	239.83	719.49
Postage	937.09	2,755.09
Printing	1,773.08	4,630.10
Telephone & Telegraph	383.69	987.51
Supplies	752.86	1,390.24
Travel	430.80	1,750.00
Crisis Subsidy	700.00	1,050.00
General Expense	197.70	666.25
NAACP Bulletin	3,141.49	9,234.71
Taxes	603.22	1,019.41
Miscellaneous	377.20	875.25
Washington Bureau	543.96	1,337.56
Overhead	70.09	261.82
Entertainment	51.43	83.38
Contributions	55.00	305.00
Special Research	23.68	119.24
Membership Campaign	-- --	2,050.33
Leadership Training Conf	121.75	929.25
West Coast Regional Off	200.00	410.25
Medical Committee	-- --	12.50
Literature	13.72	41.88
Crisis subscriptions	2,950.00	7,118.00
Accounts Receivable	554.36	576.86
Furniture & Equipment	70.02	548.19
	$24,149.45	$66,523.49
Special Disbursements:		
Scottsboro Committee	9.00	30.00
Spingarn Medal Fund	23.48	23.48
Willkie Memorial	10,404.32	10,404.32
Total Disb	$34,586.25	$76,981.29
COMPARATIVE EXPENSE STATEMENT		
Actual, 1945	34,586.25	76,981.29
Budget, 1945	23,912.00	71,736.00
Actual, 1944	28,408.30	54,046.49

20-9

4 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I have heard nothing from the Secretary of State or from the head of the Division of Dependent Peoples in answer to my letters. It looks to me as though they are going to do nothing and that even a chance for me to observe intelligently or to be admitted to semi-public functions is doubtful.

I wonder if we ought not to start a campaign to insist that the Department of State give Negro Americans some specific recognition as special listeners-in, as consultants or in some capacity. We could probably get numbers of organizations to back us in such a demand.

I should be glad to have you take this under consideration.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

46-6-182

[NAACP]

5 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

We find that the services of a stenotypist would cost at least $100 for the Colonial Conference. This seems, both Mr. Reddick and myself, too much to spend. I am wondering if you have or if you could get hold of a good stenographer who could take parts of some speeches and keep a sort of general record of what was done? Can you suggest anyone inside the office or out?

W. E. B. Du Bois

41-08

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[1945?]

Races of the world

Negroid		220,000,000
Africa	150,000,000	
America	35,000,000	
Asia	35,000,000	
Whites		480,000,000
Yellow and brown		1,450,000,000
		2,150,000,000

20-24

Colonial Population	750,000,000
Empires	650,000,000
Free states and quasi-colonies	750,000,000

[1945 ?]

THE NEGRO IN THE PEACE MAKING

RACES IN THE WORLD

NEGROID		220,000,000
Africa	150,000,000	
America	35,000,000	
Asia	35,000,000	
WHITES		480,000,000
YELLOW AND BROWN		1,450,000,000
		2,150,000,000

Colonial Population	750,000,000
Empire	650,000,000
Free states and quasi-colonies	750,000,000

20-24

THE NEGRO AND THE PEACE MAKING

32-39-69

A Colonial Conference

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in cooperation with several organizations and individuals invites you to attend a Colonial Conference to be held April 6, 1945, in the Auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, from ten a. m. to one p. m., and from two to five p. m.

The persons invited to this conference will consist mainly of native inhabitants of the various colonies in the world who have resided recently in these colonies or have kept in close touch with developments. Also a few persons who have made close study of colonial conditions who are not natives of the territories will be invited.

The object of this conference is to assemble, in clear and concise form, the essential facts concerning colonies and their demands.

Will you kindly let us know at your earliest convenience if we can count upon your attendance?

W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research

R.S.V.P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York

SPEAKERS AT THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE, April 6, 1945:

Julio Pinto Gandia, Puerto Rico

A. W. Wendell Malliet, Jamaica

Kumar Goshal, India

Bhola D. Panth, India

Maung Saw Tun, Burma

Akiki K. Nyabongo, Uganda, East Africa

Francis N. Nkrumah, Gold Coast, British West Africa

P. Bernard Young, Jr., Member of Committee of Negro Editors visiting West Africa

Ramkrishna S. Modak, India

Rayford W. Logan, Howard University

W. A. Hunton, Council on African Affairs

L. D. Reddick, Schomburg Collection

Richard B. Moore, West Indies National Council

John R. Andu, Indonesia, Netherlands East Indies

W. E. B. Du Bois, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

20-4-17

Specifically this Colonial Conference makes the following demands:

That colonies held by the United States of America either be given their independence or that steps be taken for their inclusion within the United States as equal states.

That in the case of the Belgian Congo, the Belgian Government be asked for a categorical statement concerning its intentions toward the native peoples and especially their education for self-government and the recognition of their ownership of natural resources and such restriction in the investment of capital as will insure its use primarily for the welfare of the natives of the colony.

30-6-45

In the case of Italy we demand that such territory as rightfully belongs to Ethopia be restored to that country and the rights of natives in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland be safeguarded under an International Mandates Commission.

In the case of Japan we demand the restoration of Manchukuo and Formosa to a democratic China and the independence of Korea.

In the case of the British Empire we demand independence for India and Burma and immediate steps toward dominion status for Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

We demand that no country like the Union of South Africa be recognized as capable of exercising a colonial mandate so long as by its fundamental law it does not recognize the equal citizenship of native peoples who reach the standards required of other persons.

We demand that in other parts of British Africa no white minority be given privilege to rule over native majorities; that education for citizenship and work be undertaken for all native peoples and that the longstanding promise to admit native Africans to equal status with other citizens in the British Empire be implemented

immediately by definite steps toward this end.

In the British West Indies we ask for continued progress toward self-government and the recognition of democracy by taking from officials like the Governor of Jamaica the right to make laws without legislative consent or to veto enacted legislation without executive responsibility to the legislature.

We especially demand in the West Indies a radical re-adjustment of land ownership, the regulation of industry and property, the taxation of profits and the raising of the wages for laborers to the end that the gradual abolition of poverty shall make the exercise of political power by the native born people possible through a modern standard of living.

36-6-46

In the case of the French, Dutch and Portuguese colonies, we recognize that present plans promise the recognition of equal citizenship in the future for their colonial peoples; but we insist that these plans cannot be carried out if these areas and other colonial territories continue to be regarded as territory for trade, industry and investment to be carried on primarily for the benefit of non-resident Europeans without making the economic and social interests of the inhabitants of the colonies of first and continuous importance.

Colonial Affairs

Res. Pan-Afr. Colonial Conf. 1945?

Specifically this Colonial Conference makes the following demands:

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That in the case of the Belgian Congo, the Belgian Government be asked for a categorical statement concerning its intentions toward the native peoples and especially their education for self-government and the recognition of their ownership of natural resources and such restriction in the investment of capital as will insure its use primarily for the welfare of the natives of the colony.

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35-2-449

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Colonial Conference Resolution

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies comes large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

Naturally so momentous a change cannot be immediately achieved but we demand that the United Nations at San Francisco establish an international Colonial Commission.

This Colonial Commission should be composed of representatives of all permanent members of the Security Council, additional representatives elected by the General Assembly, and members who represent directly the several broad groups of colonial peoples. The Commission should appoint its own staff of colonial experts and advisers, including the services of qualified persons of all races, and particularly persons indigenous to the colonies.

This body shall be empowered to oversee and facilitate the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

To this end all territories mandated after the first World War and all territory seized and internationalized after this war shall, except as military necessities require, be under the direct control of the Colonial Commission.

The minimum functions of the Colonial Commission, in addition to those mentioned shall be:

1. To establish economic, social, and political standards to be maintained in the administration of all colonial territories.

46-6-91

2. To use the powers of the United Nations to insure adherence to these standards by all colonial powers. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.
3. To establish the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.
4. To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas.

410-6-92

The future of colonial peoples and territories is a world problem. World security cannot be achieved unless international responsibility is assumed for the rapid advancement of all dependent peoples so that they may exercise self-determination and be integrated with other peoples in the general progress of the world toward a higher and more stable civilization. From the point of view of the needs of both the colonies and the industrially advanced nations, economic progress in the dependent areas is immediately and imperatively essen tial.

The welfare of developed and undeveloped countries alike depends upon the realization of a far greater exchange of goods and services between them than has existed, and this in turn necessitates the general leveling up of the living standards of hundreds of millions of colonial subjects. Such economic progress is possible only within a framework in which the restrictions upon social development, democratic rights, and self-government--restrictions which are characteristic of the colonial world as a whole--are removed.

Revised

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies comes large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

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68-2-91/6

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2. To use the powers of the United Nations to insure adherence to these standards by all colonial powers. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.
3. To establish the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.
4. To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas.

The future of colonial peoples and territories is a world problem. World security cannot be achieved unless international responsibility is assumed for the rapid advancement of all dependent peoples so that they may exercise self-determination and be integrated with other peoples in the general progress of the world toward a higher and more stable civilization. From the point of view of the needs of both the colonies and the industrially advanced nations, economic progress in the dependent areas is immediately and imperatively essential.

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410-6-40

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies come large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. (Colonial rivalries conducive to war.) For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

Naturally so momentous a change cannot be immediately achieved but we demand that the United Nations at San Francisco establish an international Colonial Mandates Commission.

This Colonial Mandates Commission should be composed of representatives of all permanent members of the Security Council, additional representatives elected by the Generaly Assembly, and members who represent directly the several broad groups of colonial peoples. The Commission should appoint its own staff of qualified persons of all races, and particularly persons indigenous to the colonies. (who should these experts be; colonial experts and advisers, including the services of)

This body shall be empowered to oversee and facilitate the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

To this end all territories "mandated" after the first World War and all territory seized and internationalized after this war shall, (except as military necessities require,) be under the direct control of the Colonial mandates commission.

The minimum functions of the Colonial Mandates Commission, in addition to those mentioned, shall be:

(Omit these words. unnecessary)

(next page)

416-6-101

1) To establish economic, social, and political standards to be maintained in the administration of all colonial territories.

2) To use the powers of the United Nations to insure adherence to the standards by all colonial powers.

3) To establish the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.

4) To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas.

The future of colonial peoples and territories is a world problem. World security cannot be achieved unless international responsibility is assumed for the rapid advancement of all dependent peoples so that they may exercise self-determination and be integrated with other peoples in the general progress of the world toward a higher and more stable civilization. From the point of view of the needs of both the colonies and the industrially advanced nations, economic progress in the dependent areas is immediately and imperatively essential.

The welfare of developed and undeveloped countries alike depends upon the realization of a far greater exchange of goods and services between them than has existed, and this in turn necessitates the general leveling up of the living standards of hundreds of millions of colonial subjects. Such economic progress is possible only within a framework in which the restrictions upon social development,

4/6-6-102

democratic rights, and self-government -- restrictions which are characteristic of the colonial world as a whole-- are removed. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.

46-6-103

suggestions

1. I object to the use of the word mandate, not because of the true meaning of the word as such, but of what the term has come to mean in the eyes of colonial peoples. To the average colonial subject the term "Mandate" has become an opprobrium, and its use (to them) implies a "sell out" to the colonial powers. "International Colonial Commission would be preferable to "international Mandate Commission".

2. On any international Commission where colonial peoples are represented provision should be made that they have effectual representation on that Council or Commission. This point needs emphasis.

Sincerely

Francis J. Nkrumah

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies come large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

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This body shall be empowered to oversee and facilitate the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

To this end all territories mandated after the first World War and all territory seized and internationalized after this war shall, except as military necessities require, be under the direct control of the mandates commission.

The minimum functions of the Mandates Commission, in addition to those mentioned, shall be:

46-6-79

1) To establish economic, social, and political standards to be maintained in the administration of all colonial territories.

2) To use the powers of the United Nations to insure adherence to the standards by all colonial powers.

3) To establish the time necessary for each colonial territory to develop to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, and to declare the date on which this right is to be exercised.

4) To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas.

III

The future of colonial peoples and territories is a world problem. World security cannot be achieved unless international responsibility is assumed for the rapid advancement of all dependent peoples so that they may exercise self-determination and be integrated with other peoples in the general progress of the world toward a higher and more stable civilization. From the point of view of the needs of both the colonies and the industrially advanced nations, economic progress in the dependent areas is immediately and imperatively essential.

46-6-80

The welfare of developed and undeveloped countries alike depends upon the realization of a far greater exchange of goods and services between them than has existed, and this in turn necessitates the general leveling up of the living standards of hundreds of millions of colonial subjects. Such economic progress is possible only within a framework in which the restrictions upon social development,

democratic rights, and self-government -- restrictions which are characteristic of the colonial world as a whole-- are removed. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.

10-6-81

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies comes large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

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2) To use the powers of the United Nations to insure adherence to these standards by all colonial powers.

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36-6-165

4) To promote the fullest measure of international cooperation in securing the industrialization; economic advancement; improvement of education, health and other social services; transportation; communication; and other similar matters in all colonial areas.

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36-6-166

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The minimum functions of the Mandates Commission, in addition to those mentioned, shall be:

176-6-94

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419-6-95

democratic rights, and self-government -- restrictions which are characteristic of the colonial world as a whole-- are removed. No state which practices legally sanctioned discrimination against any body of its inhabitants because of race, creed, or color should be regarded as qualified to serve as a mandatory power.

Approved:
Rayford W. Logan

46-6-96

Resolution of the Colonial Conference in New York
- April 6, 1945

The ownership of colonies, protectorates and dependencies, by any country, has been and still is a repeated cause of war and oppression; and is causing extreme poverty, predominant illiteracy and widespread famine, undernourishment and disease. Out of these colonies comes large income to increase the power and excite the greed and intensify the envy of great modern nations. For this reason we demand that immediate steps be taken towards ending the ownership and control of all colonies and dependencies.

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20-6

W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs

Francis N. Nkrumah
Gold Coast, West Africa

Rayford W. Logan
Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes

John R. Andu
Netherlands Indonesia

Maung Saw Tun
Burma

Akiki Nyabongo
Uganda, East Africa

L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection, 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library

Kumar Goshal
India

W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

[1945]

1. Colonialism must go for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affect not only the colonies but also the world and threaten world peace.

2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transitions of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the ~~first~~ primary object of this international body ~~would~~ shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

20-4-82

1. Colonialism must go for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affect not only the colonies but also the world and threaten world peace.

2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

46-6-88

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3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

4/6-6-78

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4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

46-6-93

Committee:

Du Bois, W. E. B.
Andu, John R.
Gandia, Julio Pinto
Goshal, Kumar
Hunton, W. A.
Logan, Rayford W.
Nkrumah, Francis Nwia-Kofi
Nyabongo, Akiki
Petioni, Charles A.
Reddick, L. D.
Tun, Maung Saw

7 April 1945
135th Street Public Library
New York City

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20-4-79

Committee on Resolutions for the Colonial Conference

Du Bois, W. E. B.
Andu, John R.
Gandia, Julio Pinto
Goshal, Kumar
Hunton, W. A.
Logan, Rayford W.
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Nyabongo, Akiki
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7 April 1945
135th Street Public Library
New York City

20-4-18

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4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

[1945]

Abraham, Mr. Herbert
Division of Public Liaison
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Adams, Reverend James B.
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Brooklyn, New York

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New York

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The Kenmore Hotel
145 East 23rd Street
New York City

Anderson, Dr. L. K.
Presbyterian Board
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New York City

Andu, Mr. John R.
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Apartment 15
New York City 2,
New York

Austin, Mr. A. A.
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New York City

Beckles, Mr. W. A.
West Indies House
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York City

Benson, Mr. Wilfrid
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Montreal, Canada

Benta, Mrs. Helena
157 West 132nd Street
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Bisu, Mr.
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Bolin, Hon. Jane M.
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Brown, Reverend Ethelred
Secretary,
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de Bruine, Mr. Slotemaker
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[1945]

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	50,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudan	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, col. Asiatic)	300,000 ?
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233

20-4-41

Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	12,000
Papua	337,000	2,750
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	27,000
The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
French		
Asia	French India: 323,000	196
	" Indo-China: 24,000,000	286,000
	" Cochin China: 4,615,000	26,000
Annam	6,200,000	57,000
Canbodia	3,000,000	67,500
Tonking	9,200,000	40,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000

30-4-42

Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-43

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	50,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudan	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)	300,000?
	60,508,000		3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-13

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

[DUP.]
[1945]

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000.000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

80-4-48

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000,000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-51

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000.000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-22

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,445,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000,000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-26

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	50,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudan	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored,	300,000?
	60,508,000	Asiatic	3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

81-4-28

British Empire
Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000	32,000
India	389,000,000	1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000	192,000
Malaya	1,485,000	1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	37,000
New Guinea	50,000	93,000
Borneo	270,000	29,000
	414,113,000	1,967,200
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	224,000
Uganda	3,890,000	94,000
Zanzibar	250,000	1,000
Mauritius	408,000	720
Nyasaland	1,680,000	37,000
Somaliland	500,000	68,000
Basutoland	562,000	12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000	275,000
Swaziland	156,000	6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000	372,000
Gambia	14,000	69
Gold Coast	3,960,000	92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	27,000
Sudan	6,590,000	967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000	360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000	317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	300,000? (native, colored, Asiatic) 3,595,994
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	19
Guiana	361,000	89,000
Honduras	62,000	8,800
Bahamas	19,000	4,000
Barbados	156,000	166
Jamaica	1,237,000	4,000
Leward Islands	98,000	422
Trinidad	522,000	2,000
Granada	90,000	133
St. Vincent	48,000	150
St. Lucia	73,000	233
	2,699,000	108,923
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	12,000
Papua	337,000	2,750
	445,000	14,750
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	27,000
	1,989,000	30,500
Total	479,754,000	5,717,367

20-4-16

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000,000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-28

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000.000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-24

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000.000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-43A

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000,000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000,000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,390,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

20-4-32

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	
Hongkong	1,071,000	
India	389,000,000	
Burma	14,600,000	
Malaya	1,485,000	
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	
New Guinea	50,000	
Borneo	270,000	
	414,113,000	
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	
Uganda	3,890,000	
Zanzibar	250,000	
Mauritius	408,000	
Nyasaland	1,680,000	
Somaliland	500,000	
Basutoland	562,000	
Bechuanaland	260,000	
Swaziland	156,000	
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	
Nigeria	21,000.000	
Gambia	14,000	
Gold Coast	3,960,000	
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	
Sudan	6,590,000	
Tanganyika	5,000,000	
Southwest Africa	343,000	
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	
Guiana	361,000	
Honduras	62,000	
Bahamas	19,000	
Barbados	156,000	
Jamaica	1,237,000	
Leward Islands	98,000	
Trinidad	522,000	
Granada	90,000	
St. Vincent	48,000	
St. Lucia	73,000	
	2,699,000	
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	
Papua	337,000	
	445,000	
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	
	1,989,000	
Total	479,754,000	

30-7-36

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000	32,000
India	389,000,000	1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000	192,000
Malaya	1,485,000	1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	7,000
New Guinea	50,000	93,000
Borneo	270,000	29,000
	414,113,000	1,967,200
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	224,000
Uganda	3,890,000	94,000
Zanzibar	250,000	1,000
Mauritius	408,000	720
Nyasaland	1,680,000	37,000
Somaliland	500,000	68,000
Basutoland	562,000	12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000	275,000
Swaziland	156,000	6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000	372,000
Gambia	14,000	69
Gold Coast	3,960,000	92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	27,000
Sudan	6,590,000	967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000	360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000	317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000 (native, colored,	300,000?
	60,508,000	Asiatic) 595,994
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	19
Guiana	361,000	89,000
Honduras	62,000	8,800
Bahamas	19,000	4,000
Barbados	156,000	166
Jamaica	1,237,000	4,000
Leward Islands	98,000	422
Trinidad	522,000	2,000
Granada	90,000	133
St. Vincent	48,000	150
St. Lucia	73,000	233
	2,699,000	108,923
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	12,000
Papua	337,000	2,750
	445,000	14,750
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	27,000
	1,989,000	30,500
Total	479,754,000	5,717,367

04-4-30

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condomiums..

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	250,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,990
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudah	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)	300,000?
	60,508,000		3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-4-4

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-7

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000	32,000
India	389,000,000	1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000	192,000
Malaya	1,485,000	1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	7,000
New Guinea	350,000	93,000
Borneo	270,000	29,000
	414,113,000	1,967,200
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	224,000
Uganda	3,890,000	94,000
Zanzibar	250,000	1,990
Mauritius	408,000	720
Nyasaland	1,600,000	37,000
Somaliland	500,000	68,000
Basutoland	562,000	12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000	275,000
Swaziland	156,000	6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000	372,000
Gambia	14,000	69
Gold Coast	3,960,000	92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	27,000
Sudah	6,590,000	967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000	360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000	317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000 (native, colored, Asiatic)	300,000?
	60,508,000	3,595,994
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	19
Guiana	361,000	89,000
Honduras	62,000	8,800
Bahamas	19,000	4,000
Barbados	156,000	166
Jamaica	1,237,000	4,000
Leward Islands	98,000	422
Trinidad	522,000	2,000
Granada	90,000	133
St. Vincent	48,000	150
St. Lucia	73,000	233
	2,699,000	108,923
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	12,000
Papua	337,000	2,750
	445,000	14,750
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	27,000
	1,989,000	30,500
Total	479,754,000	5,717,367

20-4-12

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condomiums..

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	90,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudan	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored,	300,000?
	60,508,000	Asiatic)	3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-4-2

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia		
Ceylon	5,300,000	25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000	32,000
India	389,000,000	1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000	192,000
Malaya	1,485,000	1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000	7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000	7,000
New Guinea	50,000	93,000
Borneo	270,000	29,000
	414,113,000	1,967,200
Africa		
Kenya	3,690,000	224,000
Uganda	3,890,000	94,000
Zanzibar	250,000	1,000
Mauritius	408,000	720
Nyasaland	1,680,000	37,000
Somaliland	500,000	68,000
Basutoland	562,000	12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000	275,000
Swaziland	156,000	6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000	150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000	290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000	372,000
Gambia	14,000	69
Gold Coast	3,960,000	92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000	2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000	27,000
Sudan	6,590,000	967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000	360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000	317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000 (native, colored, Asiatic	300,000? 3,595,994
	60,508,000	
West Indies and South America		
Bermuda	33,000	19
Guiana	361,000	89,000
Honduras	62,000	8,800
Bahamas	19,000	4,000
Barbados	156,000	166
Jamaica	1,237,000	4,000
Leward Islands	98,000	422
Trinidad	522,000	2,000
Granada	90,000	133
St. Vincent	48,000	150
St. Lucia	73,000	233
	2,699,000	108,923
Pacific Ocean		
Pacific Islands	108,000	12,000
Papua	337,000	2,750
	445,000	14,750
Near East		
Cyprus	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000	27,000
	1,989,000	30,500
Total	479,754,000	5,717,367

20-4-14

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condomiums..

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	250,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,990
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudah	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)	300,000?
	60,508,000		3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-4-8

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condominiums.

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		37,000
New Guinea	50,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudan	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic	300,000? 3,595,994
	60,508,000		
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-4-2

British Empire

Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling dominions, but including colonies of those dominions and including mandates and condomiums.

Asia			
Ceylon	5,300,000		25,000
Hongkong	1,071,000		32,000
India	389,000,000		1,580,000
Burma	14,600,000		192,000
Malaya	1,485,000		1,300
Federated Malay States	2,200,000		7,900
Unfederated Malay States	737,000		7,000
New Guinea	350,000		93,000
Borneo	270,000		29,000
	414,113,000		1,967,200
Africa			
Kenya	3,690,000		224,000
Uganda	3,890,000		94,000
Zanzibar	250,000		1,000
Mauritius	408,000		720
Nyasaland	1,680,000		37,000
Somaliland	500,000		68,000
Basutoland	562,000		12,000
Bechuanaland	260,000		275,000
Swaziland	156,000		6,705
Southern Rhodesia	1,448,000		150,000
Northern Rhodesia	1,380,000		290,000
Nigeria	21,000,000		372,000
Gambia	14,000		69
Gold Coast	3,960,000		92,000
Sierra Leone Colony	121,000		2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,670,000		27,000
Sudah	6,590,000		967,000
Tanganyika	5,000,000		360,000
Southwest Africa	343,000		317,000
Union of South Africa	7,586,000	(native, colored, Asiatic)	300,000?
	60,508,000		3,595,994
West Indies and South America			
Bermuda	33,000		19
Guiana	361,000		89,000
Honduras	62,000		8,800
Bahamas	19,000		4,000
Barbados	156,000		166
Jamaica	1,237,000		4,000
Leward Islands	98,000		422
Trinidad	522,000		2,000
Granada	90,000		133
St. Vincent	48,000		150
St. Lucia	73,000		233
	2,699,000		108,923
Pacific Ocean			
Pacific Islands	108,000		12,000
Papua	337,000		2,750
	445,000		14,750
Near East			
Cyprus	389,000		3,500
Palestine Mandate	1,600,000		27,000
	1,989,000		30,500
Total	479,754,000		5,717,367

20-4-10

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	[illegible],000	42[illegible],688
Total	63,839,000	4,652,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-5

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	[illegible],000	42[illegible],688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-9

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,600,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	[illegible],000	42[illegible],688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-13

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	[illegible],000	42[illegible],688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

80-4-11

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	[illegible],133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-39

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaloupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	16,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	10,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

80-4-37

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French	
Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaloupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	16,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	10,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

20-4-33

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaloupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	14,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	19,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

20-4-35

The United States of America		
	Alaska	72,000
	Hawaii	423,000
	Puerto Rico	1,869,000
	Virgin Islands	22,000
	Phillipines	17,000,000
	Samoa	10,000
		19,396,000
Belgium		
	Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China		
	Tibet	1,500,000
	Mongolia	850,000
		2,350,000
French Asia		
	French India	323,000
	French Indo-China	24,000,000
	Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
		27,953,000
Africa		
	Algeria	7,200,000
	Tunis	2,600,000
	French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
	Madagascar	3,800,000
	French West Africa	15,000,000
	Togo	780,000
	Cameroon	2,500,000
		35,345,000
West Indies and South America		
	Guadaloupe	304,000
	Guiana	31,000
	Martinique	246,000
		581,000
	Total	63,839,000
Italy		
	Libya	888,000
	Eritrea	600,000
	Somaliland	1,000,000
		2,488,000
Egypt		16,000,000
Japan		
	Manchukuo	39,000,000
	Korea	22,800,000
	Formosa	5,800,000
		67,600,000
Netherlands		
	Surinam	187,000
	Curacao	114,000
	Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
		67,301,000
Portugal		10,800,000
Spain		1,100,000

20-4-31

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaleupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	16,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	10,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

20-4-27

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaloupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	16,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	19,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

20-4-29

The United States of America		
	Alaska	72,000
	Hawaii	423,000
	Puerto Rico	1,869,000
	Virgin Islands	22,000
	Phillipines	17,000,000
	Samoa	10,000
		19,396,000
Belgium		
	Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China		
	Tibet	1,500,000
	Mongolia	850,000
		2,350,000
French Asia		
	French India	323,000
	French Indo-China	24,000,000
	Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
		27,953,000
Africa		
	Algeria	7,200,000
	Tunis	2,600,000
	French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
	Madagascar	3,800,000
	French West Africa	15,000,000
	Togo	780,000
	Cameroon	2,500,000
		35,305,000
West Indies and South America		
	Guadaloupe	304,000
	Guiana	31,000
	Martinique	246,000
		581,000
	Total	63,839,000
Italy		
	Libya	888,000
	Eritrea	600,000
	Somaliland	1,000,000
		2,488,000
Egypt		16,000,000
Japan		
	Manchukuo	39,000,000
	Korea	22,800,000
	Formosa	5,800,000
		67,600,000
Netherlands		
	Surinam	187,000
	Curacao	114,000
	Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
		67,301,000
Portugal		10,800,000
Spain		1,100,000

20-4-23

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

26-4-17

The United States of America		
	Alaska	72,000
	Hawaii	423,000
	Puerto Rico	1,869,000
	Virgin Islands	22,000
	Phillipines	17,000,000
	Samoa	10,000
		19,396,000
Belgium		
	Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China		
	Tibet	1,500,000
	Mongolia	850,000
		2,350,000
French Asia		
	French India	323,000
	French Indo-China	24,000,000
	Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
		27,953,000
Africa		
	Algeria	7,200,000
	Tunis	2,600,000
	French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
	Madagascar	3,800,000
	French West Africa	15,000,000
	Togo	780,000
	Cameroon	2,500,000
		35,305,000
West Indies and South America		
	Guadaloupe	304,000
	Guiana	31,000
	Martinique	246,000
		581,000
	Total	63,839,000
Italy		
	Libya	888,000
	Eritrea	600,000
	Somaliland	1,000,000
		2,488,000
Egypt		16,000,000
Japan		
	Manchukuo	39,000,000
	Korea	22,800,000
	Formosa	5,800,000
		67,600,000
Netherlands		
	Surinam	187,000
	Curacao	114,000
	Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
		67,301,000
Portugal		10,800,000
Spain		1,100,000

20-4-25

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	[illegible],000	42[illegible],688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-19

The United States of America		
Alaska	72,000	586,000
Hawaii	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands	22,000	133
Phillipines	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa	10,000	76
	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium		
Belgian Congo	10,386,000	900,000
China		
Tibet	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia	850,000	1,875,000
	2,350,000	2,338,000
French		
Asia		
French India	323,000	196
French Indo-China	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000	58,000
	27,953,000	344,196
Africa		
Algeria	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo	780,000	33,700
Cameroon	2,500,000	166,000
	35,305,000	4,087,700
West Indies and South America		
Guadaloupe	304,000	688
Guiana	31,000	35,000
Martinique	246,000	385,000
	581,000	420,688
Total	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy		
Libya	888,000	679,000
Eritrea	600,000	15,700
Somaliland	1,000,000	194,000
	2,488,000	888,700
Egypt	16,000,000	386,000
Japan		
Manchukuo	39,000,000	500,000
Korea	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa	5,800,000	14,000
	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands		
Surinam	187,000	54,000
Curacao	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	735,000
	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal	10,800,000	800,000
Spain	1,100,000	135,000

20-4-15

The United States of America		
	Alaska	72,000
	Hawaii	423,000
	Puerto Rico	1,869,000
	Virgin Islands	22,000
	Phillipines	17,000,000
	Samoa	10,000
		19,396,000
Belgium		
	Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China		
	Tibet	1,500,000
	Mongolia	850,000
		2,350,000
French Asia		
	French India	323,000
	French Indo-China	24,000,000
	Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
		27,953,000
Africa		
	Algeria	7,200,000
	Tunis	2,600,000
	French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
	Madagascar	3,800,000
	French West Africa	15,000,000
	Togo	780,000
	Cameroon	2,500,000
		35,305,000
West Indies and South America		
	Guadaloupe	304,000
	Guiana	31,000
	Martinique	246,000
		581,000
	Total	63,839,000
Italy		
	Libya	888,000
	Eritrea	600,000
	Somaliland	1,000,000
		2,488,000
Egypt		16,000,000
Japan		
	Manchukuo	39,000,000
	Korea	22,800,000
	Formosa	5,800,000
		67,600,000
Netherlands		
	Surinam	187,000
	Curacao	114,000
	Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
		67,301,000
Portugal		10,800,000
Spain		1,100,000

20-4-50

The United States of America	
Alaska	72,000
Hawaii	423,000
Puerto Rico	1,869,000
Virgin Islands	22,000
Phillipines	17,000,000
Samoa	10,000
	19,396,000
Belgium	
Belgian Congo	10,386,000
China	
Tibet	1,500,000
Mongolia	850,000
	2,350,000
French	
Asia	
French India	323,000
French Indo-China	24,000,000
Syria and Lebanon	3,630,000
	27,953,000
Africa	
Algeria	7,200,000
Tunis	2,600,000
French Equatorial Africa	3,425,000
Madagascar	3,800,000
French West Africa	15,000,000
Togo	780,000
Cameroon	2,500,000
	35,305,000
West Indies and South America	
Guadaloupe	304,000
Guiana	31,000
Martinique	246,000
	581,000
Total	63,839,000
Italy	
Libya	888,000
Eritrea	600,000
Somaliland	1,000,000
	2,488,000
Egypt	16,000,000
Japan	
Manchukuo	39,000,000
Korea	22,800,000
Formosa	5,800,000
	67,600,000
Netherlands	
Surinam	187,000
Curacao	114,000
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000
	67,301,000
Portugal	10,800,000
Spain	1,100,000

20-4-52

[Akiki Nyabongo]

EDUCATION Nyabongo

1. The church should be completely separated from education and the doctines of the church promulgated only through the regular channels of the pulpit. This means that the missionary-controlled and missionary-dominated schools will have to be replaced by federally supported schools.

2. The federal support of education should be on a national scale. Thus each unit of the government regardless of size and economic ability, should have equal educational opportunities regardless of "ability to pay". Education should be free to all Africans.

3. Technical and professional schools should be set up to train competent technicians in the several technical fields and competent professional personel in sufficient numbers for Africans to become self-dependent. These technical and professional schools should be free and operated according to the highest American and European standards of proficiency.

4. All schools fostering class and caste hierarches, such as the missionary supported schools for sons and daughters of chiefs, should be abolished as contrary to democratic principles.

5. All education should be co-educational, and women should not be barred from equal educational advantages as men have.

6. An Educational Commissioner should be appointed for life, or during good performance, which will not be subject to dismissal by the government. This commission should be composed of Africans and outsiders who have noteconnection with the state or church. It would be the function of the commission to conduct research, plan, and initiate programs of education designed to serve the needs, and interests and solve the problems of the masses of the Africans.

7. All educational personal should be sympathetic to the cause of the African people. The directors and heads of Educational inistitutions should be Africans. There may be a mixed teaching personnel. Salaries and tenure should be fixed on an equal basis for Africans and non-Africans. Race, sex, religion, national origin, and political belief should not become a factor in hiring educational personnel.

8. Africans should be taught techniques of counter assertion and of group strategy as a part of their own historical background of struggle from freedom.

9. Teahher training institutions should be set up on a regional basis to prepare Africans for teaching.

10. A series of professional scholarships, on a competitive basis, should be set up in each technical or professional area, including teaching, to be granted by the government for training of the best students. Such scholarships should pay all expenses of the fellow.

BUR

Nyabongo

AGRICULTURE

1. The system of cooperative group agriculture should be further extended through the government providing each local unit, or village, with the modern mechanical means for conducting scientific agriculture. This would include not only tractors (tractor factories should be set up in Africa) but other modern and scientific implements used in agriculture.

2. Each local unit, or units, should be given some kind of instruction on the use of modern implements. This implies some kind of agricultural adult education. Perhaps, agricultural commissioners, or agents, should be assigned to local or regional districts whose duty it would be to administer the agricultural needs and problems of that region.

3. An agricultural commission would be set up composed of Africans and others to survey soils, climates, regional demands, possibilities of introducing new crops, economical relations and community-plant relations in the various regions and make suggestions for the development of a planned program of food production for home and foreign consumption. Considerable attention should be paid to imports and exports as they affect agriculture.

69-9-917

4. Forest and soil conservation in terms of regional and national needs, present and future, should be planned and adminstered. A division of forestry should be set up which would be concerned with combating diseases of forests, protecting wild-life, controlling soil erosion, maintaining the watersheds and pastures, combating fires, and in general controlling the important forest and soil developments of Africa.

5. African livestock developments should be left in the hands of the Africans and sufficient government pasture and grazing lands made available on a planned cooperative basis so that all Africans will haveopportunity to feed their livestock, own their own herds, and develop a self-sufficiency.

6. Agricultural schools should be developed which will disseminate education and maintain research of a scholarly type designed to promote African agriculture in the various regions. Such schools would be free and research state supported. The African agricultural schools should have responsibility for coordinating the entire agricultural policy of the nation. Such schools would be regional and local in nature so that their studies will be felt in the communities where they are made.

Nyabongo

HEALTH

1. Sufficient medical schools should be set up over the countyy to provide each tribe with adequate numbers of competent trained personnel. Such personnel should recieve more than primary and elementary first aid training. Such schools and personnel should have the benefit and the best training available, at the Calcutta School of Tropical medicine, the Europpean and American schools, and within the schools established by the government for its citizens.

2. Clinics, experimental laboratories and research centers should be set up in sufficient numbers to disperse medical and technical aid, conduct research contineously, and faster public health measures. The cures and practices of the witch doctors, their use of herbs and potious is a fertile fluid for research.

3. A public health commission should be formed which would be appointed for a term of office on a non-political basis and subject to termination of office only in terms of retirement policies and inefficiency. This commission would have the responsibility of making surveys, administering the effectiveness of the work of the Public Health Office, and propose, initiate, and direct public health facilities in the various tribal and other national units. Sufficient salary should be payed these officials to secure and keep the best trained personnel, and sufficient to keep them satisfied to remain in this most important office.

4. Provision, at goverment expense, should be made for periodic and planned survey of the African health situation by outside specialist from the various European, Asiatic, and American health offices which would serve to stress the health activities of the African Health Services and also provide consultative services of a high order of efficiency and profiency to the African members of the Public Health service.

5. Free public health clinics should be located at sufficient intervals throughout the tribal units and national areas so that they would be easily accessible to native and white populations. These public health clinics should be free and operated at government expense. Such a program of socialized public health assumes that considerable survey of conditions will be made prior to the establishment of these clinics, and that competent personnel will staff each clinic in terms of the health problems, needs, and interests of the various regional and local areas.

6. Schools for nurses should be set up in accesible regions so that African men and women will receive the best preparation possible for the protection, maintanance, and care of public and other health problems of the native and foreigh population. Such schools should be state owned and operated, and all schooling should be at the expense of the state.

7. Public health laws regarding sanitation, communicable and degernative diseases, child birth, child labor, women labor during pregnancy, conditions under which men and women work, hours of work, proper supervision and administrating of these laws, penalities for failure to report and treat properly health needs and the like should be passed.

4/6-6-70

Bijabongo

8. A series of public institutions, maintained and operated at government expense, should be established to care for the sick, ailing, and afflicted, and located at strategic and accesible regions through the nations. Such institutions should be open to all, men, women, children regardless of race, color, sex, class, religion, or the like.

9. Mulago and Yaba in East and West Africa respectively should be closed and other institutions established to replace them which will operate and maintain themselves in a manner of highest repute and in terms of the best and commonly accepted American and European practices.

11-8-71

Nyabongo

SOCIAL PLANNING

1. Slums should be cleared. Each town or village should be modernized to provide places of recreation, sanitation facilities, health facilities, parks, community centers, roads, sidewalks, proper housing, schools, churches, light and water supply, and other public services. Such public service facilities should be government ~~controlled~~ or state owned and operated for the benefit of the people. Services would be made available to all the people on an equal basis, regardless of race, sex, creed, national origin and the like, without profit.

2. A program of nutrition and proper diet should be administered and initiated on a national scale so that the African people will be enabled to maintain themselves in an optimum manner. The program of agriculture should be coordinated with this nutritional program so that foods may be grown locally or in the national region in such amounts as to enable the African people to completely feed themselves.

3. Modern means of communication and transportation should be developed and made available to all of the various regions and in the local areas. Such facilities should become a part of the public services available to the people, and should be state controlled and operated for the benefit of the people instead of for profit.

4. Special parks and regions should be set aside to perpetuate the national heritage and beauty of the various regions. Museums and other cultural agencies should be set up to house the cultural exhibits of the people. Theatres and the like should be organized by the state to transmit the cultures and desires of the people on a national scale.

5. Plantation owners, Planters, missionaries, government officials, and the like who have children by native women should be forced to assume the duties and obligations of parents, giving these children their names and financial support, education, and other resposnsibilities. Laws should be passed compelling the assumption of such responsibilities.

6. All Africans should be free to move about (physical movement) from local region to local region, from state to state, too all parts of Africa or the world according to accepted practices in other free countries. The systems of passes and fingerprinting should be discontinued and free physical and intellectual movement adopted.

7. Poll tax and head taxes should be abolished, as well as other unnecessary taxes.

446-6-72

Nyabongo

INSTITUTIONS

1. A commission on cultural and ethnic institutions should be established which would have as its function the surveying of African culture and institutions in such a manner as to provide for some form of nationalization and coordination of these cultural and ethnic institutions. Such a commission would seek tp perpetuate those institutions which have functioned for the advance of the African people, and progressively modify those institutions of which presently act to hinder their progress. This commission might well institute in other cultures, not however to transplant such institutions to Africa, but in order to identify common elements in world culture, and to compare African culture in terms of the international culture.

2. Considerable study should be made of the magical, superstitious, and other beliefs and valuations which exist and these should be considered in terms of their effects on the African people. The commission would seek to formulate a program of propaganda through the schools and work with the educational authorities in such a manner that the African people will become increasingly aware of their own cultural backgrounds and the part that he has played in the history of the world, and in African civilization.

3. The commission would begin planning for conscious social organization in terms of the impact of science and technology and the effects of both social and scientific inventions upon the lives of the people. Such a commission might well set up regional and local planning boards and identify and isolate national, regional, and local problems and issues in cultural and ethnic relations in such a manner that the various local, regional, and national planning boards will be coordinated in their various efforts.

4-6-43

4. The commission on cultural institutions would have as its function the study, through surveys, of institutions and the impact of socio-economic developments upon these institutions. The commission would supervises, administer, and initiate the planning and execution of the results of its planning boards.

5. The commission should be concerned with the effects of communication and transportation upon the lives of the people. The types of adjustments necessary in agrarian, isolated, community living are quite different from those in a modern urban, industrial, society. The effects of decreasing isolation upon the traditions, customs, and mores of the African peoples should be carefully thought through, and a consciously organized transition from an agricultural economic organization into a semi-or total industrial urban society must be made. Without such guidance of transition period considerable social problems will unboudbtedly arise.

Nyabongo

POLITICS

1. An African commonwealth consisting of all of the foreign-controlled and dominated African nations together with the free Africans nation should be set up and established within twenty year period. The administration of such a commonwealth should be under the direct supervision of the United Nations, with Africans administering the national, regional, and local units during the interim period. The United Nations would see to it that there was a gradual and progressive return to African rule by and for the African people. The United Nations control of the African Commonwealth would exclude those countries that now have, or have had, colonies in Africa.

2. All African land should be returned to the natives and administered for and by them through the African Commonwealth, or state governments. This state and commonwealth control would reimburse the disposed foreign nations for the land expropriated from them through some system of barter and exchange.

3. All mineral rights should be returned to the natives and administered for them by the Commonwealth.

4. Payment for work done should be on an equal basis for service rendered, and not according to sex, race, national origin, or religious and cultural differences.

5. The local administration and regional and national administration should be selected on a basis of the desires of thepeople. All those involved in decisions should have a part in the making of such decisions. Some systems of election should be developed so that all of the African people will increasingly have a voice in their government. A system of education designed to educate the African people in terms of their increasing responsibilities in running their social, economic, political, and other affairs should be initiated so that they make wise and intelligent decisions.

6-9-47

6. Imperialism, mandates, colonial offices, indirect rule, protectorates, crown colonies trusteeships, should all be abolished for a commonwealth form of government in which each local, state, and national group will have representation.

7. All Africans should have the rights of equal citizens. Such citizenship should be on a par with that of any citizen of any nation in the world. Restrictions in the exercise of citizenship rights should be abolished. During the interim period when the foreign governments are withdrawing from Africa, Africans (Natives) could be granted citizenship rights equivalent to the citizenship rights of the citizens of the various foreign countries. Thus, Africans should have the rights of English or French citizens in the mother countries.

8 Heavy and light industries should be developed on a high technical level so that Africa may become technologically independent. Experts from America, and Russia should be brought to Africa at government expense so that heavy and light industry in all of the various technological aress may be set up, and industrialization proceed as rapidly as is possible. The planning boards should desigh and set up proposals for the mechanization of industry and the development of urban and industrial communities.

Nyabongo

Suggestion #1

Addentum to Directive #2:

There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire, and no nation presently holding colonial territories shall be a member of such international body.

Paragraph three of the statement of explanation, line 4

The commision should appoint its own staff of colonial experts and advisers including the services of qualified persons of all races, and particularly persons indigenous to the colonies. Natives should appoint their own representatives without inteference from the colonial or controlling powers. No foreign nation which now holds colonial interests shall have membership on the staff of colonial experts.

Page Two, add the following as #5

5. During the interim period between the cessation of the present war and the time when each colonial territory shall have developed to the stage at which it can exercise political self-determination, the various territorial peoples will be subjected to an intensive procedure of education in the exercise of civic and other responsibilities, in such a manner that they will be able to make intelligent decisions through use of the vote and other generally recognized methods of controlling their own government. The purpose of this period of education will be to prepare the colonial peoples to fully assume the responsibilities for self-determination and self-government by the end of the stated period.

4/6-6-44

Nyabongo

	Area (square miles)	Total population including natives 1935-36	White population 1935-36
Kenya.....	224,960	3,084,351	17, 997
Uganda..... ..	93,981	3,661, 099	1,994
Tanganyika.....	360,000	5,138,080	8,455
Nyasaland.....	37,596	1,603,257	1,781
Northern Rhodesia.....	290,320	1,378,000	9,913
Southern Rhodesia.....	150,344	1,289,000	55,419
Mozambique.....	297,654	4,100,000	10,000
High Commission Territories:			
Basutoland.....	11,716	562,411	1,434
Swaziland	6,705	146,015	2,735
Southwest Africa.....	275,000	265,756	1,899
Totals.....	2,066,001	21,587,485	142,676

46-6-67

W A Hunton for the
Council on Af— A

Francis N. Nkrumah
Gold Coast, West Africa

Rayford W. Logan
U.S. Assoc. of Colleges + Sec.
Schools for Negroes

John K Aude
Netherlands Indonesia

Mary Sam Tim
Burma

W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP

4-6-47

Name	Address	Country
Ramkrishna Shahu Modak	425 East 68th St N.Y.C.	India
	American missionary Assn 287 Fourth Ave. N.Y.C.	USA
Mrs. Edmonia N. Grant		
H. A. Hresko	University of Pennsylvania	
K. Ozuomba Nwadiwe	500 Riverside Drive	N.Y.C.
Leslie B. Perry	NAACP	

20-4-13

Name	Addess	Country
E. R. Alexander, M. D.	234 W 139	U. S.
Rayford W. Logan	Howard University	U. S.
Virginia L. Rajbourne	A. + I. State College	Uganda
	Nashville	Tennessee
Edgar T. Rouzeau	N. Y. Herald Tribune, N. Y. C.	
W. A Hinton	23 W 26 St. NYC.	USA
Bertie H. H. Davis.	1 Sterling St.	Boston, Mass.
Warren Smith	Lincoln Univ, Pa	
Arthur Spingarn	36 W. 44 St	NYC
Dr. Dubois	347 Modison Ave.	NYC

20-4-14

Name	Address	Country
Senor Julio Pinto Gandia	Box 238 Madison Sq Station	Puerto Rico
Mrs Garvey	101 W. 125th	Jamaica
Mr. Osborne	360 W. 125th.	West Indies National Council
Ruth M. Reynolds	2013 Fifth Ave.	American League for Puerto Rico's Independence
Fitzgerald Phillips	148 W. 125 St.	
Mrs Charles Burke	514 Madison Avenue N.Y.C.	Eastern Sigma Fraternity (Jamaica)
Stevens	N.Y. Times	

20-4-7

Name	Address	Country
A. M. Wentzel Mallard	259 W 125th St.	Jamaica
Ethelred Brown	178 E. 101	Jamaica
W. A. Beckles	2286 7th Ave	Br. Guiana
Kumar Goshal	64 Poplar St, Brooklyn	India
Sarat C. Mukerji	318 West 108 St N.Y.C.	India
Shirley Graham,	3111 Broadway,	New York,
Bhola S. Panth	66 W. 69th Street	India New York City
James W. Ford	21-E. 109 East St	N.Y.C.
Donald Lighthourn	218 W. 113th St.	NYC
Maung Saw Tun	1669 Yale Station	Burma.
de la Fourmière	French Service	France
Sgt Travis E. Freeman	39 Whitehall St N.Y.C. 501 Madison	U. S. Army
James S. Leyburn	Yale University, New Haven	U. S. A.
Akiki K. Nyabongo	Uganda East.	Africa
Francis N. Nkrumah	Lincoln University, Pa.	Africa
Anson Phelps Stokes	(Sekondi Gold Coast W.A. c/o Phelps Stokes Fund 101 Park Ave	U.S.A.

20-4-8

Rev. James B. Adams
170 Halsey Street
Brooklyn, New York

Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop
215 West 133rd Street
New York City, New York

Miss Henrietta Buckmaster
65 West 11th Street
New York City, New York

Mr. Countee Cullen
2190 Seventh Avenue
New York City, New York

Dr. Sherwood Eddy
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York City

Mr. Arthur Huff Fauset

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick
Riverside Church
120 Street and Riverside Drive
New York City

Miss Edmonia W. Grant
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney Training School for Teachers
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

Mr. Langston Hughes
c/o Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dr. Ralph Linton
Columbia University
New York City

Dr. Alain Locke
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Herbert T. Miller
558 Decatur
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. Winifred Norman
American Youth for Democracy
13 Astor Place
New York City

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
132 West 138th
New York City

Judge Frances E. Rivers
305 Convent Avenue
New York City

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Rev. James H. Robinson
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dr. William Jay Schieffelin
620 Park Avenue
New York City

Rt. Rev. David H. Sims
Episcopal Diocese of New York
Amsterdam Avenue and 110th Street
New York City

Judge Charles E. Toney
Municipal Court
[redacted]et
New York City

Dr. Robert C. Weaver
Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Doxey Wilkerson
People's Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

Dr. Max Yergan
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Mr. P. B. Young
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Northfolk, Virginia

Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

Dr. Ralf J. Bunche
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mr. J. Merle Davis
International Missionary Council
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Miss Mabel E. Emerson
American Board of Commissioners for
Foreign Missions
287 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Professor Benjamin Gerig
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dr. George E. Hayes
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Father John La Farge
America
329 West 108 Street
New York City

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Miss Sallie Lou MacKinnon
Methodist Board of Missions
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dr. Emory Ross
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dr. Homer LeRoy Shantz
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Phelps Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York City

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
National Council YMCA
347 Madison Avenue
New York City

Mr. I. W. Underhill
Presbyterian Church Office
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
135th Street Public Library
New York City

Mr. A. A. Nwafor Orizu
International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York City

Mr. Shridharani
International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York City

Mr. Kingsley O. Mbadiwe
International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York City

Mrs. Amy Ashwood-Garvey
101 West 125th St.
New York City, NY.

Mr. H. P. Osborne
114 West 131st St.
New York City NY.

Mr. Jesus Colon
238 Pearl St.
Brooklyn, NY.

Mr. P. Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah
Lincoln University
Chester County, Pa.

Mr. Kumar Goshal
64 Poplar St.
Brooklyn, NY.

20-4-124

8 January 1945

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I am exploring the advisability of assembling in New York, next month a small colonial conference on the following lines:

1. representatives of each colony living now in or near New York; these persons to be natives of the colonies and preferably resident in them fairly recently. These representatives to prepare for the conference:
   a. a short statement of present colonial conditions
   b. a statement of colonial demands now and in the post-war period, seeking so far as possible to outline all important bodies of opinion, and if possible to present documentary material.
2. representatives of the chief colonial powers, if possible, with authorization from their governments, presenting such plans as their governments are considering or have adopted for present and post-war colonial procedure.
3. representatives of religious and philanthropic bodies with programs of post-war colonial policy and action.

I am wondering if in this way we could not get a conference based on a maximum rather than mere opinion, out of which a picture of colonial plans and conditions might come.

What do you think of this plan? Have you any suggestions? Can you give me names of any colonial representatives whom you would suggest inviting? What organizations which you represent would probably be wilding to take part in this conference and help me in planning it?

I shall be glad to have your reaction and advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
135th Street Public Library
New York City

46-6-196 [1945?]

There is in the D. Woods proposals so far as I can gather no reference to Colonies or Colonial conditions. Yet colonies are economics rather than solely political problems. 750 millions of people, a third of mankind live in Colonies. Cheap Colonial labor & raw materials are basic to post-war economy and finance. Was this omission mentioned in any form in D. Woods?

Mrs Edmonia N Grant
American Missionary Assn
Race Relations Division
287 Fourth Ave
New York, N.Y.

20-4-9

Charles Bidien
Indonesia
23W 26ST N. Y

(1) same organization.

ELEANOR LEBSKY
226 SECOND AVE.
NYC

UNITED VICTORY COMMITTEE FOR MOBILIZATION of The NETERLANDS COLONIES

W. Herbert Seale. 274 E. 158th St.
W. I. Nat'l. Council.

20-4-10

H. P. Osborne

West Indies Nat'l Council

360 West 125 Street

N. Y. C.

20-4-11

(Mrs) Grace B. Henderson

15 Elm St. Newark, N.J.

Nat'l Director - N.A.A.C.P.

Francis N Nkrumah
Sans Issue y Burma

P Bernard Young Jr
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.

20-4-12

~~Julia Cook~~
African Methodist Ch.
N y C
104 W. 130th St

Miss E R Alexander
Harlem Branch Y. W. C. A.

Victor Backers
104 W. 136th Street
N. Y. C.

20-4-15

Geo. Weston
League for the Freedom
& the Darker Peoples
of the World.
Africans and all
those of African
descent.
100 St. Nicholas Ave.
N.Y.C.

John R. Andu.
Indonesia (Neth East Indies)
49 Clinton Str. Apt. 15.
New York 2, N.Y

20-4-16

Organisation:
Indonesia Club of America, Inc.
18 Allen Str.
New York 2, N.Y

Richard B. Moore.
~~c/o~~ Frederick Douglass Book Center, Inc.
141 West 125th. Street
Rep. West Indies National Council
2286 Seventh Avenue,
New York 30, N.Y.

Dr Chas Petioni
Represents W Indies Nat'l Council

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

March 12 to April 9, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Since my last report I have delivered lectures as follows: a short speech at the meeting in memory of Romain Rolland held at Carnegie Hall March 30; at Cooper Union on the history and status of Ethiopa, April 8.

The Colonial Conference was held April sixth in the auditorium of the 135th Street Public Library. There were present forty-nine persons who signed the registry including natives of the following colonies:

Puerto Rico
Jamaica
British Guiana
Barbados
Nigeria
India
Burma
Uganda, East Africa
Gold Coast, British West Africa
Indonesia, Netherlands East Indies

46-6-106

The following organizations were also represented:

Council on African Affairs
West Indies National Council
French Service
American Missionary Association
Indonesian Club of America
African Institute, University of Pennsylvania
Department of Sociology, Yale University

The discussion began at ten-thirty and lasted until one and were continued from two until five; most of the talks were factual reports on colonial conditions; during the latter part of the afternoon some discussions of general conditions and remedies took place.

The following committee on resolutions was appointed to draw up a general statement to be signed by such of the persons present who agree with it:

Du Bois, W. E. B., Chairman, USA, NAACP
Andu, John R., Netherlands East Indies
Gandia, Julio Pinto - Puerto Rico
Goshal, Kumar - India
Hunton, W. A., USA, Council on African Affairs
Logan, Rayford W., USA, National Baptist Convention
Nkrumah, Francis Nwia-Kofi - Gold Coast, British West Africa
Nyabongo, Akiki - Uganda, East Africa
Petioni, Charles A., British West Indies
Reddick, L. D., USA, Schomburg Collection
Tun, Maung Saw - Burma

This committee met Saturday morning, April 7, and drew up a skeleton statement as follows:

"1. Colonialism must go for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affect not only the colonies but also the world and threaten world peace.

2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

This statement will be elaborated and signed and finally presented to the conference at San Francisco.

Dr. Du Bois has been nominated as a member of the core committee of organizations to be represented at the San Francisco conference. These organizations are members of the American Association for the United Nations and represent a large number of national organizations. The core committee is composed of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace

Church Peace Union
Americans United for World Organization
National Council of Jewish Women
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Education groups
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Peace Conference
American Legion
Catholic Association for International Peace
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Federal Council of Churches.

It is important that Dr. Du Bois should have some assurance or priority in order to get to San Francisco.

A Pan African Congress under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and cooperating organizations now seems well under way, in accordance with the recommendations, already made, of the Board of Directors. Dr. Du Bois had suggested to some foreign organizations that a Pan African Congress be held six months after the close of the war and th t it should be held in Africa. Meantime he has received a memorandum and consulted with persons from the Manchester meeting of Negro trade union delegates to the labor conference recently held in England; and also from the International Labor Office with headquarters in Montreal. As a result of these conferences it has been learned that a world labor conference is scheduled to be held in Paris next September and

46-6-101

that the colored delegates meeting in Manchester during February were very desirous that a Pan African Congress should follow this world meeting; and have appealed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to call it. Also the International Labor Office will meet in Paris in September at the invitation of the French Government. It, therefore, seems opportune for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to undertake a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. If this is done, invitations should go to the League of Coloured Peoples in London, the West African Student Union and to the labor organizations of England; and also in the United States to such groups as the Council on African Affairs, the great church bodies like the Bishops Council of the African Methodist Church and the National Baptist Convention; to the large labor organizations like the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and other organizations. Necessarily the cost of such a meeting would fall largely upon the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and would include the travel of two or three direct representatives of the Association, the securing of places of meeting and offices and the local publicity. The Director of Special Research in consultation with the Secretary will make a careful estimate of these expenses for the next meeting of the Board of Directors. Meantime the present meeting of the Directors should decide as to whether this Congress should be called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

During the month of March the prefatory volume of the Encyclopedia of the Negro edited by the director with the assistance of Miss Diggs and others has appeared in print published by the H. W. Wilson Company under the sponsorship of the Phelps Stokes Fund. Also the paged proof of "Color and Democracy" is now in the hands of the printer.

4-6-108

10 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Mr. Perry is trying to find out exactly the persons to contact in the Department of State. He thinks Pasvolsky is the right man. As soon as he telephones me tomorrow I am proposing to send the enclosed telegram, one copy to Pasvolsky and the other directly to the Secretary of State. Have you any suggestions?

W. E. B. Du Bois

c/o-6:5c

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

10 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

(A)

Something must be done immediately about office space for my work. Mr. White's sudden return leaves all my books in his office together with my dictaphone installation, my encyclopaedia, papers, clippings and part of my files. The small office in which Miss Diggs and I have been working must accomodate the clerk who has been helping with the Colonial Conference and must help with preparations for the Pan African Congress. A visitor coming in would scarcely have space to sit down. It is inconceivable for me to try to carry on my work under such handicaps until September. May I, therefore, ask for immediate action?

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-104

CC to Messrs. Spingarn, Wilkins, Dr. Wright and Judge Toney

10 April 1945

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

to

W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr.

20-4

miscellaneous expense incurred in connection with the Colonial Conference	
travel expense of the delegate from Burma, Maung Saw Tun (voucher attached)	$7.00
fee for the janitor of the 135th Street Library (to be sent to Dr. Reddick)	10.00
other miscellaneous expense including carfare, telephone calls, etc.	4.80

Lawrence Henriques

11 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I know you have noticed in the Times that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may send one representative and an assistant to the San Francisco conference as consultants to the American delegation. I shall not, therefore, send the proposed telegram but I think you might take up with the State Department the matter of hotel accomodations. I shall be out the rest of the day but shall be here tomorrow.

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-54

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[NAACP]

12 April 1945

20-3-21

Memorandum to Mr. White:

All essential documents by responsible persons regarding the status of colonies after this war are in this office. I do not think that collection of current newspaper comment is of particular importance.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[NAACP]

20-3-14

12 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I suggest as members of the committee on the Pan African Congress three members of the Board with you and myself sitting in. I think ~~the~~ two members of the Board should be Dr. Wright and Mr. Spingarn, since they know about the previous congresses, and Channing Tobias.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

12 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I am joining Mr. Yergan and Petioni of the West Indies National Council in a meeting April 18, to discuss the San Francisco meeting. I should be glad of any suggestions.

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. White
Has no suggestions but says you will know how to handle these people.

46-6-53

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

WESTERN UNION APRIL 12, 1945

San Francisco Conference

GEORGE E. C. HAYES
NAACP Branch
100 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

I AM HAPPY TO INVITE YOUR ORGANIZATION TO DESIGNATE A REPRESENTATIVE TO SERVE AS A CONSULTANT TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TO BE HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO BEGINNING APRIL 25. THE OFFICIAL AMERICAN DELEGATION CONSISTS OF THE EIGHT DELEGATES APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THEIR PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL ADVISERS. CONSULTANTS REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR CONSULTATION AT THE REQUEST OF THE DELEGATION AND WILL BE KEPT AS CLOSELY INFORMED OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE AS POSSIBLE. IF YOU DESIRE TO APPOINT A CONSULTANT PLEASE WIRE THE NAME OF THE PERSON DESIGNATED TO THE DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON FRANCIS H. RUSSELL, CHIEF OR CHESTER WILLIAMS, ASSISTANT CHIEF. WILL BE GLAD TO RENDER ANY POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN MAKING YOUR ARRANGEMENTS FOR [redacted] TRANSPORTATION AND HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO FOR SUCH A CONSULTANT.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.

20-16

12 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

What do you think of this suggestion? That the NAACP write to the great Negro church organizations, labor organizations, fraternal organizations, fraternities and other national Negro groups saying something like this: The NAACP has been designated as one of the bodies which has a right to appoint consultants for the American delegation to the San Francisco conference. We realize that in carrying out this duty we represent not simply this organization but the whole body of American Negroes. We are anxious, therefore, to do anything in our power to assist the work and make known the decisions of such groups. If, therefore, you have passed any resolutions or come to any conclusions concerning what ought to be done at San Francisco, if ~~they~~ you will send us a copy of this action we will be glad to make representation to whatever authorities we have access, ~~so far as the representation is direct~~. We would, of course, take no action and give no publicity unless duly authorized. Will you kindly communicate with us and let us know just how we can be of service?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

4/6-6-33

[NAACP]

12 April 1945

20-21-70

Memorandum to Mr. White:

What do you think of this suggestion? That the NAACP write to the great Negro church organizations, labor organizations, fraternal organizations, fraternities and other national Negro groups saying something like this: The NAACP has been designated as one of the ~~bodies~~ which has a right to appoint consultants ~~for~~ the American delegation ~~to~~ the San Francisco conference. We realize that in carrying out this duty we represent not ~~simply~~ this organization but the whole body of American Negroes. We are anxious, therefore, to do anything in our power to assist the work and make known the ~~decisions~~ of such groups. If, therefore, you have passed any resolutions or come to any conclusions concerning what ought to be done at San Francisco, if ~~they~~ will send us a copy of this action we will be glad to make representation to whatever authorities we have access. ~~so far as the representation is direct.~~ We would, of course, take no action and give no publicity unless duly authorized. Will you kindly communicate with us and let us know just how we can be of service?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

Excellent. Because of shortness of time suggest we telegraph.

WW.

Approve wire

RW

13 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

This is the form of telegram which I am proposing to send out. Does it meet with your approval? I am preparing a list of organizations to whom it may be sent which I will submit to you this morning.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-3

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[ENC]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

13 April 1945

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS ONE OF THE FORTY-TWO NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO APPOINT CONSULTANTS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE stop WE REALIZE THAT IN CARRYING OUT THIS DUTY WE REPRESENT NOT THIS ORGANIZATION BUT THE WHOLE BODY OF AMERICAN NEGROES stop WE ARE ANXIOUS THEREFORE TO DO ANYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ASSIST THE WORK AND MAKE KNOWN THE WISHES OF SUCH GROUPS stop IF THEREFORE YOU HAVE PASSED ANY RESOLUTIONS OR COME TO ANY CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE AT SAN FRANCISCO IF YOU WILL SEND US A COPY OF THIS ACTION WE WILL BE GLAD TO MAKE REPRESENTATION TO WHATEVER AUTHORITIES WE HAVE ACCESS stop WE WOULD OF COURSE TAKE NO ACTION AND GIVE NO PUBLICITY UNLESS DULY AUTHORIZED stop WILL YOU KINDLY COMMUNICATE WITH US AND LET US KNOW JUST HOW WE CAN BE OF SERVICE?

W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant to the American Delegation
Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP

20-21

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

20-21-75

N271 7=ROANOKE VIR 14 210P 1945 APR 14 PM 3 13

WALTER WHITE SEC N A A C P=

:DELIVER WILKINS 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

RECEIVED TELEGRAM WILL ADVISE IN FEW DAYS=

:S H CLARK PRES A OF C R T & L Fr.

APR 16 1945

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

...nt of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

WU C21 14=WASHINGTON DC APR 16 139P

WALTER WHITE,

SECY NATL ASSN FOR THE ADV OF COLORED PEOPLE=

DOCTOR CORNELY OUT OF CITY. WILL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU ON HIS RETURN APRIL 23RD=

BALERIE BUSH SECRETARY. 23. 242P

20-21-73

2.45 PM APR 16 1945

DLB (CT)

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Revised April 16, 1945

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES

Council on African Affairs
Mr. Max Yergan
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Negro Actors' Guild of America, Inc.
Mr. Noble Sissle, President
1674 Broadway
New York City

National Negro Bankers Association
Mr. Jesse H. Mitchell, President
201 N. Union Street
Danville, Virginia

National Bar Association
Mr. Charles W. Anderson, President
40 South 19th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

National Negro Business League
Dr. T. E. Walker, President
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

American Church Institute of Negroes
Dr. Robert W. Patton
281 Fourth Avenue
New York City

National Association of College Women
Miss Hilda Davis, President
1111 Columbia Road, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
Mr. L. S. Cozart, Secretary
Barber-Scotia College
Concord, North Carolina

National Association of Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools
Mr. J. B. Cade
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

National Association of Deans of Women and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools
Dr. Fleming P. Kettrell, President
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

National Dental Association
Dr. William O. Claytor, President
Box 197
Charlotteville, Virginia

National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses
Mrs. Francis Gaines
1790 Broadway
New York City

Conference of Presidents of Land Grant Colleges
Dr. R. B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

March on Washington Movement
Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, Chairman (see: Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters)
2090 Seventh Avenue
New York City

National Medical Association
Dr. E. I. Robinson, President
1108 Church Street
Norfolk, Virginia

National Association of Negro Musicians
Mr. J. Wesley Jones, President
4100 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

National Negro Congress
Miss Thelma Dale,
Admininistrative Secretary
307 Lenox Avenue
New York City

National Negro Council
Mr. Edgar G. Brown, President
1717 Euclid Street
Washington, D. C.

Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association
Mr. Howard H. Murphy, Secretary
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

National Alliance of Postal Employees
Mr. Lafayette L. Ford, President
1944 Ninth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Association of Colored Railway
Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen
Mr. S. H. Clarke, President
408 Gainsboro Avenue, Northwest
Roanoke, Virginia

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President
(see; March on Washington)
217 West 125th Street
New YorkCity

Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama
Miss Esther Cooper, Secretary

American Teachers' Association
Dr. H. Council Trenholm, President
Box 371
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

20-21-67

National Urban League
Mr. Lester B. Granger
1133 Broadway
New York City

Universal Negro Improvement Association
Miss Theresa E. Young
2200 E. 40th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

National Council of Negro Women
Mr. Mary Mcleod Bethune, President
1812 Ninth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

GREEK LETTER SOCIETIES

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby
435 E. 48th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street, Northeast
Washington, D. C.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Miss Elsie Austin
143 W Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

K
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
Mr. Carl R. Johnson
180 W. Washington Street
Chicago, Illinois

Lamoda Kappa Mu Sorority
Mrs. Amelia G. Smith
167-04 111th Avenue
Jamaica, New York

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
Mr. Z. Alexander Looby, President
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan

Zeta Phi Beta Sorority
Mrs. Blanche J. Thompson, President
417 West 145th Street
New York City

FRATERNAL ORDERS

Supreme Camp of American Woodmen
Mr. B. R. Graham
Box 987
Denver, Colorado

Improved Benevolent Protective
Order of Elks of the World
Mr. J. Finley Wilson
800 N. 12th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
Mr. Ernest D. Cooke
Corner 12th and Spruce Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Supreme Lodge of Knights of Pythias
Mr. Oscar W. Adams
Detroit, Michigan

Grand Encampment of Knights
Templars
Mr. Edward DeLon Allen
355 Owen Street
Detroit, Michigan

Independent Order of St. Luke
Mrs. Hattie N. F. Walker
902-4 St. James Street
Richmond, Virginia

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

National Baptist Convention of
America, Inc.
Rev. D. V. Jemison
1605 Lapsley Street
Selma, Alabama

National Baptist Convention
of America
Rev. G. L. Prince
2610 Avenue L
Galveston, Texas

African Methodist Episcopal Church
Bishop J. A. Gregg
1150 Washington Boulevard
Kansas City, Kansas

African Methodist Episcopal Zion
Church
Mr. S. M. Dudley
1830-16th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Mr. W. A. Bell
141½ Auburn Avenue, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Colored Conferences of the Methodist
Episcopal Church
Bishop Alexander P. Shaw
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore, Maryland

[NAACP]

April 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

In order to take care of expenses other than railroad fare for your trip to San Francisco, we are having the bookkeeper draw five $100 checks made payable to you.

If you will indorse one of them she will cash it for your immediate expenses on the way out. The others we will turn over to you as soon as they are signed.

I have no idea how long the conference will last so that I do not know how long this $500will last, but if you will submit the usual day-to-day expense account covering hotel, meals, transportation and the other usual items, we will supplement this amount on notice from you. Your expense account need not be submitted until you make a request for additional funds. Please bear in mind that airmail from San Francisco here requires a minimum of 24-hours and it is better to allow 36. It takes us a day or two to have checks signed and another two or three days for airmail to reach you. On a weekend it takes longer because Mr. Spingarn is not available to sign checks between Friday noon and Monday morning.

Do you plan to be in the office tomorrow and Thursday? If you will indicate when, then the bookkeeper will know about getting checks signed, getting your indorsement, and getting to the bank before it closes.

20-14

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

[NAACP]

17 April 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

The unfortunate mix-up in the list of telegrams was entirely my fault. I had looked over the list and marked those that I wanted but, of course, I ought to have checked it again the very last thing but I had work to do and I wanted Miss Diggs to help me and we thought we had made it clear to the typist but after all I should not have depended upon the final judgment of the clerk.

Enclosed is the list that I intended to have sent out.

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-21-71

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

19 April 1945

Dear Nina:

When the Wanamaker bill comes, please mail it to Miss Diggs. She has a check to pay it.

My address in San Francisco is

c/o NAACP REGIONAL OFFICE
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

Yours with love,

20-12

copy

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

1133 Broadway

20 April 1945

Dear Walter:

We congratulate you on the high honor extended to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its being designated one of the consultants to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference on World Peace and Security.

The National Urban League has not expressed itself formally on the issues involved in the international and colonial problems relating to the new world organization of nations. However, we have followed with close interest the work of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois on the issues, and herewith express confidence in the general substance of his proposals and his procedure of consulting with responsible leaders of thought and action among the darker races who are directly affected by imperialism and colonial rule.

In that connection, we approve the resolution unanimously adopted by your colonial conference recently in New York City, urging the delegates to the San Francisco Conference to establish an appropriate world organization especially charged with the responsibility of supervising the transition period of colonies from their present condition to that of autonomy and independence.

We believe further that equitable social and welfare services in the fields of education, housing, health and economic security should be assured to colonial peoples without regard to race or dependency differentials.

We extend our best wishes to you in the fulfillment of this challenging responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

Lester B. Granger
Executive Secretary

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York

May 8, 1945

To the Press:

The following telegram was sent yesterday to the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Chairman, American Delegation, UNCIO, regarding the American proposal on colonial trusteeship by three Consultants to the American Delegation represent the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The undersigned consultants respectively place before the American Delegation the following comments on the trusteeship proposal made by it. We are pleased that the United States has made a proposal on this most basic problem in which is involved the whole question of peace. We recognize the difficulty of reconciling security needs with humanitarian considerations but we urge that the American Delegation seriously consider and vigorously support the changes set forth herewith to make its trusteeship proposal even more effective. Several other consultants have indicated their desire to join in submission of these suggestions. Their names will be transmitted to you as soon as they have had opportunity to read the full text.

46-6-216

Walter White, Consultant

W. E. B. Du Bois, Associate Consultant

Mary McLeod Bethune, Associate Consultant to
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

May 8, 1945

It has been agreed by four of the Great Powers that one of the purposes of the international organization is "promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex" but the agreement also provides that in case discrimination does occur the organization has no right to intervene within the "domestic jurisdiction" of the state concerned. This means that the international organization cannot interfere in colonial affairs, and it may also make impossible any attempt to safeguard the rights of any groups in any nation; for instance, it could not combat the race and religious persecution of another Hitler.

This declaration in Chapter I, Paragraph 3, is encouraging as far as it places the international organization on the side of justice and non-discrimination but it is especially dangerous in leaving out the mass of people living in colonies, against whom discrimination is customary and unjustifiable. We believe that a declaration should lay down the principle and implement it so as to provide for the transition of all colonial peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as they desire. The eventual disappearance of the colonial system is the best insurance of peace. This democratic principle, the international organization has not recognized.

With regard to trusteeship, the American proposal is permissive only and ought to be mandatory.

The American proposal is that only such territory or parts of territories where strategic considerations are of paramount importance should be designated as strategic; other parts and populations should be under a trusteeship system. The British proposal, on the other hand, would not recognize the feasibility of separating strategic areas from other trustee areas, and would permit the operation of strategic controls in the interest of security in any territory or part thereof. This, as it seems to us, is a possible encroachment of military considerations upon considerations of humanity.

With regard to mandates distributed after the first World War, and to territories taken by the United Nations after this war, there is proposed a trusteeship administered by the nations who held the mandates and by other interested nations, but there is no provision for Native representation. This failure to include Natives in the governing council does not carry out the stated objectives of the proposal to train the Natives for "progressive development toward self-government." Neither is there provision for Native representation in territories voluntarily put under the trusteeship.

It is unthinkable that the mandated colonies distributed after the first World War should be returned to the position of colonies owned by other countries or that the terms upon which they were mandated should not be subject to revision.

All this refers to a colonial population of not more than twenty-five millions. This leaves at least seven hundred and twenty-five millions of colonial inhabitants concerning whom nothing is said except that some of these territories may voluntarily be placed under the trusteeship by the countries controlling them.

Walter White, Consultant
W. E. B. Du Bois, Associate Consultant
May McLeod Bethune, Association Consultant
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People

46-6-217

[NAACP]
Jan 1945

PETITION

The main groups of mankind, commonly called races, are essentially equal in capability of progress and deserve equality of treatment, opportunity and respect.

In the eye of both science and religion, all men are brothers, with rights to freedom of thought, belief and expression; freedom of domicile, movement and communication; justice before the courts and equal civil, economic, political and social rights. The first duty of civilization is to see to it that no human being is deprived of these rights because of poverty, disease or ignorance.

The colonial system of government, however deeply rooted in history and custom, is today undemocratic, socially dangerous and a main cause of wars. The United Nations recognizing democracy as the only just way of life for all peoples make it a first statute of international law that at the earliest practical moment no nation nor group shall be deprived of effective voice in its own government. An international colonial commission on which colonial peoples shall have representation should have power to investigate the facts and implement this declaration under the Security Council.

46-6-214

1945 San Francisco UNIACO Conference

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Mrs.. Mary McLeod Bethune

From: Walter White

Subject: Meeting of Consultants - May 1st - 8:30 A.M. - Garden Room, Fairmont Hotel

20-1-4

In addition to Consultants and Dr. DuBois as Associate Consultant, the following members of the American Delegation were present: Dean Gildersleeve, Commander Stassen, John Foster Dulles and 10 technical advisers to the American Delegation.

Dean Gildersleeve stated that it had been decided to divide the consultants into 4 commissions on the basis of interests of the consultants which would correspond to the divisions of the American Delegation dealing with economics, politics and other issues.

During the course of the meeting this proposal was somewhat disapproved by the consultants and no specific action was taken.

It was stated by Dean Gildersleeve and Commander Stassen that no resolutions will be adopted at the San Francisco Conference and that it had been decided that no attempt would be made to work out specific machinery on various problems, nor create explicit organizations to handle these problems. The conference would therefore limit itself to the creation of a security organization and a framework for specialized organizations to implement broad principles later on.

A section dealing with human rights will be included but would not be worked out in detail at this time.

Regarding the questions of colonization, trusteeship and mandated areas, a formula has been worked out by the American Delegation and submitted to the Chinese, British, French and Russian Delegations who have asked time to consult with their governments. A future meeting, according to Commander Stassen, was to be held on Thursday, May 3rd, when the delegation from the 4 powers would report on their government's reactions to the proposals which are 4 in number, as follows:

1. Security of United States in the Pacific
2. World security, particularly dealing with bases in other parts of the world.
3. The handling of "dependent peoples"
4. The resources of territories where the people are not the governing.

Commander Stassen stated that specific territories would not be either taken up or even discussed at the San Francisco Conference.

At this point Dr. DuBois read the following statement and asked how it could be placed before the American Delegation. Commander Stassen replied that it should be sent to the Secretary of the Delegation, which was done.

Philip Murray, CIO, asked to whom labor can present its views on world organization and on revision of the plan for the social and economic council, and was told it could be presented to the American Delegation as a whole.

Commander Stassen explained that each member of the American Delegation had been supplied with full digest of each proposal which had been made by American organizations to the State Department, and that material submitted at

San Francisco should be supplementary, or new material, so there would be no need of duplication of what had already been recommended.

Mr. Dallus at this point warned that everybody will be disappointed, including the American Delegation, at what is done, and even more at what is not done at San Francisco, but that we must remember that making a peace is a hard and slow job.

5-31-02

It was stated by Dean Gildersleeve that the American Delegation had decided it would not propose a bill of human rights and does not know of any other delegation who will make such a proposal.

Mr. Carr of NEA said firmly at this point that the consultants and the constituents which they represent expect the United States Delegation to take the lead in abrogation of social and economic reforms; that the people will back such courageous world leadership but will be sorely disappointed and embittered if the American Delegation does not take a courageous position.

Mr. Gaylord, National Association of Manufacturers, asked what the American Delegation will recommend regarding cartels which the NAM opposed but which the British favor. He insisted that consultants be informed of the nature of proposals being discussed.

Mr. Dallus replied that no one will know before leaving San Francisco what position will be taken on such questions as discussion of them would prevent completion of it.

Outline of work to be done at San Francisco: Only the framework and broad principles can be established here with the details to be worked out later at subsequent meetings.

Dr. Nolde of the Federal Council of Churches, vigorously criticized the apparent unwillingness of American Delegation to face and find solutions to problems and reiterated Dr. Carr's insistence that the United States Delegation take the lead. Even if other delegations refuse to go along or actively oppose United States proposals. his position was agreed to by Dr. Shotwell of the Organization to Study Organization of Peace, and Mr. Mahony of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

Mr. Nolde asked if the refusal to advocate or consider a human rights resolution is due merely to a desire to speed the end of the conference, or for some other reason. To this Mr. Walter Koschnik of the State Department answered that the "human rights commission can and will be worked out later."

Judge Proskow stated that it will be a grievous disappointment to American people if nothing is done on the issue of human rights which is the basis of most problems which must be faced in San Francisco.

Walter White asked if consultants would see the various proposals before the United States Delegation committed itself to them. The answer was that decisions had been made since last September and were being made so speedily at San Francisco that there was not time to submit them in advance to consultants.

Walter White stated on this there was no point in having consultants at San Francisco if their advice was to be sort of expost facto.

Walter J. Watt, AFL, remarked that the people of the United States cannot be sold on the proposals eminating from the San Francisco Conference unless the United States Delegation stands up and fights for principle. At this point Dean Gildersleeve and Commander Stassen had to leave the conference and Mr. John Dickery of the State Department took over as Chairman. He stated off the record that he agreed wholeheartedly with the position taken by the various

consultants but that the first week had raised far more diplomatic questions than most experienced diplomats had anticipated.

Philip Murray asked if the proposals to divide consultants into 4 groups meant that labor could not present its claims. To this reply was made it would not prevent labor making its demands.

Plans were developed at this point for two meetings, Tuesday afternoon at 2:15, one on Cultural and Educational Questions to be held at the Public Health Building, and the other on International and Economic Questions at the Fairmont Hotel.

20-18-6

May 2 - 5 P.M.

Consultants with Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, Assistant Secretary McLeish and Dr. Isaiah Bowman.

Mr. Stettinius explained to the consultants the following points:

1. That the late President Roosevelt had made a moral commitment which had been later backed up by President Truman in a letter to Mr. Stettinius to support Russia's claim for two additional votes, one each for Ukraine and Byelorussia, and that the American Delegation was morally bound to support Russia's demand.

2. On admission of Argentina, American Delegation had voted unanimously to include Argentina in the interests of Pan-American unity.

3. Regarding Poland, the Yalta agreement has not yet been implemented and Mr. Stettinius explained that the United States, therefore, and Great Britain could not vote for admission of Poland until convinced that Poland has a truly democratic government. Mr. Stettinius stated CONFIDENTIALLY that he is continuing conversations with Eden and Molotov and hopes to work out a formula which will result in the inclusion of the best men in the Lublin and Polish governments along with the best and most democratic individuals affiliated with neither of the present two governments.

4. Regarding Molotov's fight against election of the American Secretary of State as permanent chairman of the conference, Mr. Stettinius explained that it is a tradition that the foreign secretary or secretary of state of the host country be elected as permanent chairman; that the American delegation was not concerned either with the United States or individual but they were concerned regarding the establishing of a precedent that might make possible, for example, "a Brazilian presiding over a world conference."

At this point Dr. Nolde was introduced to present on behalf of the consultants a request for certain amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposal (copy attached) dealing with human rights. He was backed up vigorously and elaborately by Judge Proskauer. At this point Walter White stated to the Secretary of State that on behalf of himself, Dr. DuBois and Mrs. Bethune, as well as others, he wished to make it clear that the phrase pledging equality of opportunity and justice to the people "in their lands" must definitely include colonials and other dependent people. (Mr. Stettinius smiled somewhat embarrassedly and cryptically at this point.)

Mr. Stettinius asked the delegation what compromise could be made in the statement if the members of other delegations refused to accept the document in its present form. He was told by Judge Proskauer that the consultants were well aware of the difficulties he and the American Delegation faced and had drafted statement as minimum demand; that it was hoped that no material changes or d would be made, and that the American Delegation would fight for the document

Before leaving Mr. Stettinius pledged that he would personally make every effort to persuade the American Delegation to fight for the document as presented to him. At this point Dr. Bowman assumed the chair and made a somewhat lengthy and indefinite statement about the philosophy of the American Delegation.

20-18-7

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NAACP:

May 11, 1945

In accordance with your vote I came to San Francisco, leaving New York April 19th. I was registered as Associate Consultant to the American Delegation, representing the NAACP. I have attended eight plenary sessions of the general conference. The consultants of 42 national organizations and associate consultants have met several times. At each of these meetings some representative of the American delegation was present. At one meeting Mr. White and I formed a panel and answered questions. I have drafted three petitions concerning colonial peoples to the American delegation, copies of which are enclosed. In all of these I have collaborated with Mr. White, Mrs. Bethune and others. I have written twelve special newspaper articles for the conference edition of the New York Post and the Chicago Defender. I have attended three meetings of observers representing a large number of Negro organizations and reported to them whatever special information we had concerning the work of the conference. Mr. White and Mrs. Bethune have attended these and other meetings. I have delivered three lectures, one in Oakland to an audience of 2,000, one in San Francisco to an audience of 700 and one in Los Angeles to 1,000. I have had two interviews with the Liberian Delegation, one with the Haitian Delegation and one with the French Delegation. I asked Monsieur Pleven of the French Delegation concerning a Pan-African Congress in Paris in September. Mr. Pleven was for four years Minister of Colonies. He promised to take the matter up with the Government in Paris whither he returned yesterday.

I place a great deal of stress on holding such a Congress. It will follow-up the work of the San Francisco Conference where it is practically certain that no decisive action will be taken concerning colonies. I estimate that the fare of two delegates going by boat will cost $1,000, and that $1,500 will cover other costs, making a total of $2,500. I have not included in this estimate correspondence and other preliminary work in New York. For that I would need a stenographer to assist Miss Diggs. It is quite possible that the Association will not feel able to undertake this conference. In that case I should like to have your consent to seek some other sponsoring organization.

I plan to return to New York as soon as the main work of the conference seems practically finished.

W. E. B. DuBois

46-6-115

Maryl

12 May 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Dr. Du Bois wishes me to include in the report to the Board on Monday that he has asked the French Government through their minister in San Francisco for permission to hold a Pan African Congress in Paris in September, 1945. He estimates that the cost will not be more than twenty-five hundred dollars including transportation for two delegates. As, of course, you know he has asked the NAACP to sponsor this meeting but in case the NAACP cannot undertake this he should like to have its consent to seek another sponsoring organization.

Since I am reasonably sure he would like to have action taken on this matter on Monday, may I talk with you about it for a few minutes?

I shall not have our complete report for the Board ready until sometime Monday but it will be ready in time for you to see it before the meeting.

46-6-194

Mr. Roy Wilkins
THE CRISIS

[NAACP]

M E M O R A N D U M

May 14, 1945

To: Dr. DuBois

From: Walter White

Will you telegraph the Chicago Branch if you will be able to speak for them on May 28th? You will remember I read you the telegram from Roy in which they ask that you notify them as quickly as possible if you can speak.

They want you to speak on "Restrictive Race Covenants".

20-2-9

WW:en

MEMORANDUM: May 14, 1945

To: Roy Wilkins

From: Walter White

Because of the possibility of your being bumped from the plane since you do not have a priority, or the possibility of your plane arriving late, I am leaving this memorandum for you. I have to leave the Airlines office at 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday to make the 6:30 plane to New York.

Attached is a self-explanatory copy of a letter to Mr. John S. Dickey, Public Liaison Officer of the UNCIO, requesting your accreditation as an Associate Consultant. You will note also my request that Dr. DuBois be accredited as Consultant during the period of my absence. As soon as possible after your arrival will you telephone Mr. Dickey at International 3300, Extension 90 or 91, to complete accreditation since no person is permitted to enter the restricted area around the Municipal Center unless he has credentials.

Dr. DuBois and Mrs. Bethune will bring you up to date on the status of our proposals before the conference. The most important of these:

1. To eliminate or drastically modify proposed amendments in Chapter II, new paragraph to be added following paragraph 6 to take the place of paragraph 7 of Chapter VIII, Section a which would be deleted:

   "Nothing contained in this Charter shall authorize the Organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under this Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of Chapter VIII, Section B.

   I have talked with a very considerable number of people who feel that because the Big Four has approved this it will be difficult to eliminate it entirely, although that is not beyond the range of possibility. Our best practical bet is getting this revised to define with as great exactitude as possible just what constitutes a "domestic" matter. I have already gone into this fairly thoroughly in my report to the Board. If it did not reach you before you left New York Mrs. Nance has a copy.

2. There are 7 proposals dealing with colonial trusteeship, all of which are ineffective in the larger sense. I have also gone into this in my Board report and Dr. DuBois and Mrs. Bethune will brief you on any developments since that report was written. Be sure and read the statement by Molotov at his last press conference before leaving and the New York Post story on the proposal by the Chinese delegation which goes even beyond Molotov's criticisms.

   Its timorousness and political-mindedness has caused the United States delegation to lose, perhaps beyond regaining, the bold moral leadership which it could and should have taken. Russia and China have taken the plays away from the United States on the colonial trusteeship while the smart boys like Eden appear to have outsmarted our delegation on purely political grounds. Whatever effective pressures we can bring to

ssshp

bear on Stettinius to try to rescue something from the wreckage by taking a bolder and more uncompromising stand is our only hope.

Ask Dr. DuBois to tell you about the problems we have had with the Elks - Ministers - Edgar Brown - who have been meeting at the Third Baptist Church on Hyde Street, and also with Max Yergan. Max invited us to a meeting at his office, and because we did not adopt in toto a somewhat ineffective program for a and press conference and the formation of a coalition of organizations, he became exceedingly angry and labeled me as being an "obstructionist". Dr. DuBois, Mrs. Bethune and I have been meeting with the ministers' group quite frequently to tell them what is going on. One of the ministers asked me if I would permit the NAACP's name to be included among the organizations who are proposing a permanent organization whose latest name is "The Federated Organizations for the Improvement of Colored Races." I informed him that:

1. I had no authority to commit the Association since that power was invested in the Board alone;

2. That I did not think there was time enough for an effective pamphlet to be gotten out now and distributed widely and quickly enough to bring needed pressure on the conference;

3. That the Association might possibly bring out its own literature on the subject.

20-3

Lochard, Browning and Sengstacke of the Defender, Prattis and Rayford Logan of the Courier, are staying at the Palace Hotel. Bernard Young is at the Drake-Wiltshire. The latter is doing much the more thoughtful coverage. The Courier has been distinctly less than friendly and has tried to play up mythical differences between Mrs. Bethune on the one hand and Dr. DuBois and myself on the other. However I have been supplying them with all information and working with them as far as possible.

I have secured return reservations from Detroit on the night of the 23rd and I am due back in San Francisco at 4:05 P.M. May 24th. The present feeling is that the conference will run until about June 5th or 6th. Both to save expense of a return trip and to permit me to stay in the office I would prefer not coming back unless it is necessary. I wish you would consult with Dr. DuBois and Mrs. Bethune, and with John Dickey, Clark Eichelberger (he stays at the Sir Francis Drake and is Chairman of the Coops Committee) and wire me if possible at New York on May 19th if it is necessary for me to return. If that is too early a date to tell, wire me at Detroit on the 23rd.

(Since dictating this I talked with John Dickey who thinks by the 25th the main principles will have been decided upon and that it will probably be unnecessary for me to return. I hope that is true. I will stay in the office and take care of things there until you return. In that connection there is attached hereto a return ticket to New York. They will probably have a press train going back. I hope so for your sake if you should stay out that long as it will be a most comfortable one if it is like the one on which Dr. DuBois and I came out.)

You will receive a letter from Mr. John Gibson of the Council for Civic Unity, regarding a meeting at San Jose on May 27th. I suggest you discuss this with Noah and then decide if you can make it.

Consultants meetings are held Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 5 P.M. in the Garden Room, Fairmont Hotel. Notices of other or special meetings of Consult-

ants are posted on the bulletin board at the hotel. It is, however, wise to ask occasionally at International 3300, Extension 90, or at Consultants Lounge in the Opera House on the mezzanine floor.

In the Consultants Lounge will be found each day copies of the Order of the Day, stenographic copies of the Plenary Sessions and memoranda of the proposals made by the various countries. These are in a folder under the name of the Association.

As for plenary meetings and other public meetings there are three tickets for consultants also in the name of the Association, one for the consultant on the main floor, the other two for the first tier. They have to be picked up each day there is a public session.

I have left in the hotel room clippings, reports of various sessions and other documents which you may find useful. Should I not return will you bring these back to me in New York.

I am also leaving a bag and typewriter in the event of my return, and also because the excess baggage charge would be heavy if I carried them with me on the plane. If I do not return will you bring them back to New York for me, checking them through.

I guess this about covers the situation as far as I am able to give it to you in a memorandum. Good luck to you!

20-3

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

April 9 to May 14, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Since the last report the resolutions of the Colonial Conference have been drafted and sent out to the chief Negro newspapers and the white newspapers of New York City as well as in response to numerous inquiries for a report on the Conference. A copy of these resolutions accompanies this report.

Telegrams were sent in behalf of the Association to the leading national Negro organizations offering the services of the National Association's consultant and associate to the American Delegation in San Francisco. Numbers of replies and resolutions have been received and forwarded to Dr. Du Bois in San Francisco. A copy of the telegram is attached.

Arrangements have just been completed for the publication of Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace in India in an English language edition. The agreement signed calls for publication within eighteen months unless circumstances beyond their control such as paper restrictions, etc. should prevent them from doing so.

Dr. Du Bois wishes me to read to you the following report:

May 11, 1945

In accordance with your vote I came to San Francisco, leaving New York, April nineteenth. I am registered as Associate Consultant to the American Delegation, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I have attended eight plenary sessions of the general conference. The consultants of the forty-two national organizations and associate consultants have met several times. At each of these meetings some representative of the American Delegation was present. At one meeting Mr. White and I formed a panel and answered questions. I have drafted three petitions concerning colonial peoples to the American Delegation, copies of which are attached. In all of these I have collaborated with Mr. White, Mrs. Bethune and others. I have written twelve special newspaper articles for the conference edition of the New York Post and the Chicago Defender. I have attended three meetings of observers representing a large number of Negro organizations and reported to them whatever special information we had concerning the work of the conference. Mr. White and Mrs. Bethune have attended these and other meetings.

I have delivered three lectures, one in Oakland to an audience of two thousand, one in San Francisco to an audience of seven hundred and one in Los Angeles to one thousand. I have had two interviews with the Liberian Delegation, one with the Haitian Delegation and one with the French Delegation. I asked Monsieur Pleven of the French Delegation concerning a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. M. Pleven was for four years Minister of Colonies. He promised to take the matter up with the Government in Paris whither he returned yesterday.

****

The Board of Directors, at its meeting on May 14, voted that "Dr. DuBois' report and the estimated cost of the proposed Pan African Congress be referred to the special committee on the Pan African Congress, awaiting the return of Dr. Du Bois who is a member of that Committee."

46-6-212

1945

I place a great deal of stress on holding such a Congress. It will follow-up the work of the San Francisco Conference where it is practically certain that no decisive action will be taken concerning colonies. I estimate that the transportation of two delegates going by boat will cost one thousand dollars and that fifteen hundred will cover other costs, making a total of $2,500. I have not included in this estimate correspondence and other preliminary work in New York. For that I would need a stenographer to assist Miss Diggs.

It is quite possible that the Association will not feel able to undertake this Congress. In that case I should like to have your consent to seek some other sponsoring organization.

I plan to return to New York as soon as the main work of the conference seems practically finished.

(s) W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-213

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

April 9 to May 14, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Since the last report the resolutions of the Colonial Conference have been drafted and sent out to the chief Negro newspapers and the white newspapers of New York City as well as in response to numerous inquiries for a report on the Conference. A copy of these resolutions accompanies this report.

Telegrams were sent in behalf of the Association to the leading national Negro organizations offering the services of the National Association's consultant and associate to the American Delegation in San Francisco. Numbers of replies and resolutions have been received and forwarded to Dr. Du Bois in San Francisco. A copy of the telegram is attached.

Arrangements have just been completed for the publication of Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace in India in an English language edition. The agreement signed calls for publication within eighteen months unless circumstances beyond their control such as paper restrictions, etc. should prevent them from doing so.

601-9-94

Dr. Du Bois wishes me to read to you the following report:

May 11, 1945

In accordance with your vote I came to San Francisco, leaving New York, April nineteenth. I am registered as Associate Consultant to the American Delegation, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I have attended eight plenary sessions of the general conference. The consultants of the forty-two national organizations and associate consultants have met several times. At each of these meetings some representative of the American Delegation was present. At one meeting Mr. White and I formed a panel and answered questions. I have drafted three petitions concerning colonial peoples to the American Delegation, copies of which are attached. In all of these I have collaborated with Mr. White, Mrs. Bethune and others. I have written twelve special newspaper articles for the conference edition of the New York Post and the Chicago Defender. I have attended three meetings of observers representing a large number of Negro organizations and reported to them whatever special information we had concerning the work of the conference. Mr. White and Mrs. Bethune have attended these and other meetings.

I have delivered three lectures, one in Oakland to an audience of two thousand, one in San Francisco to an audience of seven hundred and one in Los Angeles to one thousand. I have had two interviews with the Liberian Delegation, one with the Haitian Delegation and one with the French Delegation. I asked Monsieur Pleven of the French Delegation concerning a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. M. Pleven was for four years Minister of Colonies. He promised to take the matter up with the Government in Paris whither he returned yesterday.

I place a great deal of stress on holding such a Congress. It will follow-up the work of the San Francisco Conference where it is practically certain that no decisive action will be taken concerning colonies. I estimate that the transportation of two delegates going by boat will cost one thousand dollars and that fifteen hundred will cover other costs, making a total of $2,500. I have not included in this estimate correspondence and other preliminary work in New York. For that I would need a stenographer to assist Miss Diggs.

It is quite possible that the Association will not feel able to undertake this Congress. In that case I should like to have your consent to seek some other sponsoring organization.

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(s) W. E. B. Du Bois

Irene Diggs

4-6-110

[NAACP]

MEMORANDUM

May 15, 1945

To: Dr. DuBois

From: Walter White

Here is the Consultant's ticket for future plenary sessions in the Opera House. John Dickey explained yesterday that the seating arrangement had to be revised because of the addition of delegations from three more nations and the tightening of security arrangements.

One ticket is issued in the name of the organization for which the Consultant is responsible. Tickets for the two additional Consultants will be provided in the gallery. They have to be picked up each day of the meeting by the Association Consultant at the Public Health Building. In the event the Consultant is not able to attend any session he is to see to it that the ticket attached for the main floor is used by one of the Associate Consultants. It is stressed that no ticket is transferable and the occupant of the seat will be challenged or queried frequently to be sure that the occupant is the person entitled to sit there. Any violation of this ruling, it is emphasized, will be serious for security reasons.

Walt

4-6-48

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

May 15, 1944

The following persons have accepted membership on the Committee to Present the Cause of the Negro to the next Peace Conference:

San Francisco Conference

Mary McLeod Bethune	Washington, D. C.
Jacob Billikopf	Philadelphia, Pa.
James A. Bray	Chicago, Ill.
Rufus S. Clement	Atlanta, Ga.
Allan Knight Chalmers	New York City
Mercer Cook	Atlanta, Ga.
John W. Davis	Institute, W. Va.
Edwin R. Embree	Chicago, Ill.
Charles S. Johnson	Nashville, Tenn.
Mordecai W. Johnson	Washington, D. C.
E. Stanley Jones	New York City
Metz T. P. Lochard	Chicago, Ill.
Rayford W. Logan	Washington, D. C.
Benjamin E. Mays	Atlanta, Ga.
A. Philip Randolph	New York City
Ira DeA. Reid	Washington, D. C.
Walter P. Reuther	Detroit, Mich.
George S. Schuyler	New York City
Lillian E. Smith	Clayton, Ga.
Arthur B. Spingarn	New York City
Channing H. Tobias	New York City
Irvin W. Underhill, Jr.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert C. Weaver	Chicago, Ill.
Carter W. Wesley	Houston, Texas
George N. White	New York City
Walter White	New York City
Mary E. Wooley	Wellesley, Mass.
P.B.Young	Norfolk,Va.
Max Yergan	New York City

20-18

[NAACP]

May 16, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MISS RANDOLPH TO MISS DIGGS:

The Board of Directors, at its meeting on May 14, VOTED, That Dr. Du Bois's report and the estimated cost of the proposed Pan African Congress be referred to the special Committee on the Pan African Congress, awaiting the return of Dr. Du Bois who is a member of that Committee.

20-6

May 17, 1945

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. White:

I sent the enclosed memorandum personally to each member of the American D elegation and to consultants and associates on May 16th.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

20-3

20-3

May 18, 1945

Mr. Walter White
Secretary
NAACP
New York City

Dear Mr. White:

Mr. Wilkins got here this morning and we have just had a conference. He is off to the State Department to get credentials.

I am enclosing receipts showing bills which I have paid for Mrs. Nance's compensation and travel up to the time of your departure. I do not think there will be future charge unless Mr. Wilkins has some work.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosures (3)

May 25, 1945

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN CONFERS WITH NAACP'S WALTER WHITE

Washington, D. C.---- In a half hour conference with President Truman today, Walter White, executive secretary NAACP, vigorously protested the action of the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference in its siding with Great Britain and France against eventual independence for colonials and dependent peoples, as originally proposed by China and Russia. Mr. White told President Truman it was imperative that the United States modify its position and if possible change it altogether.

On the question of minority rights and Federal legislation, Mr. White reported the President much interested in the FEPC bill. Other matters discussed included the Anti-Poll tax measure, Veterans rights and the Veterans Bureau. The NAACP Secretary was asked to submit memorandum of his observations on conditions and treatment of Negro troops by Army, Navy and Marine Corps, during his recent trip to the Pacific.

President Truman indicated a desire for further discussion of these and other issues. Mr. White suggested leaders of Negro opinion be invited--if another conference is held.

20-3

June 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MISS DIGGS FROM MR. WHITE:

My memorandum to you of November 28th, 1944, regarding attendance at Board meetings is herewith revoked except at such meetings at which Dr. DuBois cannot be present and at which he may wish you to present his report.

20-3

WW:DW

COPY

[NAACP]

Dr. DuBois:

For your information.

WW

20-3-13

June 4, 1945

Dear Rayford:

At its meeting on May 28th, the Committee on Administration of the NAACP recommended to the Board of Directors that you be invited to serve on a committee to consider the holding of a Pan-African Congress. The Board has already voted to go on record as favoring the idea of a Pan-African Congress to be held in Paris in September under the sponsorship of the NAACP; that the matter be referred to a committee to make investigations as to cost and possible dates, which committee is to report back to the Board.

Invited to serve on the committee with yourself are the following: Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman; Messrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Elmer A. Carter, Russell W. Davenport, William H. Hastie, Arthur B. Spingarn and Channing H. Tobias. Ex officio: Dr. DuBois and the Secretary.

It has not been possible to hold a meeting of that committee due to the San Francisco conference, but it is necessary to hold it at the earliest possible date. I am, therefore, writing to ask if you would let me know by Monday, June 11, if you would be able and willing to serve and what date would be most convenient for you.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE.

Professor Rayford Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Secretary.

WW:DW

[NAACP]

Add these items to rdport to Board

MEMORANDUM

Activities of W. E. B. DuBois - May 16 to June 4, 1945

Met Consultants, UNCIO, ~~three times and attended dinner of Consultants~~ four given by Lions Club

Met Corps Committee once. (American Assoc. of U.N. United nation organization of N.Y.)

~~Interviewed Delegation from Ethiopia (Minister of Education)~~

Interviewed John Foster Dulles ~~and James Carey~~ with (C.I.O.)

Interviewed Rayford Logan and Ralph Bunche

Talked with Dorothy Detzer and Ann Hedgeman

Talked with Ojiki of Nigeria

Talked with Richard Moore of West Indian Council

Lectured at Los Angeles, NAACP
Denver Unity Council
University of Chicago
Dusable High School, Chicago
City-wide Committee and NAACP, Chicago

(2) Before leaving St. I

Sent last appeal to Stettinius on colonies and gave copies of it to the press;

(3) I Strongly recommend to the Board that they reprint the able appeal of South Africans: "African Claims". (Copy herewith belongs to Stokes-- guard it)

I Am leaving the only available copy in America with Miss Diggs, and asking her to let Mr. Arthur Spingarn read it. If his judgment coincides with mine, I ask the Board to finance it republication as pamphlet No. I of an occasional series of "Demands of Colored ~~peoples~~ Peoples for Freedom", 20th Century".

46-6-211

[NAACP]

MEMORANDUM

Activities of W. E. B. DuBois - May 16 to June 4, 1945

Met Consultants, UNCIO, three times and attended dinner of Consultants given by Lions Club

Met Corps Committee once.

Interviewed Delegation from Ethiopia

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Talked with Richard Moore of West Indian Council

Lectured at Los Angeles, NAACP
Denver Unity Council
University of Chicago
Dusable High School, Chicago
City-wide Committee and NAACP, Chicago

46-6-274

C

O

P

Y

1519 Jackson St., N. E.
Washington 17, D. C.
June 5, 1945

Dear Walter:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 4. I am happy to accept membership on the committee to consider the holding of a Pan-African Congress.

I could come to New York at almost any time except June 16-18 according to my present schedule. On June 23 I have to be in Philadelphia for a banquet. I suppose the meeting would be held before July 1 when I have to go to Antioch until July 8. From July 14 to 20 I am at Haverford.

Since I am on sabbatical leave, my mail will reach me more quickly at my home address above.

Most sincerely,

(Signed) RAYFORD

Rayford W. Logan

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES OF TRIP TO SAN FRANCISCO AND RETURN, APRIL I9-- JUNE 5, I945

W.E.B. Du BOIS

N.A.A.C.P.

to W.E.B.Du BOIS,	Dr.
Expenses on train, April I9-23 (Voucher I)	$I8.72
Hotel bills in San Francisco (Vouchers 2,3,4,5)	I72.95
Taxi fares (Voucher 6)	23.00
Secretarial aid, May I6-23, (Voucher 7)	63.36
Office supplies and postage, (Voucher 8)	24.36
Return pullman fare (Voucher 9)	38.I2
Meals in San Francisco, outside those charged on hotel bills, 34 days (Voucher I0)	I53.20
Tips and miscellaneous (Voucher II)	I7.23
Train expenses, return to N.Y., 7 days (Voucher I2)	24.50
TOTAL EXPENSE	$535.44

Cr.	
By cash and checks, April I9,	500.00
Balance due	35.44
Add to this amount paid for joint secretarial services, Mr. White,and Mr. Du Bois May 2 to I6 (Vouchers sent Mr. White May I8	I59.82
Total due	$I9526.

20-11

San Francisco, Calif.

Postage

4 air mail	32
4 special	52
	84
4 - 3	12
	96
4 - 1	4
	$1.00

5-18-45

For { 42 @ 1½¢ stamps .63
10 @ 3¢ " .30
#.93

May 22, 1945

For Postage:

27	three-cent stamps	$.81
10	Airmail	.80
8	Special Delivery	1.01
		$2.62

.25

2.87

3

2.90

April 28, 1945

Received from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois - San Francisco Conference -

2 stenographers' note books	-	$ .20
Stationery -	-	.39
10 air mail stamps	-	.80
5 special delivery stamps	-	.65
20 three cent stamps	-	.60
		$2.64

Jane R. Bonfield

(4) B

May 18, 1945

Statement of Expenses for Secretarial Services at UNCIO, San Francisco, California.

For return fare to Seattle, Wash. $35.10

Received Payment:

_____

(Original mailed to Mr. White on May 18)

8-11

(5)

San Francisco, California
May 18, 1945

Statement of Expenses for Secretarial Services at United Nations Conference for International Organization, San Francisco, California

Room Rent		$9.00
Meals	(6 days)	15.00
Car fare	"	3.36
		$27.36
Salary		35.00
		$62.36

(For Week - May 9 - 16)

Received Payment

_____

(Original mailed to Mr. White on May 18)

20-11

San Francisco, California
May 25, 1945

Statement of Expenses for Secretarial Services at United Nations Conference, San Francisco, California

Room Rent	(2 days)	$3.00
Meals	"	5.00
Car fare		.98
		$8.98
Salary		10.00
		$18.98

(May 24 & 25)

Received Payment

Ethel Ray Nance

20-11

Vouchers 6, 9 and 10

This is to certify that while on my way to San Francisco, in the city, and on my return, I made expenditures approximately as follows:

Taxi fare	$23.00
Meals	181.00
Tips & Misc. Expenses	17.23

(April 20 to June 4, 1945)

28-11

Voucher 7

This is to certify that expenditures were made for office supplies and postage as follows:

Office supplies	$7.90
Postage	16.10
	$ 24.00

Ethel Ray Nance

San Francisco, California
UNCIO -(From April 25 to
May 16)

20-11

Voucher 8

Pullman Tickets

Form	Nos.	Destination	Amount
2	134	Denver	$12.75
		Tax	1.91
100-R	3086	Chicago	13.45
		Tax	2.02
-	3087	New York	6.95
		Tax	1.04
			$ 38.12

B 2741
5-21-45

20-11

Memo on
Vouchers 1,2,3

Sir Francis Drake
Hotel Bill:

April 29, 1945	$43.50
May 13, 1945	68.44
May 22, 1945	36.68
	$148. 62

20-11

[1945 ?]

San Francisco Conference

Vouchers

San Francisco

Duplicate

20-11

[NAACP]

June 6, 1945

Memorandum to Dr. Du Bois from Mr. Wilkins

An emergency has developed with respect to typists because one of our girls is on vacation and despite the fact that we have made an effort for the past five weeks, we have not been able to secure a replacement.

Accordingly, I would like to use Miss Lee, who has been doing some typing for you, for two or three days to catch up on a list of names and addresses.

I hope it will be possible for us to use Miss Lee for Friday, Saturday and Monday.

20-14

RW/dp

DR. DU BOIS

June 6, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO EXECUTIVES: Mr. Marshall Dr. Du Bois
Miss Baker Mr. Perry
Mrs. Hurley Mr. Dedmon
and to - Mrs. Waring, Chief Accountant

Because the July meeting of the Board will be held in Cincinnati (July 7 and 8), please have in Miss Randolph's hands your report for June, on Friday, June 29, without fail, so that it can be cut, run and sent to Board members well in advance of that meeting.

Because of the increase in numbers of reports and the volume of material included in the reports (because of greater activity) I am requesting that after July all department reports be in Miss Randolph's hands not later than the 2nd of each month.

20-3

It has been necessary for Mr. Wilkins and myself to call attention repeatedly to getting reports in on time. I trust it will not be necessary for us to have to do this again and that each department head will make this a fixed date so that neither Miss Randolph nor Mr. Wilkins nor myself will have the added burden of following up certain of the department heads for reports each month.

WW:RR

[NAACP]

7 June 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Miss Freeland tells me that Miss Lee has not come in this morning. Should she come in, it will be all right to use her services Friday, Saturday and Monday.

20-14

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

[NAACP]

Dr. Du Bois

June 11th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WILKINS FROM MR. WHITE:
(Copy to Dr. Du Bois)

I have your memorandum of June 7 and am sharing it with Dr. Du Bois along with copy of this reply memorandum.

1. The matter of the $75.00 travel expenses paid Dr. Du Bois by the Los Angeles Branch is probably due to my failure to inform Dr. Du Bois, which I am doing by means of this memorandum, of the Association's rule that no lecture fees are accepted by paid employees of the Association for branch engagements and that sums contributed are applied to travel expenses. I am therefore suggesting to Dr. Du Bois that the cost of the trip from San Francisco to Los Angeles and return be added to his expenses and the $75.00 turned in as branch contribution towards travel.

20-14-17

2. I agree that the matter of secretarial help at the San Francisco conference was handled unfortunately. The facts are these:

Dr. Du Bois telegraphed Mrs. Somerville at Los Angeles to ask her if she knew two typists who were capable of using an Ediphone. At the same time he wired Mrs. Nance to ask if she could come down to serve as his secretary during the conference. Mrs. Somerville sent three persons, two of them from Los Angeles and one from San Francisco, while Mrs. Nance came down from Seattle. The proper procedure would have been for Dr. Du Bois and myself to have let this be handled by you and Miss Freeland. I am sure no such mix-up will occur in future. I shall turn over to you and the bookkeeper my expense account which will show the sums I paid to Mrs. Nance. I paid all her expenses up to one amounting to $62.36 which I did not pay before leaving. I telegraphed Dr. Du Bois on May 17 asking him to pay that. I assume that he paid her all sums due her subsequent to that date also.

As for the difference in daily bus fare of Mrs. Bosfield and Mrs. Nance, I assume that this is due to the zone system, but that is only speculation on my part.

As for the discrepancy between one of Mrs. Nance's items, of $63.36 and $62.36, I am sure Dr. Du Bois will explain that.

3. Dr. Du Bois spoke to me at San Francisco about the filing clerk he wished. He stated that the cost of the Colonial Conference held in New York was less than the sum voted by the Board and that he assumed that additional clerical help could be charged against that item. I explained to him the Association's procedure-- that invariably the Board voted in approving a project a sum "not to exceed X dollars" and that all sums not expended for the specific purposes set forth would revert to the NAACP treasury and could not

be allocated to any other use. I explained to him also that the proper procedure if he needed additional help was to make a request of myself as Secretary or, in my absence, of yourself setting forth the need so that we could pass upon it. I also explained that we are strictly bound by the line items voted in the annual budget of the Association and that we have no authority to alter any of these items or to make any additional ones without express approval of the Board.

2-14-18

Dr. Du Bois explained that he would undoubtedly need additional clerical help if the Pan-African Congress is held. I explained to him that such extra help would be paid for out of whatever sum the Association voted for expenses for the Pan-African Congress if the committee appointed by the Board recommended that such a congress be held and the Board approved the committee's report.

May I say in conclusion that I am certain Dr. Du Bois will welcome information regarding the Association's procedure and will gladly comply with it.

[ENCLOSURE]

June 7, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM MR. WILKINS:

20-14-15

Attached is a statement of expenses of Dr. DuBois to San Francisco and return, which was sent to the bookkeeper and from her desk to mine for okay.

When I stopped by Los Angeles on May 30-31, I talked to Tom Griffith of our Los Angeles branch who told me that at the meeting the branch had held with Dr. DuBois as speaker they took up a collection of $100, $75 of which went to Dr. DuBois and $25 to the church. Tom said that the branch was glad not to lose any money on this transaction but that with Dr. DuBois as a speaker they had hoped to make a little money.

I was surprised to learn of the amount paid Dr. DuBois since officers of the association only charge branches a pro-rata share of traveling expenses and since Dr. DuBois' full expenses had been paid to San Francisco without regard to possible branch engagements, it would seem to me that whatever he received from the Los Angeles branch should be credited to the amount received from the New York office for his trip to the Coast.

It seems to me that it should be borne in mind that these speaking engagements of Dr. DuBois before branches of the association are not private lecture engagements for a fee, but constitute a service to our branches by employed members of the National Office staff.

Accordingly, I suggest that the $75 paid Dr. DuBois by the Los Angeles branch be deducted from the amount indicated to be paid him. Of course, the expenses of Dr. DuBois from San Francisco to Los Angeles should be set against this amount.

I wish to inquire about the amount for secretarial expenses. As far as I can determine from the statements and vouchers we paid Mrs. Ethel Nance, of Seattle, Washington, a total of $163.07. According to a voucher dated April 30 we paid Miss Jane R. Bosfield, of Los Angeles, $77.47. This makes a total of $240.54. I recall your telling me that you paid out $50 for a third stenographer for one week of work, making a grand total of $290.54 for secretarial assistance.

It is not clear to me from Dr. DuBois' expense account how many of these items he paid. There is listed for Mrs. Nance an item of $63.36 (which, according to Mrs. Nance's signed receipt, should have been $62.36). Then at the bottom of the statement Dr. DuBois has an item of $158.82 labeled "joint secretarial services for Mr. White and Dr. DuBois May 2-16, voucher sent to Mr. White." Were these items paid by Dr. DuBois or by you?

Aside ffom the confusion on these items, I would like to point out

that I was never consulted about the expenses for secretaries in San Francisco. As the person in charge of the budget, nothing was said to me about engaging a secretary to come from Seattle, Washington to San Francisco to work, or another secretary from Los Angeles to San Francisco to work. The NAACP did not agree to pay railroad fare and living expenses, plus a salary, for two or three secretaries in San Francisco.

I have no doubt that we could have secured a secretary in the Bay Area for a stipulated weekly salary and we would have been under no obligation then to pay railroad fare, meals, and carfare. I note, for example, that Miss Bosfield has an item of 70¢ a day for carfare. She lived in Oakland. Mrs. Nance also lived in Oakland but her carfare is listed as 56¢ a day.

20-14-16

In Miss Bosfield's case, if we deduct her transportation from Los Angeles, it means that she cost us $64 a week, which is a rate for secretarial services that can be hardly justified.

I feel that some items of procedure have not been made clear to Dr. DuBois. Unless we can come to some understanding on financial matters I am afraid that I will have to make clear to the Board that I assume no responsibility for expenditures by Dr. DuBois' department. His unauthorized engagement of three secretaries to come to San Francisco is something I do not care to have in my record.

I am sure you will understand the complications that will arise in other departments of the Association and among other executives ifDr. DuBois is permitted to operate as a sort of independent agency attached to the Association but subscribing to none of the rules and regulations applicable to other departments.

In this connection I wish to call attention to the fact that we are continuing to furnish a full-time typist for Dr. DuBois' department and that such an expenditure was not authorized for his department. It is my recollection that when negotiations were in progress for Dr. DuBois to return to the Association in the first instance we assumed that we would furnish a secretary for him. He then stipulated whom he wished to serve as his secretary and also stipulated the salary. Since this salary was considerably higher than the secretarialscale in the office the designation "assistant" was agreed upon. I am certain that all of us here were under the impression that this assistant would look after all of Dr. DuBois' secretarial and clerical work, especially since he has practically no connection with the heavy volume of routine work of the Association such as engages the attention of other executives and clerical workers.

Now, however, we are furnishing an additional clerk and I feel that this matter should be clarified before we proceed further.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19/cio

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

May 14 to June 11, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Since my last report I have finished my work in San Francisco. I attended four meetings of the Consultants, with Mr. Stettinius, Commander Stassen, Senator Vanderburg, Senator Connolly and others present. I also attended the dinner for Consultants given by the Lions Club. Together with the Consultant of the CIO, James Carey, I had an interview with John Foster Dulles on colonies. I also called on the Ethiopian delegation and had an interesting talk with the Minister of Education. I had dinner with the daughter of William James and the widow of the late Colonel Walter Loving of the Phillipine Constabulary, who died in a Japanese concentration camp. I met once with the Core Committee of the American Association for the United Nations.

I had talks and interviews with the following persons: Rayford W. Logan, Ralph Bunche, Dorothy Detzer, Ann Hedgeman, Ojike of Nigeria and Richard Moore of the West Indies National Council.

Most of the consultants began to leave and many of the delegates. While I should have liked to have remained until the very end, this seemed hardly worthwhile from the point of view of any possible accomplishment so far as the matters in which I am interested were concerned. I therefore left May twenty-sixth. On May 28, I spoke in Denver, under the auspices of six interracial organizations, led by the Unity Council of the University of Denver. June first and third, I spoke at the Du Sable High School, the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago, and for a city-wide meeting at Pilgrim Baptist Church with the collaboration of the NAACP in Chicago. I also spoke for the NAACP in Los Angeles.

Before leaving San Francisco, I sent a last appeal to Stettinius on colonies and gave copies of it to the press.

I passed hurriedly through New York, June 5, holding a press conference attended by fifteen members of the daily white press and the Negro weeklies in the offices of Harcourt, Brace and Company. The same afternoon I left to deliver commencement addresses at the Norfolk Branch of Virginia State College and Virginia Union University at Richmond. I am also speaking in Atlanta at the First Congregational Church and at Alabama State College, Montgomery. I shall then return to my desk.

I have received the following telegram from M. Jean de la Roche of the French Service:

> AM VERY HAPPY INFORM YOU HAVE RECEIVED CABLE FROM PARIS OF WHICH I GIVE YOU TRANSLATION QUOTE MINISTRY OF COLONIES GIVES ITS ENTIRE AGREEMENT TO DR. DU BOIS' PROPOSAL [FOR A PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS IN PARIS IN SEPTEMBER] UNQUOTE SHALL SEE YOU AS SOON AS I RETURN NEW YORK.

I strongly recommend to the Board that they reprint the able appeal of South Africans, African Claims. I am leaving the only available copy in America with Miss Diggs and asking her to let Mr. Arthur Spingarn read it. If his judgment coincides with mine, I ask the Board to finance its re-publication as pamphlet No. 1 of an occasional series of "Demands of Colored Peoples for Freedom, Twentieth Century".

I am asking Dr. Wright to call a meeting of the Pan African Congress committee June twentieth.

46-6-121

My work for the immediate future will be directed toward the history mentioned above and toward a general study covering problems of colonies and race and involving thorough digest of my papers accumulated in the last fifty years.

During the months of July and August, Miss Diggs has been on leave of absence without salary and has taken charge of the Department of Sociology in Lincoln University, Missouri. During her absence Mrs. Ethel Nance, secretary of the regional NAACP located in San Francisco, has replaced her in this office.

Owing to the overcrowded condition at the 69 Fifth Avenue office I have since July first rented an office at 55 West 42nd Street at my own expense. Here the work of the department has been concentrated.

46-6-1219

12 June 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Which of the dates suggested by Rayford Logan in his letter of June 5, copy of which is attached, would be best for you in connection with a meeting of the committee to consider the Pan-African Congress? Arthur Spingarn requests that the meeting be arranged on other than a weekend, if possible, because he goes to the country for weekends and wants to be present at the meeting of the committee.

WW:DW

[NAACP]

June 14th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE.

21-6-67

Pending meeting of the committee appointed by the Board at the April meeting to consider the matter of a Pan-African Congress and action by the Board on whatever report that committee makes, I think it both premature and unfortunate that announcement has been made by you that a Pan-African Congress will be held in Paris in September. All that the Board has done to date is "go on record as favoring the idea of a Pan-African Congress to be held in Paris in September under the sponsorship of the N.A.A.C.P." (April minutes of the Board), subject to the investigations of a committee which was appointed to look into "costs and possible dates, which committee is to report back to the Board".

At the May meeting of the Board, on the basis of your report the Board further voted that "the report and the estimated cost of the proposed Pan-African Congress be referred to the special committee on the Pan-African Congress, awaiting the return of Dr. Du Bois who is a member of that committee".

It would be unfortunate to announce the definite date and place of a Pan-African Congress until such matters as costs, transportation, accommodations, program objectives and other such pertinent points are determined, especially since there will be both added work and disappointments in explaining if for any reason the Congress cannot be held at the time and place announced.

May I further suggest that future statements regarding the Congress be made through either the committee or the regular Association channels as only by such cooperative clearance can confusion or misunderstanding be avoided.

As you know, from my memorandum to you of June 12th, efforts are now being made to hold a meeting of the Pan-African Congress Committee, which meeting could not be held because of your absence in San Francisco and in filling speaking engagements, at the earliest possible date. In this connection please let me discuss with you date, etc., as soon as you return to the office.

DR. DU BOIS

June 14, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE EXECUTIVE STAFF FROM MR. WHITE:

The following members of the staff will attend the July 7th Board meeting in Cincinnati:

Mr. Wilkins

Mr. Marshall

Miss Baker

Miss Randolph

and the Secretary

20-3

WW:RR

21 June 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Miss Diggs has had an unusual offer to teach sociology at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri during the months of July and August. She wishes leave of absence for these two months without pay. I am willing to grant this.

Also in order that I may have someone to take her place, I am asking Mrs. Nance of Seattle to work during these months for the same salary that Miss Diggs is receiving. Mrs. Nance was trained at the University of Minnesota and has had unusual experience in private and public social work.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

20-3-23

June 21, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

(Copy to Mr. Wilkins)

I have your memorandum about the leave of absence, without pay, for Miss Diggs for July and August, which, upon your recommendation, is approved.

I have so notified the bookkeeper and Mr. Wilkins.

With respect to the employment of Mrs. Nance, am I correct in assuming that she will pay her own travelling and living expenses and that the Association is responsible only for paying her for July and August the salary paid Miss Diggs?

20-3

WW:RR

[NAACP]

June 21, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

Dr. Wright called me to request that I inform you that Dr. Wright has turned over to me your telegram re calling a meeting of the Pan African Congress Committee.

20-3-17

WW:RR

[NAACP]

21 June 1945

20-3-24

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I shall be glad to meet with the committee of the NAACP on the Pan African Congress any time between June twenty-first and twenty-seventh or July first and fifteenth.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

21 June 1945

II-B-192

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I shall be glad to meet with the committee of the NAACP on the Pan African Congress any time between June twenty-first and twenty-seventh or July first and fifteenth.

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

22 June 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

I shall take the matter of a date for the meeting of the committee to consider the Pan-African Congress up with the members. I am trying to make arrangements to meet on July 2.

WW:DW

21 June 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White: in re Los Angeles trip

Received from Los Angeles NAACP Branch		$75.00
Expenses of trip estimated:		
roundtrip fare San Francisco to Los Angeles	23.45	
lower berth both ways	7.00	
federal tax of 15%	4.57	
meals on trip	3.50	
three days' room and board	21.00	
taxis	2.25	
tips	.75	
telegram	1.00	
		63.52
		$11.48

20-3

This amount should be deducted from my bill.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

23 June 1945

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

Both Miss Diggs and myself will be out of the office most of next week. Please leave mail and messages on my desk to be picked up from time to time. I shall need Miss Lee only part time next week and her work has been laid out and can be done when she is not needed for other work.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-12

23 June 1945

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

Will you kindly order for my department twelve new rolls for my Dictaphone?

W. E. B. Du Bois

(1)

June 26, 1945

Memo to Mr. White:

On or about July I, I am moving part of my materials and books into an office at 55 W. 42 St. I have rented tis office for two and a half months, i.e., from July I to September I5. The rent is $I00 a month. I believe the Board appropriated $50 a month for an office; I shall pay the balance, but shall ask the Board for re-imbursement. I have conferred on this matter with Dr. Wright and Mr. Spingarn.

I believe that you are planning to move into the new building in September. I should be glad before the final plans are made to consult with you as to allocations for my work.

I am going to Harvard to my anniveraary tomorrow, I shall be in my office June 30 and all of July. I would be glad to talk with you at your convenience. I am holding July 2, for the Pan-Africa committee meeting. Mr. Spingarn had not been notified when I saw him today.

WEBD

June 27, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Is the information correct that Miss Diggs left the office to take up her work as teacher on June 23rd? Upon your recommendation, I approved a leave of absence for her for two months beginning July 1st without salary. But if she left a week in advance, we are responsible, of course, only for her salary up to the date of her departure. I have, therefore, given instructions to the bookkeeper not to draw her check until I learn from you when Miss Diggs actually left.

20-5

WW:DW

[NAACP]

June 27, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

In response to a telegram asking if he could meet with the Committee on the Pan African Congress on July 2, Rayford Logan telephoned me today to say that he is leaving Washington on Saturday, June 30, to be gone through July 20, filling engagements at Antioch College July 2-6, Wilberforce July 6-13, and Haverford July 13-20. He offered to come to New York on this Friday, but I told him you were attending your Harvard Class Reunion and would not be back until the 5th. He is sending me a memorandum regarding speakers, scope, etc., for the July 2 meeting, if it is held on that date. He will be able to attend meetings after July 20.

In the meantime, he raised the following questions:

20-5-56

1. That hearing that no passports were being given by the State Department for attendance at congresses or other meetings in Europe, he talked with the State Department and found that the report is true. Mr. Logan points out, however, that passports are being issued to American trade unionists for attendance at the World Trade Union Congress which meets in Paris September 25. He suggests that we take this up with the State Department; and I informed him that I had had a letter from Mr. Stettinius asking that I come to see him as soon as he got back to Washington. I told him I would take this matter up with Mr. Stettinius at that time.

There are two other points that I raise on my own: (1) In talking with a representative of the State Department and with Mrs. Roosevelt regarding the World Youth Congress which was being planned for London, for September, I was informed by both that there is not so much difficulty getting to Europe but that for many months it will be almost impossible to get back from Europe because all ships and planes will be loaded with military personnel and materiale being transferred to the Pacific. I shall, however, take this up with Mr. Stettinius and friends of mine in the Air and Transport Command.

(2) We must take into account the present very high cost of living in Paris. I read an item the other day that just an ordinary meal cannot be purchased in Paris for less than nine or ten dollars.

WW:RR

June 27, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:
(Copy to Messrs. Spingarn and Wright)

Your memorandum of June 26th raises a question of procedure that I think it would be best for all concerned to clarify now.

It is perfectly proper for you or any other executive to confer with Mr. Spingarn, as President, and Dr. Wright, as Chairman of the Board, on any matter you choose.

But the responsibility of administration of the office has been placed by the Board upon its executive officers, namely, the Executive Secretary, and in his absence, the Assistant Secretary. In case of the absence of both the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Marshall, the Special Counsel, is in charge. Since he has said nothing to me about it, I assume Mr. Wilkins had no knowledge of your renting an office at 55 West 42nd Street. I knew nothing about it until I received your memorandum this morning.

46-6-122

All of us are well aware of the difficulties of limitation of space under which you have labored. But those same difficulties have applied, in some instances to an even greater degree, as in the Legal Department, to other members of the staff. We have been informed that we shall probably be able to move into the new offices sometime in August. I am, therefore, unable to approve your action in renting an office, particularly without having consulted with any of the administrative officers, and shall not favor reimbursement of any expenditures, which I presume will include any cost of moving which may be incurred.

As for the date of the Pan-African Committee meeting, you have been informed in various memoranda of the efforts which I have made to arrange for a full meeting of the committee. I am communicating with the out-of-town members of the committee to see if it will be possible for them to be present for a meeting on July 2nd. If they and the members who reside in New York are able to attend a meeting on that date, it will be set for July 2nd.

Let me sum up what is said in this and in one or two previous memoranda by pointing out that over a period of years we have succeeded in building up a spirit and procedure of cooperation among the various departments of the Association's work. Unless there is mutual cooperation and responsibility by all departments, there will be lost one of the Association's most valued assets. If one department is permitted to operate independently of others, there will inevitably develop in time an

unwillingness on the part of other departments to function as integral parts of the total organization. I am certain that you would not approve of this, and I hope that I may have your cooperation.

WW:DW

46-6-123

Dr DuBois

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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Roy Wilkins *Assistant Secretary Editor, The Crisis*
Thurgood Marshall *Special Counsel*
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June 29, 1945

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	Ruth Weyand
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

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20-5

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

The Board meeting at Cincinnati on Saturday, July 7, at 4:00 P.M., will be held at the

Central Y. W. C. A.
Ninth and Walnut Streets.

The Cincinnati Branch is arranging for a dinner for Board members at $1.50 a plate.

Walter White
Secretary

WW:RR

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH FOR THE YEAR 1945
(October 4, 1944 - July 1, 1945)

This Department was set up in pursuance of the vote of the Board of Directors in May, June and July, 1944. The personnel of the Department consists of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Miss Irene Diggs as Research Assistant. In addition to this some clerical assistance has been used from time to time.

The Department began work at 69 Fifth Avenue, September 4, 1945, most of the time in one small room which has cramped its activities. The Director and his assistant first accepted the invitation of the Haitian Government and the United States Department of State to visit Haiti as guests of the government. Dr. Du Bois delivered a series of lectures and he and his assistant were entertained by the President, American Minister and members of the Cabinet.

On the return to America in September the Department formulated plans for future procedure. It seemed to the Director that the main work of the Department should be a study of "color and democracy, colonies and peace"; that this office should be a sort of foreign affairs department of the N.A.A.C.P. reviving and carrying on the work of the Pan African Congresses. This plan was outlined to the Board of Directors, October 4, after conference between Dr. Du Bois and Judge Hastie who was an active member of the committee which called this Department into being.

Since then the Department has attended to the following matters:

46-6-148

October 16, the Director attended a conference called in Washington by the then under-Secretary of State Stettinius and also a later meeting in New York, to consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Ninety-six organizations were represented and the Director presented a statement asking for adequate plans for colonies in post-war organization.

The Director entered into contract with Harcourt, Brace and Company to write a book on Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace. The manuscript was delivered to the publishers January 2, and the book was published May 25. An edition of this book to be published in India has been contracted for.

Other literary work and investigation, begun before the department was established but finished here, consists of a chapter in What the Negro Wants published by the University of North Carolina Press; the Prefatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, published by the H. W. Wilson Company; and a report of the Cooperative Study of the Negro Land Grant Colleges.

A contract was signed with Viking Press for a book on Africa. The manuscript was planned to be finished in June but was postponed on account of the San Francisco conference. It is now planned for publication in the early spring.

The Director attended a conference on the Bretton Woods proposals held in Washington, February 28. There were present representatives from one hundred and six organizations.

Plans for a Colonial Conference were made in March and the conference was held April sixth in the auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the Public Library. There were present forty-nine registered delegates including natives from ten colonies.

46-6-149

A committee was appointed to draw-up a statement in skeleton, as follows:

"1. Colonialism must go for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affect not only the colonies but also the world and threaten world peace.

2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.

3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.

4. That the primary object of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

Afterwards this statement was elaborated and signed.

Meantime the question of representation at the San Francisco conference came and the Board at a meeting March twelfth voted "That the Director of Special Research be an observer representing the NAACP at the San Francisco conference." The Director immediately began correspondence with the Department of State to secure for the NAACP the right for its representative to attend the conference and if possible have some official status. At the April meeting of the Board it was voted that the Executive Secretary also be present at San Francisco.

The NAACP became eventually one of forty-two organizations invited to send one consultant with two associates to the conference at San Francisco. On recommendation of the New York office Mr. White was named Consultant and Dr. Du Bois and Mrs. Bethune associate consultants. In response to wired notification of the selection of the NAACP as one of forty-two national organizations to send consultants more than twenty-five Negro organizations of all kinds throughout the country asked the Director to

46-6-150

convey to the conference, as their representative, resolutions which they had adopted.

The Director left New York, April nineteenth and remained there until May twenty-sixth. While in San Francisco he attended eight plenary sessions of the general conference and twelve meetings of the consultants to the American Delegation. The Director drafted three petitions to the American Delegation and wrote twelve special newspaper articles. He attended three meetings of observers representing a number of Negro organizations and delivered three lectures. He had interviews with members of the Liberian Delegation, the Haitian Delegation, the Ethopian and the French Delegation, and had an interview with John Foster Dullas on colonies. On his return to New York he held a press conference attended by fifteen members of the white and Negro press in the offices of Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Between October first and July first Dr. Du Bois delivered twenty-one lectures in eleven states.

One of the main reasons for the establishment of this Department was exploration of the feasibility of calling a Pan African Congress after the war. This matter has been kept in mind. Correspondence has been carried on during the year with persons in England, Haiti, the West Indies and Africa on colonial problems. The Director suggested to several foreign organizations that a Pan African Congress be held six months after the close of the war and if possible in Africa. Meantime, however he received a memorandum from the Manchester meeting of the Negro Trades Union delegates to the Labor Conference and also from the International Labor Office in Montreal. The Manchester conference in particular urged that a Pan African Congress be held in September when many Negro delegates would be in Paris

191-9-94

for the International Labor Office and the new Trades Union world organization; they appealed to the NAACP to call it. While in San Francisco the Director had a conference with M. Pleven, a member of the French Delegation and former Colonial Minister. He asked M. Pleven upon his return to Paris to take up the question of a Pan African Congress in Paris in September. On June first he received a telegram from M. de la Roche representing M. Pleven:

'Am very happy inform you have received cable from Paris of which I give you translation, "Ministry of Colonies gives its entire agreement to Dr. Du Bois proposal", shall see you as soon as I return New York.'

The Board of Directors of the NAACP at its April meeting voted, "that the Board of Directors go on record as favoring the idea of a Pan-African Congress to be held in Paris, in September, under the sponsorship of the NAACP; that the matter be referred to a committee, to make investigations as to cost and possible dates, which committee is to report back to the Board." On account of the absence of the Director and the Secretary in San Francisco this committee has not yet made its report.

The Director wishes to stress the fact that he has been greatly hindered in his work this year by the lack of adequate office space. Never-the-less he feels that the general outline of his department has been drawn, he plans continued work concerning colonies at the peace conference, the organization of colonial public opinion in the Caribbean area, Africa and South America. There lies before the Department and the Association an unusual and broad field of development and helpfulness for the emancipation of the world.

46-1-152

The Director asks of the Board of Directors the following action to support and expand his program:

1. the continuation of the hiring of a clerical assistant, in addition to a research assistant, for routine copying, filing and dictaphone work at the current wage paid for ordinary stenographers in the office.
2. an appropriation for the Fifth Pan African Congress in accordance with the report of the Special Committee
3. an appropriation for the publication, at intervals not exceeding four times a year, of pamphlets of about one hundred pages each on colonial questions; especially a reprinting of demands made by colonial peoples during the twentieth centuries for freedom and autonomy. The selection of these pamphlets to be made by a special committee.
4. adequate office space for his work in July, August and September until the Association can furnish such quarters. This space will cost $100 a month.

****

46-6-153

Cohen & Shuman & Wright

July 2, 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Answering your memorandum of June 27, may I say that noone realizes more than I the need of cooperation in this office. Since coming here I have made every endeavor to cooperate with you, and from your public references and private conversations I thought I had had some success. Certainly in no single instance have I consciously tried to operate my department independently of the others.

From the beginning of my work however the handicap of narrow and inadequate office space has seriously hampered my work. I asked and was promised two offices large enough for developing my plans. Instead of that I have been confined to 150 square feet in an office eight feet wide, with no room for books and hardly space for a visitor. Realizing the crowded state of the offices I have made out as best I could. But I have continually by word of mouth, by written memorandum and appeal to the Board emphasized the fact that I could not go on this way. Some relief was afforded when Mr. White was abroad and I was allowed to usw his office. But his return early worsened the situation: my books, dictionaries, atlasses, were now inaccessible in his office. I wrote an urgent note to Mr. White, April 10, asking immediate relief.

In reply to these ten months of appeals, Mr. White's reply has been that he was looking for offices and hoped soon to secure some. In view of this I did not ask action from the Board, but the Board repeated its feeling that I should have offices and voted funds for the rent. To my last note Mr. White made no answer at all or acknowledgement.

The San Francisco Conference intervened and I went there and did my best to serve the Association and cooperate with the Secretary. Returning I faced the same narrow quarters and inadequate facilities. I am unable to go on this way. The strain upon my health and nerves is intolerable. I therefore took matters in my own hnads hands, looked for a temporary office, found it and hired it for two and one-half months beginning July first. This may be a technical infringement of the Secretary's prerogatives, but it seems to me that if after ten months he could not find me a decent office, he ought to be relieved rather than annoyed if I found one

in a week. I am very sorry to move into this new office without his approval, but with or without it I am going to move this week my personal office apparatus which are my private property (steel file, typewriter, dictaphone, and a part of my books) into a room at 55 W. 42nd St., room 1338; telephone, Chick 4-3997. I shall retain use of this room for my files and books, and either I or my assistant will call daily for mail, filing and notes.

If you are determined in your opposition to this action, I shall demand hearing before the Board of Directors for final adjudication and for approval of the rent of the new office and expenses of moving.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

At the regular meeting of the Board of Directors, to be held on Saturday, July 7, at 4:00 P.M., at the Central Y.W.C.A., Ninth and Walnut Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, the following matters will be considered:

REPORTS OF OFFICERS:
a - Report of the Secretary (as sent out)
b - Report of the Department of Branches
c - Report of the Treasurer
d - Report of the Editor of The Crisis
e - Report of the Youth Secretary
f - Report of the Director of Special Research

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES:
a - Report of the Committee on Administration
b - Report of the Legal Committee
c - Report of the Committee on Branches
d - Report of the National Medical Committee
e - Report of the Youth Work Committee
f - Report of the Committee Working with the Publicity Department

REPORTS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES:
a - Report of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution
b - Report of the Committee to Study the Matter of Establishment of Veterans' Chapters of the N.A.A.C.P.
c - Report of the Committee to Study the Relation Between Adult and Youth Groups
d - Report of the Committee on the Pan-African Congress

SPECIAL ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE FOLLOWING ITEM:

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION: Article IX of the Revised Constitution as adopted at the May meeting of the Board was amended at the June meeting, as reported in the minutes of the June meeting. Therefore, the Constitution will be voted upon again at the July meeting of the Board.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS:

NEW BUSINESS:

Walter White
Secretary

July 2, 1945

20-5

[NAACP]

July 2, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

20-59

Because Messrs. Carter, Davenport, Hastie, Logan and Bunche are unable to attend the meeting of the Pan-African Congress Committee tentatively set for 11 o'clock this morning, it has had to be postponed. We are now trying to arrange it for twelve noon on Thursday, July 12. This is the earliest day possible because of the Board meeting in Cincinnati on July 7th and 8th and a meeting of the NAACP National Legal Committee in Chicago on July 9th and 10th.

In the meantime, we can expedite matters somewhat if you would prepare a memorandum covering plans for the conference. I suggest there be included in it detailed information regarding number of sessions, speakers, transportation, program (both of the meeting and of the follow-up action after the Congress) and other pertinent details.

I am asking each member of the committee to advise me on the basis of this memorandum if he can meet with us on July 12th.

WW:DW
Copies to: Messrs. Wright
Spingarn
Tobias
Carter
Davenport
Hastie
Logan
Bunche

DuBois

[NAACP]

July 2, 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Miss Diggs did not report for work in this office during the last five days of July. However by overtime during the previous week and by sending back dictation which she took with her, she finished her assigned work for the month to my satisfaction and without the necessity of my incurring any additional secretarial aid.

20-5

46-6-220

WIRE Dept. Special Research. July 3, 1945

78

Theodore M. Berry
398 West ~~Fourth~~ 5th St.
Cincinnatti, Ohio

I am not invited to the Cincinnatti meeting of the Board. If anything comes up concerning matters in which I am interested will you please let me know and if necessary I will come by plane. I particularly want decent office accommodations which I have never had. I want the Pan-African Congress to go through, and I want permission to publish authoritative pamphlets four times a year concerning international racial conditions. Please support these projects for me as far as you can.

WEBD

[NAACP]

July 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM DR. DUBOIS TO MISS FREELAND

During Miss Diggs' absence I shall not require the clerical services which you have been furnishing.

I will let you know when I need further assistance.

20-12

[NAACP]

July 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

(Copy to Mrs. Waring)

Although Association procedure is to pay members of the clerical staff for days of work acttally put in, I am issuing instructions to pay Miss Diggs through June 30, on the basis of your memorandum of July 2.

WW:RR

20-5

July 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:
(Copy to Messrs. Spingarn and Wright)

I regret the tone of your memorandum of July 2nd. Your ultimatum that "with or without it" (approval by either myself or Mr. Wilkins as those charged by the Board with administration) you are going to move into an office which you have rented without information to those charged with administration of the Association's affairs and retain your present office at this address as a storage room, and your further statement that you "shall demand hearing before the Board of Directors for final adjudication and for approval of the rent of the new office and expenses of moving" create a situation which I had hoped would be avoided. If that be your wish, however, there will be no step on my part to prevent your placing the matter before the Board so that it can make the final decision.

I would like to suggest that you re-read your memorandum, particularly those sections in which you assert that you have been appealing to me for ten months and your assertion that you have suffered daily inconvenience. In the first place, I was out of the country four months during which time I offerred you use of my office, in addition to the one you now occupy, despite the fact that it was needed by other members of the staff. As for your implication of almost daily inconvenience, you had the use of two offices for four months; you spent the first month of your employment in Haiti; you were at the San Francisco conference for six weeks and have not been in the office for other periods while you were away on speaking and other engagements.

46-6-176

It is well-known that efficient operation of an organization like the NAACP can be achieved only where all offices are under the same roof. The scarcity of office space in New York City is well-known, and there has been no additional space available in this building or the adjoining building for the past two years. For this reason, all other departments have been forced to operate in crowded quarters. If the rest of us could put up with over-crowding, especially since within a few weeks we are to move into the Willkie Building, it seems to me not unreasonable that you could share that inconvenience for the few weeks.

I gain the impression that your position has been taken wholly without thought of the precedent which you would establish. If one executive should be upheld by the Board in overriding the procedure and practice of administration established by the Board, then the Board would have no authority to estop any other executive from doing as he pleases.

If you are determined to take this matter to the Board, please let me have by Friday morning, July 6, whatever statement you wish to place before the Board so I may submit the matter to the Board in Cincinnati on July 7th.

WW:DW

(Copies to Mr. Spingarn, Dr. Wright, Mr. Berry)

July 5, 1945

To the Board of Directors:

When I joined the N.A.A.C.P. in September, 1945, I was promised by the committee which engaged me that I would have two offices which I said was necessary for my work. The secretary undertook to secure me this office space, but to date has not succeeded. While he was absent in the Pacific I used his office and installed my books. When he returned, I was deprived of his office and had no access to my books. I asked relief repeatedly, and the Board voted $50 a month rental when an office was secured, but the secretary was still not able to find space and did not answer my memorandum dated April 10th on the matter nor acknowledge it.

After returning from San Francisco, I started looking for an office and secured one for $100 per month. I notified the secretary, offering to pay the $50 extra myself if the Board did not approve. The secretary complained that my selecting an office was an infringement on his prerogative and that he would not consent. I replied that he had himself been seeking an office for me and that the fact that I had found one was no invasion of his rights except as to the amount of rent.

I moved to the new office July 6th. I must have such an office if I am to fulfill my contract already signed with the Viking Press to write a book on African colonies. The writing was postponed for my duties at San Francisco. I must for this work have my books and space. Under somewhat similar circumstances the secretary himself worked in a separate office last summer to write his book. It is a technical objection that I did personally what the Board had requested the secretary to do, and what the secretary had repeatedly promised to do. I have no desire to invade the authority of any official or to disrupt the harmony of this organization in any degree. The actual money involved is unimportant. It is important for me to have a chance

46-6-177

to work for the best interests of the Association and of the Negro race, and I ask the Board to help me do this.

(Signed) W. E. B. DuBois

46-6-177

July 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

I have neither time, energy nor inclination to give to exchange of memoranda, but I want in fairness to you to know in advance what I shall say to the Board with respect to certain items in your memorandum of July 5th. You state that "under somewhat similar circumstances the Secretary himself worked in a separate office to write his book." The expenses of the office I used were paid in toto by myself, no penny of it being charged to the NAACP. In addition, this was on my own time, being three weeks of the month's vacation due me and, incidentally, my first vacation in seven years. I see no parallel whatever between the two circumstances, particularly as I was using my own and not the Association's time in which to write A RISING WIND.

You refer repeatedly to "prerogative". The issue is not one of any executive's prerogative, but one of administrative procedure.

46-6-178

WW:DW

[NAACP]

July 7, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MISS FREELAND:

I am moving the main part of my office today to 55 West 42, Room 1338. The telephone is Chickering 4-3997.

Will you please hold all mail here and put it in the top drawer of my desk. Either I or Mrs. Nance will call for it each day. In case of telegrams or important notices I would be glad if you would telephone me.

W. E. B. DuBois

20-12

Pan-African Congress

July 10, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM DR. DUBOIS:

The enclosed memorandum has been sent today to each member of the Committee on the Pan-African Congress.

July 12, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors at its meeting on July 7, 1945:

> "VOTED, That in contracting for office space for the office of the Director of Special Research without the knowledge or consent of the Secretary or, in his absence, the Assistant Secretary, the Director of Special Research exceeded his authority. When thereafter the Secretary was notified and did not approve the removal, the Director of Special Research further exceeded his authority by proceeding with his plans and moving from the offices of the Association to new quarters. In these circumstances the Board of Directors disallows the expenditure of any funds for rental of or removal to the space now occupied by the Director of Special Research."

I will supply you with copy of the full minutes of the Board as soon as they are mimeographed. In them you will note that all of your memoranda were read in full to the Board.

WW:DW

46-6-169

[NAACP]

July 12, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PAN-AFRICAN CO...
From Walter White:

Sub-Committee: Messrs. Channing H. Tobias
William H. Hastie
Ralph Bunche
Ex officio: Dr. Du Bois

At your meeting in Washington on Monday to draft a program to be submitted to the full Committee, I would like to suggest consideration of the following:

1. That as definite a program, not only of speeches but of action at the Congress, be worked out as is possible at this stage.

2. That consideration be given to a continuing program to be followed after the Congress, i.e., there is not much value in merely meeting and letting it end there.

3. That consideration be given to (a) an adequate secretarial force to report the meeting and (b) expert publicity personnel to give publicity to it.

4. Since the meeting is to be held in Washington, it is suggested that efforts be made to find out definitely if the State Department will grant visas for attendance at such a Congress and that you check with all government agencies, including ATC and NATS regarding transportation to and from Paris.

5. I am not convinced that the term "Pan-African" is not irreplaceable or that it is not too delimiting.

WW:RR

81-8-02

[NAACP]

July 12, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Another instance of NAACP departments operating independently which cannot continue is your appearance yesterday before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee without any information being given to the Association. Although I note that you stated to the Committee you were appearing as an individual, you went, nevertheless, to San Francisco as an Associate Consultant of the NAACP and at the expense of the NAACP. The first knowledge I, as Secretary, had that you had appeared was when I heard Fulton Lewis on the radio last night stating that "Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People"(an error of his and not of yours, I am sure) had appeared before the Committee representing the NAACP.

The Washington Bureau of the NAACP has been arranging with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for an Association representative to appear. When I talked twice over long-distance telephone yesterday with Mr. Leslie Perry regarding such appearance, he had no knowledge nor did I that you had made application to appear. Arrangements for a representative of the NAACP to appear were being made in accordance with the instructions of the Committee on Administration and the Board of Directors who voted to urge ratification but to point out shortcomings of the San Francisco Charter. I have not seen the text of your statement, but it is necessary for me again to remind you that statements on behalf of the Association and action on Association matters must not and cannot be taken without knowledge of other members of the staff who are charged with the responsibility of carrying out the Board's orders and of coordination of the Association's activities.

WW:DW

[NAACP]

July 12, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MISS FREELAND FROM DR. DUBOIS:

Please provide my department with the following supplies:

One Stapler, large size,
(Bostitch or Hotchkiss, preferably)

1 Box Staples(for above)

Postage as follows:

10	AIRMAIL	$.80
10	Spec. Deliv.	1.30
75	3-cent	2.25
65	1-cent	.65
		$5.00

1 Box Carbon Paper
(Featherweight - 10 copies)

1 Jar Library Paste

1 Small bottle Script Ink

20-12

[NAACP] Pan 4 Cg

July 13, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO SUB-COMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

FROM DR. DU BOIS

21-6-64

1. It is proposed that the NAACP should call a Pan-African Congress but the Congress, when it convenes, will be an independent body and adopt such program and take such action as seems best. The NAACP, as the organization originally sponsoring this series of Congresses, would offer to meet certain of the expenses of the Congress: for example, to pay for an office in Paris during the session of the Congress and to pay for a place of meeting. Also, to contribute toward secretarial expenses and the expense of translation. It might also offer to meet the expense of printing the final report and to assist with publicity. All funds contributed by the NAACP would be under the control of the delegates which it sends.

2. It would be probable that the Congress itself would supplement its expense funds from contributions from other organizations. This might help in the secretarial and translating expenses. Organizations in the United States, West Indies, and other countries might contribute to such expenses. Such contributions would be entirely under the control of the Congress when organized.

3. It would be of the greatest advantage if the NAACP should designate and offer to pay, at least in part, a trained student of French and English who could do the translation. Dr. Rayford Logan did this in 1921 and 1923. If he should be present in Paris, at his own expense, we might offer to pay him something for services as translator.

4. The program of the conference is, of course, a matter for the conference to decide. However, it would be quite in order for the NAACP to suggest as a tentative program something like the following (I think that persons could be secured to speak on all of these subjects):

a. Colonial Conditions

1. British Africa
   - (a) Union of South Africa
   - (b) Kenya
   - (c) Nigeria
   - (d) Gold Coast
   - (e) Tanganyika
   - (f) Sierra Leone and Gambia
   - (g) Uganda
   - (h) British Somaliland

2. French Africa
   - (a) French West Africa
   - (b) French Equatorial Africa
   - (c) Morocco
   - (d) Algeria
   - (e) Tunis
   - (f) Madagascar

3. Belgian Congo

4. Portugese Africa
   - (a) Angola
   - (b) Mosambique

5. Spanish Africa

21-6-65

6. Italian Africa

(a) Libya
(b) Somaliland
(c) Eretria

7. Autonomous or Semi-Autonomous States

(a) Liberia
(b) Ethiopia
(c) Egypt
(d) Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

8. Descendants of Africans overseas
(a) United States of America
(b) Caribbean Area

5. From the above territories there should be collected:

a. Recent published statements concerning conditions

b. Recent demands of organized bodies

c. Oral statements and communications

6. Colonial Powers

Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal should be invited to send representatives, or to present written statements of colonial policies and conditions. The charter of the United Nations should be examined as to its provisions for, and effect upon, colonies. Statements concerning colonies and colonial policies should be made by

a. Representatives of organized labor

b. Representatives of the I L O

c. Churches and missionary bodies

d. Scientific bodies

7. Special efforts should be made to get statements on the following matters:

a. Education

b. Work and Wages

c. Health and Housing

d. The family

e. Tribes and Clans

f. Government

8. Visitors from organizations, states and other colonies would be welcome.

21-6-66

9. A survey of all these conditions should be projected for report in 1947 at a 6th Pan-African Congress. Such a report should make careful estimate of the Hailey survey on Africa and the various accompanying reports. Effort should be made to secure a more accurate set of maps of Africa in accordance with present conditions.

10. Five sessions covering three days might be proposed:

First Day - Morning and Night (Afternoon for Committees)

Second Day- " " " (" " ")

Third Day - Morning for Resolutions and Adjournment

11. Finally, a permanent organization should be formed with membership based on delegates from participating states and groups with votes according to populations and interests involved.

- - - - - - - - - -

The expenses of this Congress to the NAACP may be estimated as follows:

Two delegates -	Passage & Return	$1,000
	Living Expenses	1,000
Expenses of Congress:		
-	Promotion to Sept. 15-	100
	Office & Hall	200
	Clerical Expense & Translation	350
	Publication of Report	350
		$3,000

[NAACP]

July 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

20-14-2

I am attaching copy of a letter from Mrs. Cathryn C. Dixon of Los Angeles, California, who wishes the Association to pay her $150 to compensate for the loss of time from her job incurred because she responded to your request for a secretary at the United Nations Conference.

We have already been over the wholly unorthodox and unauthorized manner in which secretarial assistance was requested in San Francisco. The point is that the young woman now feels that the NAACP, through a responsible staff member, caused her to take an action resulting in loss of income.

In order to deal with her I would like to know:

(a) to whom you made a request for secretarial assistance?

(b) how many secretaries you requested?

(c) what salary did you promise to pay?

(d) what other expenses did you promise to pay?

(e) for what length of time did you indicate the employment might last?

Attachment
RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

[ENCLOSURE]

1340 W. 36th Street
Los Angeles 7, Calif.
July 10, 1945

Mr. Roy Wilkins:
69-5th Ave.
New York City

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I have waited until now to write this letter to you because, I like everyone else in America, was too interested in the ultimate goal of the United Nations Conference to insert a dissenting note. However, now that the conference has ended, for better or for worse, I should like to get your opinion on a matter that is quite important to me.

20-14-13

Prior to the opening of the conference, Dr. DuBois wrote to a mutual friend, Dr. Vada Somerville, asking her to engage two secretaries to serve him during his stay in San Francisco. Dr. Vada at once set out to accommodate him by locating two secretaries and asked me if I would serve. She said he had specifically stated that he would need the secretaries at least four weeks. This I can verify because I saw the letter to her. Naturally I discussed salary with Dr. Vada but she said although Dr. DuBois had not mentioned salary she felt sure that it would be adequate. Of course, I not only thought it was an opportunity to serve in so tremendous an undertaking but also felt that it would be worthwhile to work with Dr. DuBois. I was employed at the time but I took a leave from my job, arranged for the care of my child during my absence and entrained for San Francisco.

When I arrived, with a letter from Dr. Somerville stating who I was and why I had come, I got in touch with Dr. DuBois. We met in the regional office of the NAACP. I naturally expected Dr. DuBois to discuss working hours, salary, etc., but he said nothing then nor has he said anything until this day. He said that he had another secretary that he would be using and I could work for Walter White. At the end of one week he wrote me a letter which said in effect that he could no longer use me and if I would call at the NAACP office he had a small check for me. The sum of money was $50., which is all I have ever received from him. I did no work for him from that day until this, notwithstanding I was ostensibly engaged by him. I lost four weeks salary from my job (my salary is $210 per month), I had living expenses and train fare for which I have received not one cent.

I happen to know that Dr. DuBois was travelling on an expense account and if it did not include two secretaries why did he ask Dr. Somerville to engage two? I feel that I should have at least $150 to cover a part of my loss and I am appealing to you (since you sent him the checks for his expense account) to see what you can do in my behalf. He cannot say that I was inefficient or did not do the work since he never engaged me to work for him at all. If you will ask Mr. White I'm sure that he can testify to the fact that my work for him was satisfactory. He event went so far as to offer me a job in your New York office so I'm sure he must have thought I could do the work.

If you think that I am due any money, and this I shall leave to your own judgment, I shall expect you to do what you consider right and fair. I

realize, of course, that the first thing you will say is that nobody forced me to go. This is very true, but when someone of Dr. DuBois' supposed standing specifically asks another party to engage secretarial help for him, one naturally supposes that whomever is chosen will be acceptable and at least be shown ordinary, human justice.

I shall appreciate your courtesy in the matter.

Very sincerely,

(signed) (Mrs.) CATHRYN C. DIXON

Cathryn C. Dixon

20-14-4-28

[illegible]

Do not type

21-6-67

July 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE ON THE MEETING OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

Messrs. Du Bois, Tobias, Bunche and Hastie met in Washington on the afternoon of Monday, July 16.

Dr. Du Bois presented a memorandum, copy of which is attached hereto. In a brief exposition of the memorandum Dr. Du Bois pointed out that the NAACP would join in calling the meeting and in its financing, and it would be anticipated that many persons from colonial areas would take the lead in the deliberations of the gathering. He also referred to the matter of a competent translater as an important detail which should be arranged.

Several issues were raised for discussion. That discussion will now be summarized:

(1) The mechanics of calling the meeting came up for discussion. It is now Dr. Du Bois' thought that the NAACP, the League of Colored Peoples and an informal committee of colored trade unionists in England, of which George Padmore is secretary, should call and sponsor the meeting. Both of the above mentioned groups in England have already indicated their desire that the NAACP associate itself with them in their undertaking.

(2) The question of who would participate in the conference was also discussed. It appears that no definite arrangement has been made as to the persons to be invited or just how the invitation will be extended. Apparently, the NAACP would be authorized to invite individuals or groups in this country who are interested in colonial problems. The acquaintance of Dr. Du Bois and the sponsors residing in England with interested persons in England and France would result in other invitations. Apparently, it is also contemplated that any colored delegates found to be in Paris attending the labor conference would also be invited at that time. It seems not to be contemplated or practicable to invite delegates from colonial areas who would come to Paris from their several homes to present the views of local groups, except insofar as they may be persons attending the labor conference who will be able to perform this function. It does not seem possible at this time to obtain any significant predetermination of who may be expected at the conference or how representative of colonial peoples it would be.

(3) The matter of agenda was also discussed. I believe Dr. Du Bois' preference is for some such agenda as appears in paragraph 4 of his memorandum, although he emphasized the fact that the conference will be free to shape its own agenda.

21-6-68

Dr. Tobias is concerned not so much with what the agenda should be but rather with getting across to the colonial powers the insistence of colonial peoples that the San Francisco Charter be implemented by genuine programs moving into the direction of liberation of colonial areas.

Messrs. Bunche and Hastie believe that the fall meeting in Paris will have too little genuine representation of colonial peoples to undertake any substantative pronouncements. It is their view that a gathering in Paris in the fall of 1945 could undertake no more than a determination of the time and place for a future Pan-African conference and an agreement upon many of the key persons and groups in colonial areas which should be invited. It might be that an agreement could be reached upon the language of the call for a subsequent gathering and the persons who would be asked to join in issuing such a call. Even in the call itself, it seems important to Bunche and Hastie that important local leaders be included among the signers. They also believe that if a fall meeting is to be held, the call to that meeting should very specifically indicate its limited purposes of making preliminary arrangements for a genuinely representative Pan-African conference. Bunche was also of the opinion that it might be very desirable for Dr. Du Bois to seek to go from Paris into North Africa, West Africa and equatorial Africa with a view to personal consultation with key local leaders as a further step in the promotion of a genuinely representative congress. However, Dr. Du Bois felt that he was not in position to undertake a journey beyond London and Paris.

(4) We discussed, without reaching a conclusion, the matter of the name and the function of the "Pan-African Congress" wherever it should be held. The question was raised whether the phrase "Pan-African" is geographic or racial or both in its connotation. It seems to be the thought of Dr. Du Bois that it is both, connoting the interest of the darker peoples in colonial problems which center in Africa, but include the West Indies as well. Bunche was strongly of the opinion that any gathering to consider problems of Africa as a territorial whole should include the oppressed of Liberia and Abyssinia as well as exploited groups generally not classified as Negro. If, on the other hand, we are not limited to territorial African problems, he expressed the view that the East Indies should be included. Hastie called attention to the fact that members of the Board had suggested that our own colonial problems, particularly in connection with Puerto Rico, should be included. Thus, both the name of the Congress and its definitive interests were left undecided.

(5) Bunche indicated that visas could be obtained for NAACP representatives who wish to travel to Paris in the fall, and that it seems probable that military authorities would make space available for air travel. For some reason, it appears very difficult to obtain space for travel to Europe by ship at the present time. As to return transportation, Bunche would hasard no prediction, although he indicated that it might be months rather than weeks after the meeting before return transportation could be obtained.

William H. Hastie

[NAACP]

July 17, 1945

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I transmit to you herewith the following action taken by the Board of Directors at its meeting in Cincinnati on July 7:

Voted: That in contracting for office space for the office of the Director of Special Research without the knowledge or consent of the Secretary, or in his absence, the Assistant Secretary, the Director of Special Research exceeded his authority. When thereafter the Secretary was notified and did not approve the removal, the Director of Special Research further exceeded his authority by proceeding with his plans and moving from the offices of the Association to new quarters. In these circumstances the Board of Directors disallows the expenditure of any funds for rental of or removal to the space now occupied by the Director of Special Research.

Voted: That Dr. Du Bois be required to submit to the Budget Director a factual justification of his request for a clerical assistant in addition to a research assistant; and that decision be made by the Secretary and the Budget Director.

Voted: That the Committee on the Pan African Congress determine, with power to act, whether a Pan African Congress should be held; that among the items considered be Program, Follow-up, Costs.

Voted: That before the proposal (of pamphlet publications) be considered, Dr. Du Bois be requested to comply with the request of the Committee that he submit to the Committee a memorandum outlining the series of pamphlets referred to in connection with his submission of the pamphlet, "Africans' Claims", together with his suggestions as to methods of printing, distribution, advertising, selling, etc.

Every sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
55 West 42nd Street
New York City

46-6-223

July 18, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

The enclosed copy of letter from Ernest E. Johnson of the Associated Negro Press and copy of our reply are further evidence of the need of cooperation and clearance between the Department of Special Research of the NAACP and the NAACP.

Another example of harm to the Association's press and public relations is to be seen in the following statement which appeared in the July 16, 1945, issue of Manuscript, a Washington news-letter:

> "Dr. DuBois testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the United Nations Charter, but it will receive but little coverage in the Negro newspapers. The NAACP public relations department kept the matter a household secret. No reporters from the Negro press were there."

WW:DW

July 20, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM DR. DUBOIS:

Before going to Washington I had a conference with de la Roche of the French Information Service. He was certain that the French Government would furnish us an office and place to meet without charge, and that it would assign hotels so as to prevent any overcharge. He also offered to give personal letters of introduction to colonial officials and to colored officials stationed in France.

At the Sub-Committee meeting in Washington there were present Judge Hastie, Mr. Tobias, Ralph Bunche and myself. Three of us met promptly at four o'clock at Judge Hastie's home. Mr. Bunche was an hour late. We staid until half past six.

As I said to Judge Hastie I think we got exactly nowhere in our discussion and came so far as I can see to no conclusions. We were disappointed in that Mr. Bunche had not been to the Passport Division as he had promised. He said that passage to Europe was going to be difficult but not impossible to obtain, and return passage even more difficult; that the only way to get clearance for this travel was to make contact with the Department of State and the War Department.

In the discussion Mr. Tobias and I were in favor of attempting to hold the Congress in September although we both admitted that perhaps it should be an exploratory and preparatory meeting rather than any attempt at a representative Congress. Judge Hastie was doubtful as to whether or not we should support a Pan-African Congress at all, and if we did how worth while the attempt would be in September. At best he agreed that this Congress should be only exploratory in character. Mr. Bunche doubted the advisability of a Pan-African movement and thought that if there were such a movement it should be confined to Africans. Here we ended just as we began.

The next day I went to the CIO and talked with James Carey and Mr. Weaver. Carey thought we could get clearance for two or four representatives and that we ought to begin work on the State Department and the War Department.

My own conclusion is that unless the Secretary feels that he can obtain from the State Department and War Department permission for our delegates to go to Paris and return, that the whole matter will have to be given up and the proposed Congress postponed indefinitely.

46-9-179

[NAACP]

July 24, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MISS FREELAND FROM DR. DUBOIS:

Please furnish the following postage for our office:

10	AIRMAIL	.80
3	SPECIAL DELIV.	.39
100	3-cent	3.00
81	1-cent	.81
		$5.00

20-8

(NAACP)

July 24, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM DR. DUBOIS:

I am guest speaker for the American Teachers Association at Greensboro, North Carolina, Wednesday.

I shall be back in the office Friday.

20-5-6

[NAACP]

BY DIRECT WIRE FROM

WESTERN UNION

1223

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS

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NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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NEW YORK JULY 25, 1945

DR. W.E. D. DUBOIS
BENNETT COLLEGE
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
c/o DR. D.D. JONES

20-5158

PLEASE SEND ME AIR MAIL SPECIAL MEMORANDUM OF PERSONS SEEN IN WASHINGTON REGARDING V I S A S AND TRAVEL FOR MY USE IN SEEING OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON MONDAY.

WALTER WHITE

20-25-10

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Official Organ: The Crisis

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ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT,
WASHINGTON BUREAU

July 27, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just finished your excellent little book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY. You did a magnificent job of putting this question of color and colonies in world prospective. You set the pace when you put Dumbarton Oaks' estate in its proper historical setting--a pace which you maintained to the last page.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY like BLACK RECONSTRUCTION (and everything else of yours I have read) makes a real contribution to the thinking and the literature on the subject.

To return to the mundane, I have asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to mail you copies of your testimony on the World Security Charter. Revised copies should be off the press about the middle of next week.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

Administrative Assistant

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Special Research, NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

LSP:mt

[NAACP]

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100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Walter White, Director
Administrative Assistants
Leslie S. Perry

20-5-62

July 31, 1945

Walter White

Dear Dr. DuBois:

During the past two days here in Washington I have had the following conferences with respect to the Pan-African Congress.

1. I talked with Mr. John Dickey, Chief of the Bureau of Public Information of the State Department. Mr. Dickey informed me that when our program is definitely arranged and the definite date for beginning and adjournment of the Congress is set he will accompany me to see Mrs. Ruth Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division of the State Department, and get whatever assistance is necessary for securing of passports.

Mr. Dickey will then arrange appointment with the Transportation Division of the State Department for such assistance as that Division can give in the arrangement of transportation.

When asked how many would attend from the United States I set a tentative number of eight to twelve.

Mr. Dickey states that unless delegates can obtain a high official priority it is exceedingly doubtful if any of us can return to the States before four months, so heavy will be the redeployment of troops from the European theater during that period. He states that even State Department officials are not being permitted to travel unless their mission is of the highest importance. Two important semi-official meetings in the

United States have been cancelled during the past few days because of the impossibility of Westward travel for delegations from Europe.

20-5-63

2. I had a long and very satisfactory talk with Judge Robert P. Patterson, the Under Secretary of War. He informed me that if the State Department and in particular Mr. Stettinius will give the Congress a vigorous nod of approval the War Department will provide round trip air transportation. If the State Department (or Mr. Stettinius) gives only a general nod of approval water transportation will be provided.

3. I made an effort to talk with Mr. Stettinius, but found that he has just left the city to be gone for a week or more.

4. After conferring with Judge Hastie and others I am even more definitely of the opinion that we should follow the following procedure:

(a) Lists of persons from colonial areas and of others acquainted with colonial problems should be compiled by yourself, Mr. Ralph Bunche, Judge Hastie, Mr. Rayford Logan and such other persons who have expert knowledge of the question. After each of us has prepared such a list a master list should be prepared in a meeting or by correspondence. After such agreement has been reached each of the persons decided upon should be communicated with either by air mail or by cable to ascertain if he can attend a Pan-African Congress, what suggestions for the agenda he can make and other such pertinent questions. By this means we can more nearly assure the Congress being a true representation of the thinking and aspirations of colonial peoples even though the time required might necessitate postponement of the Congress to a later date than September.

(b) Mr. Dickey suggested that it might be helpful for us to talk with Mr. Henry S. Villard, Chief of the Division of African Affairs, who might be able to make helpful suggestions. Judge Hastie suggested that we also talk with Mr. Charles W. Tanssig of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission regarding the Caribbean and Latin.

(c) Unfortunately, Mr. Vi[illegible]lard, I learned, is out of

the country to be gone for another month or more. In his absence we might talk with his assistant Mr. Thomas Wasson, who was United States Consul at Dakar, French West Africa, in 1940 when France fell. Mr. Wasson knows a good deal about the importance of the decision of Governor-General Eboue.

(d) Such planning as is suggested above appears to be of the highest importance, instead of attempting to hold a conference by relying upon such individuals who may happen to be in Paris at the time we decide to hold a conference.

(e) I am sending each member of the Board Committee on the Pan-African Conference a copy of this letter requesting that he send me at the earliest possible date his suggestion of persons in colonial areas or elsewhere with whom we should communicate.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

WW:mt

[NAACP]

July 31, 1945

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

I give below excerpts from the minutes of the meeting of the Committee on Administration held July 23, 1945, dealing with the Pan African Congress:

20-5-60

"THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS" The Secretary reported to the Committee regarding the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Pan-African Congress, held in Washington on July 12, and read to the Committee memoranda from Dr. Du Bois and Judge Hastie, as well as a memorandum on the discussion at the meeting.

"There followed discussion by the Committee on Administration. Dr. Tobias felt that it is important, while the Charter adopted at San Francisco is fresh in the minds of people of the United Nations, that something dramatic should happen which would serve notice upon the diplomats who attended the San Francisco Conference that the darker peoples of the world expect the promises made at San Francisco to be lived up to.

"Mr. Spingarn expressed as his concern the risk persons attending a Pan-African Congress would be taking on getting passage back to the United States following the close of the Congress.

"The Secretary stated that he is strongly in favor of a conference on colonial and racial problems but is not in favor of calling such a meeting a Pan-African Congress because it is too delimiting; that he felt arrangements might be made for a World Races' Congress, or Conference on Colonial Problems, in 1946.

"In further discussion the Secretary stated that he would go to Washington and find out from certain persons in the State Department and in the War Department particulars regarding transportation."

WW:RR

[NAACP]

August 1, 1945

Dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you very much for your kind words of July 27th.

I shall be very glad to receive from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee copies of my testimony.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
Administrative Assistant
Washington Bureau, NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

[NAACP]

August 3, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM DR. DUBOIS:

I shall be absent on vacation in Maine from August 6th to 18th. Mrs. Nance has my address.

20-5

[NAACP]

August 7, 1945
(Dictated August 6)

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:
(care of Mrs. Nance)

20-5-66

On returning to the office this morning, I found your memorandum that you will be on vacation beginning today through the 18th in Maine. I hope you received my memorandum from Washington dated July 31, 1945. If the Pan-African Congress is to be held in Paris in September, it will mean immediate action. I am afraid that postponement until the fourth week in August would make it impossible to hold a Congress in September, particularly as I hope to get away from the office for a little while in August to do some writing and to get a little rest. Please let me hear from you.

You need not send me the copy of your testimony before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee which I requested as Dr. Bunche was good enough to lend me the copy of your testimony which you gave him.

WW:DW

Dr DuBois

August 10, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE NAACP AND CRISIS EXECUTIVE AND CLERICAL STAFFS FROM MR. WHITE:

I am appalled at the figures of the use of long-distance telephone and telegraph for the single month of May 19 to June 25. Long distance calls with tax total $206.96 plus $133.33 for local telephone calls plus $446 paid to Western Union total $786.29. This is an expenditure at the annual rate of approximately $9,450--more than three times the budget estimate of $3,000.

Immediate and drastic steps to reduce this expenditure must be instituted. No long distance call is to be made nor telegram sent unless the subject matter is of such a pressing and imperative nature as to prohibit any other method of communication.

20-5

I have issued instructions that on the back of the record form which the switchboard operator now supplies to each person making a long distance call a space be provided in which each person is required to name the person to whom the call is made, the subject matter of the conversation and justification for the use of long distance telephone instead of some less expensive method of communication. Each person making a long distance call is hereby required to fill out without fail this form whenever such call is made. These will be examined monthly.

All calls which are not strictly on Association business will hereafter be paid for by the person making the call. Instructions have been given to Mrs. Waring to collect for such calls.

I ask your cooperation in cutting down this expense on both long distance calls and telegrams. Unless this is done, it may be necessary to require that approval be obtained in advance from the Secretary or Budget Director before a long distance call may be made. It is hoped that this will not be found necessary.

WW:DW

Dr. Du Bois

[NAACP]

August
10th
1945

MEMORANDUM TO MRS. NANCE FROM MR. WHITE.

Copy to Dr. Du Bois
Miss Freeland
Miss Branche
Messrs. Marshall, Dudley & Carter
Mr. Wilkins
Mrs. Waring
Miss Baker & other Field Staff Members

As far as your work with Dr. Du Bois during July and August will permit I wish to suggest that you spend some time in the national office studying the Association's methods and machinery so that when you commence work with our West Coast Regional Office you will be familiar with national office procedure.

I suggest particularly your spending time with Miss Freeland, Office Manager;

Miss Branche, Filing Department;

Miss Baker and other members of the field staff;

Mr. Marshall, or Mr. Dudley, or Mr. Carter of the Legal Department;

Mr. Wilkins, on both administration and the Crisis; and with

Mrs. Waring of the Bookkeeping Department.

Should your work with Dr. Du Bois be so heavy as to make this impossible I suggest that you arrange to spend a short time in the national office after you have completed work with him on August 31, for which we will make suitable financial arrangements.

[NAACP] file copy

August 15, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY AND MEMBERS OF PAN-AFRICAN COMMITTEE:

While we have been waiting, the convening committee of England, appointed by colored members of the Trades Union Congress, and which invited my cooperation and that of the N.A.A.C.P., have called a Pan-African Congress to meet right after the Paris meeting of the Trades Union Congress. It will carry out an eight-day program, partly in Paris but mostly in London. Contact has been made with prominent persons and organizations in nearly all the English colonies in Africa and some others. Unless difficulties of travel or colonial policies prevent, there will be larger attendance than at any previous Congress. The program has been largely planned. Our cooperation is still awaited.

20-8-24

The question of whom to invite to join the N.A.A.C.P. in this Congress presents no difficulties; they should include representatives of:

The Council on African Affairs
The Fraternal Council of Colored Churches
The West Indian Union
The Elks (possibly other large Fraternal Orders)
The National Baptist Convention

Also possibly:

Negro Colleges of "A" Rank
Two or three leading colored fraternities and sororities
etc., etc.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

[NAACP]

MEMORANDUM

August 22, 1945

TO: Dr. DuBois

FROM: Mr. White

20-5-69

With respect to your memorandum of August 15th, it appears most necessary that we have a meeting of the Board Committee to determine what position we should take with respect to the conference that the London group has called and with respect to the congress in which the NAACP shall participate. I, therefore, communicated with the out-of-town members of the Board Committee to ascertain what day this week or next they can attend a meeting.

I am sending you herewith a self-explanatory copy of a letter from Prince Orizu with whom I talked recently about a Pan-African Conference and other matters.

WW:RW
attach.
uopwa/19 - cio

28 August 1945

Memo to Mrs. Freeland:

Will you please place the following articles with my mail:

1 Royal typewriter ribbon - standard size
1 " " " - portable size

20 airmail stamps
20 special delivery
50 ones
100 threes
100 plain large-sized envelopes

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-d
2

31 August 1945

Memorandum to the Secretary and the
Pan African Committee:

According to my latest reports from Europe the present situation is as follows: the convening committee has officially announced that since the World Trade Union Conference will meet in Paris, September twenty-fifth to October ninth, that the Pan African Congress will meet in London for one week beginning October fifteenth. All idea of a Paris meeting has been given up because of difficulties of transport between London and Paris. Also the West African Student Union, an important organization sponsoring the congress, would prefer to have the meeting postponed and held in Africa in 1947 but nevertheless is apparently concurring in the present meeting.

It seems to me since correspondence is coming to me from Europe and the West Indies I ought to send out some kind of publicity. I suggest, therefore, one or two things that in my capacity as organizer of four Pan African Congresses I should inform the Negro press of the present plans of the London convening committee and in their name should invite any persons or organizations to let me know of their wish or plans to attend. Two, if the Committee wishes the publicity could go out in the name of the NAACP stating the facts and naming the NAACP as one of the sponsoring organizations.

I think a decision on this point ought to be made not later than the first week of September.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Walter White
Du Bois

Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

Ralph J. Bunche
Bureau of Dependent Peoples
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Judge William H. Hastie
453 Irving Street Northwest
Washington 10, D. C.

Russell W. Davenport
180 East 79th Street
New York 21

Elmer A. Carter
State Commission Against Discrimination
124 East 28th Street
NYC

Channing H. Tobias
YMCA
347 Madison Avenue
NYC

Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
NYC

Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
NYC

1 September 1945

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

On july 24, I sent by the hand of Mrs. Nance a request for postage as follows:

10	airmail	.80
3	special delivery	.39
100	threes	3.00
81	ones	.81
		$5.00

When I presented a further request August 29 the bookkeeper reminded me that Mrs. Nance had received 500 threes. I told her I thought it was a mistake and I am sure it is although I shall write Mrs. Nance about it. She left only fifty-one threes which means that she had used only about fifty during the month which seems correct. I am sure this is only an error on the part of the bookkeeper but I should like to have it straightened out because that is so much more postage than I use. I have looked over Mrs. Nance's desk and files thoroughly and these are the only stamps left.

W. E. B. Du Bois

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JESSE O. DEDMON, JR., SECRETARY VETERANS' AFFAIRS
LESLIE S. PERRY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, WASHINGTON BUREAU

September 4, 1945

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON
THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS:

Messrs. Louis T. Wright — William H. Hastie
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Elmer A. Carter — ~~Roy Wilkins~~
Russell W. Davenport

Ex Officio:
Walter White
W. E. B. Du Bois

There will be an important meeting of the Committee on the Pan-African Congress

Monday, September 10, at 11:00 A. M.

in the offices of the Association.

Walter White
Secretary

WW:RR

[NAACP]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

4 September 1945

82-8-02

Memorandum to the Secretary and the
Pan African Committee:

According to my latest reports from Europe the present situation is as follows: the convening committee has officially announced that since the World Trade Union Conference will meet in Paris, September twenty-fifth to October ninth, that the Pan African Congress will meet in London for one week beginning October fifteenth. All idea of a Paris meeting has been given up because of difficulties of transport between London and Paris. Also the West African Student Union, an important organization sponsoring the congress, would prefer to have the meeting postponed and held in Africa in 1947 but nevertheless is apparently concurring in the present meeting.

It seems to me since correspondence is coming to me from Europe and the West Indies I ought to send out some kind of publicity. I suggest, therefore, one of two things: one, that in my capacity as organizer of four Pan African Congresses, I should inform the Negro press of the present plans of the London convening committee and in their name should invite any persons or organizations to let me know of their wish or plans to attend. Or, two, if the Committee wishes, the publicity could go out in the name of the NAACP stating the facts and naming the NAACP as one of the sponsoring organizations.

I think a decision on this point ought to be made not later than the first week of September.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

21-6-93

4 September 1945

Memorandum to the Secretary and the
Pan African Committee:

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W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

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20-5-61

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

September 6, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS
FROM MR. WHITE:

The subject matter of your memorandum of September 4th can be taken up at the meeting of the Pan African Congress Committee on Monday, September 10th, at 11 A.M.

WW:emw

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.
June 12 to September 9, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

In continuing my work on the Pan African Congress I have kept in touch with the convening committee in London and have reported to the committee of the Board on the Congress.

The United States Navy has bought 2,400 copies of my book Color and Democracy and the book has been put on the June and July lists of Ambassadors books in "Books Across the Sea". This book list is arranged by circles in America and England and has its headquarters at Columbia University.

On July 11, at the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States Senate I spoke at the hearings on the Charter of the United Nations. The statement is printed on pages 391-393 in the Volume of "Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 79th Congress."

At the request of Dr. A. A. Roback of Harvard, I have contributed a chapter to the commemorative volume in memory of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's seventieth birthday. Professors in Yale, Columbia, Chicago, Brown and Princeton have written other chapters.

46-9-122

I have also written for possible publication a history of the Pan African movement from 1900 to 1945.

Current projects in which the department is engaged are as follows:

1. a new history of Africa unifying the various parts of the continent and seeking to integrate African history with the history of the world. This has been contracted for by the Viking Press and I hope to have the manuscript finished by November.

2. myself, Miss Diggs and Dr. Reddick of the Schomburg Collection are collaborating in gathering documents which will illustrate the colonial demands for freedom in the twentieth century. We hope that these documents will be published sometime in the spring.

3. I am writing for a book on "World View of Race" edited by Dr. Reddick a chapter on colonies and peace which will be in the nature of a final chapter to my book Color and Democracy and will treat the conference at San Francisco and the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prefatory Volume to the Encyclopaedia of the Negro which appeared in January has been sold out and a second corrected edition is planned.

I have continued to cooperate with the Department of Sociology at Howard University in organizing the sociological programs of the Negro Land Grant Colleges.

I have lectured since July first on questions of colonies and race before St. James A. M. E. Church in Newark, the American Teachers Association at Greensboro and the summer school at Howard University.

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46-6-228

June 12-July 9, 1945

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My work for the immediate future will be directed toward the history mentioned above and toward a general study covering problems of colonies and race and involving thorough digest of my papers accumulated in the last fifty years.

During the months of July and August, Miss Diggs has been on leave of absence without salary and has taken charge of the Department of Sociology in Lincoln University, Missouri. During her absence Mrs. Ethel Nance, secretary of the regional NAACP located in San Francisco, has replaced her in this office.

Owing to the overcrowded condition at the 69 Fifth Avenue office I have since July first rented an office at 55 West 42nd Street at my own expense. Here the work of the department has been concentrated.

46-2-229

[NAACP]

Make folder - Perry, Leslie S.

20-12-16

September 14, 1945

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
Washington Bureau
N. A. A. C. P.
100 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 1, D. C.

My dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you very much for the material which you sent me on the Food and Agriculture Organization. I shall be glad to go through it carefully. I always appreciate any information that you can give me.

Just now, I am seeing if I can get passage to London and return and a visa in order to attend the Pan African Congress, October 15th to 21st. I have written the President, the Under-Secretary of State, Senator Wagner and Congressman Powell. Can you give me any advice as to further procedure? I shall be deeply obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[NAACP]

19-20 20

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

ARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

20-5-65

255 77=NEWYORK NY 15 1213P 1945 SEP 15 PM 12 27

DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK=

:CHICAGO BRANCH HAS JUST TELEPHONED VIGOROUS PROTEST AGAINST ANYONE FROM ASSOCIATION SPEAKING AT MEEETING CALLED BY REVEREND J L HORACE AND OTHERS IN CHICAGO SEPTEMBER 19-20. THEY STATE YOU ARE BEING ADVERTISED TO SPEAK ON 20TH. BASIS THEIR PROTEST FACT THAT REVEREND HORACE HAS BITTERLY AND REPEATEDLY ATTACKED ASSOCIATION. BOARD CONSIDERED LAST MONDAY INVITATION FROM REVEREND HORACE TO ENDORSE MEETING AND PRATICIPATE IN FORMING NEW ORGANIZATIONAND INVITATION TO SECRETARY TO SPEAK. BOARD VOTED UNANIMOSLY AGAINST PARTICIPATION=

:WALTER WHITE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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September 19, 1945

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Dedication ceremonies of the Willkie Memorial Building will be held on the balcony of the building, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, on

Monday, October 8, at 12:00 Noon.

Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, will be the principal speaker. Among other speakers will be the Association's Secretary.

Freedom House has asked that members of our Board arrive at the building not later than 11:45 A.M. to take their places at open windows from the third to the seventh floor, inclusive, from which they will observe the ceremony.

Please be good enough to let us know as soon as possible if you expect to be present.

Please bring with you to the ceremonies this letter as an identification so that you may be admitted to the building.

Walter White

Secretary

WW:RR

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.
Secretary, Veterans' Affairs

20-3-15

From Walter White

September 20, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Leslie Perry wires me that you have sent him correspondence regarding your passport. I am writing to call to your attention that I talked with John Dickey who may still be with the State Department before assuming his new post as President of Dartmouth. If you will let me know what steps you have taken regarding passport, passage, etc. I may be able to be of some help.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
55 West 42nd St., Rm. 1338
New York 18, New York

WW:DW

[NAACP]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-108

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary and the Members of the Pan African Committee

FROM: W. E. B. DuBois

September 8th, 1945

In accordance with the vote of the Board of Directors at the September meeting, I have taken the following actions:

1. Cabled to London asking the latest developments concerning the proposed Congress and all printed matter which has been published. In reply to this, I have had a cablegram confirming the meeting, October 15 to 21, and saying that data and printed matter were being forwarded.

2. I applied for a renewal of my passport which has expired and explained to the Passport Division the reasons for my desiring a trip to London.

3. I have also written explaining the Pan African Congress to the President of the United States, the Under-Secretary of State and the War Department.

4. I wrote explaining the attitude of the N.A.A.C.P. toward the Congress to Dr. Hastings of the League of Coloured People, London, and to the West African Students Union.

5. I have written to persons whom I know in London concerning the Congress and my obtaining visas to attend. Among these are Mr. Creech-Jones, Under-Secretary for Colonies; Mr. Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labor Party and Mr. H. G. Wells, Editor of "Africa".

6. I have written to the British Embassy in Washington asking if they would be willing to give me a visa if I obtained permission from the State Department to make the journey.

7. I have written to Senator Wagner and Congressman Powell asking their good offices.

8. I have written to Mr. Weaver and Mr. Hunt of the C.I.O. in Washington asking their cooperation.

9. I have written the U.S. Steamship Lines concerning possible passage.

If there are any other steps which I should take or contacts which I should make in this matter, I would be very glad to have advice from the Secretary or any other member of the committee.

SIGNED: _____

[NAACP]

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TREASURER
MARY WHITE OVINGTON

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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29-1-20

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October 1, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed report to the State Department on the draft proposals for an educational and cultural organization of the United Nations, which is the result of a two day conference held here in Washington. As you know the Association was invited to participate in this conference. Any further material you may desire I shall be glad to send it to you.

I wired you sometime ago indicating that I might be able to touch some new sources in connection with your passport. Not having heard anything from you I assume that the matter has been straightened out to your satisfaction.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

Administrative Assistant

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Encl/

LSP:mt

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

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20-5

October 3, 1945

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Through a clerical error the postcard notices for the October meeting of the Board stated the meeting would be held on Monday, October 15.

The date for the October Board meeting is:

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, at 4:00 O'CLOCK.

Walter White
Secretary

WW:RR

[NAACP]

October 3, 1945

20-6-30

Memo. to the Secretary and the Pan-African Committee:

Yesterday at noon I had an interview with the Secretary of State, (Acting), Mr. Acheson, and Mr. Villard of the Bureau of African Affairs. I laid before them my desire to attend the Pan-African Congress, and something of the history of the movement. I asked the Secretary for his good offices in securing me priorities for travel. He pointed out the difficulties of return travel, but promised to take the matter into consideration and let me hear from him soon. Mr. Villard had not heard of the project before; I was disappointed at this as I had assumed that Mr. Bunche, a member of our committee, had discussed it with him. I am sending him data today.

Meantime I have been trying since September 24, to get my passport renewed and phoned again this morning. The Division of Central Services Transportation of the Department of State phoned this morning and said that in order to get to London in time I would have to fly. That I assume would be more expensive than going by boat. What does the Committee think of this? Tentatively I have filled out the blank which they sent and am forwarding it.

(NAACP)

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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WASHINGTON BUREAU
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Walter White, Director
Administrative Assistants
Leslie S. Perry

20-12-17

October 4, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N..Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mrs. Nelson in Congressman Powell's office called today to inquire as to the status of your passport upon which they have been working. Will you please get in touch with Mr. Powell or Mrs. Nelson at once?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

LSP:mb

Administrative Assistant

[NAACP]

Oct. 5, 1945

20-8-49

Memo to Mr. White:

I. Pan-African Congress

I have made tentative reservation to London via the Eastern Airlines. The roundtrip fare to London is $II84. The total appropriation would thus have to be around $2000. Return by boat might lower this. This is all contingent on (A) a British visa; (B) State Department priorities; and (C) the action of the Pan-African Committees and the Board.

2. I am enclosing a memo of certain expenses incurred.

3. Miss Diggs has passed successfully all her examinations for the Ph.D. at the University. I'm hoping she will not be later than Oct. IO in returning.

4. May I have a ticket for the opening of Wilkie House.

5. I shall be at the Board meeting, Oct.8.

[ENCLOSURE]

Expenses of the Department of Special Research

Passport application, British Government, cable fee	$10.00
Passport application, U.S.Government, Sept.24 (This may eventually be returned)	5.00
Passport fee, U.S. Gov't, Oct.2,	10.00
Telegram, collect, from the Passport Division, Washington, Oct.4,	.80
Passport photographs	2.60
Total	$29.30

25-8-37

I have also incurred some clerical expense, by using the stenographer in this office at odd times. It was cheaper in the long run than coming to 69. I will submit this item later.

Also since there has been no office space available for me at 69 Fifth Avenue, since Sept. I, I suggest it would be fair for the N:A.A.C.P. to reimburse for rent paid from Sept. to Oct. 15, amounting to $150.

Report of the Director of Special Research

Sept. 10 to Oct. 8, 1945

I have spent most of the month of September in library research on African history at the 42nd st. Public Library and the Schomburg Collection.

Concurrently with this I have made every effort to get permission to attend the Pan-African Congress in London, Oct. 15 to 21. I wrote President Truman; he referred my request to the Acting Secretary of State, Acheson. I had a personal interview with Mr. Acheson, October 2, and he called in Mr. Villard, head of the African Bureau. Later the State Department telephoned and asked me to make formal application for priorities to make the trip. I have heard nothing further.

I also wrote the Secretary of War who replied that he would take up t matter if asked by the State Department. I wrote various senators and representative.

After some delay I received my renewed passport and today after appeal to the British Ambassador and writing and cabling to London I obtained a British visa.

If I hear favorably from the State Department, I shall be ready to fly to London on the morning of Oct. 13. This however will involve decision on the part of the Pan-African committee and the Board to underwrite the increased expense which airplane travel will involve. The permissible expense limit wouldhave to be raised from $1200 to $2000. My efforts to push this matter through in time to make the trip by boat were entirely unsuccessful

Miss Diggs who has been absent on leave without pay since Sept. 15, has passed successfully all her examinations for the doctorate at the University of Havana. She will be back at her desk within a few days.

21-6-114

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

FOUNDED BY GENERAL O. O. HOWARD

SCHOOL OF LAW

October 8, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

With reference to your recent memorandum concerning the Pan-African Conference, you will be interested to know that Mr. Norman W. Manley of Jamaica, the most distinguished West Indian lawyer and one of the most important political figures in that area, is now in New York City and will be there for a week or two. I understand that he is visiting at the home of Dr. Cecil Marquez. Walter, in all probability, has already been in touch with him. I think that you will find it quite worth while to talk with Mr. Manley.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Hastie

WHH/c

[NAACP]

October 9, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I find upon my return from vacation that the exact date when we will move into the Willkie Building was settled upon while I was away but that no notice had been sent to you.

20-14-3

We expect to move on the night of October 16 and the night of October 17.

The moving company is sending certain bins, boxes and other containers for us to use in packing away books and other small articles. These will be labelled and transferred directly to a designated room in the new building.

Much of the material on our fourth floor will be sent to a storage room in the basement in the new building.

Since you expect to leave shortly for London, perhaps you will want to indicate what books and other material should be deposited in your office in the new building and what, if anything, should be placed in the storage room in the basement. I assume that all of the material now in a storage room next door on 14th Street can be assigned to the basement in the new building.

RW:emw

[NAACP]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

October 10, 1945

20-12-5

Memorandum to Mr. White with copies to Messrs. Wright, Toney, Hastie and Spingarn:

I have just conferred with Mr. Wilkins concerning the allocation of space in the Wilkie Building. I realize that the Association is going to be crowded, even in its new quarters, and that quite possibly my request for two offices could not be granted with justice to others. This request was made on account of my library and manuscripts. My library of some 2000 volumes is valuable and in some respects unique. The books and manuscripts together form the basis of the remaining work of my life which I wish to finish. It was for this reason that I asked from the first for two offices.

In the proposed allocation of offices, the office allotted me, 11 ft. by 19, is very small for what I want to do. There is, however, one possible rearrangement. If, instead of the middle office on the fourth floor, I was assigned one of the end offices it would be possible for me to arrange for my work and that of Miss Diggs. This would involve reducing the quarters of the Legal Department by substituting a room 11 ft. wide for one 26 ft. wide. On the other hand, this would be compensated for by putting all the workers in the Legal Department next to each other and in communicating rooms and not having their offices divided by my intervening space. I don't want to curtail in any way the very important work of the Legal Department but if this change could be made and if the continuity of their offices would compensate for the loss of space, I should be very glad if this could be done. It would make a very considerable difference in my work.

I shall mention this personally to Mr. White before I go to London and ask him to consider it and bring it to the attention of the committee if he thinks best.

Signed: _____
W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[NAACP]

as from : 58 Oxford Road,
Manchester,
England.

18th Oct/45.

20-5-55

Mr Walter White,
69 Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK.

My dear Mr White,

I arrived safely in London and cabled you. I found that on account of the crowded condition of London the Congress had been convened in Manchester; here they have Offices and one of the smaller Town Halls and have been carrying on a series of Meetings with something over 100 Delegates. There is very strong representation from Africa and the level of the speeches has been high.

I did not get a chance to see Agar, I went down to the Embassy but he was not coming in until afternoon and I had to leave at 2.50, so I left the letter with his Secretary and have written him. I went to the Priorities Section and made formal application for return. I am afraid that the chance to get a Boat is going to be small but I shall try. I suggest that you send me $100 more so that if I have to fly I will have ample funds. I shall not of course use this if I can help.

Very sincerely yours,

By Air Mail.

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.1.

19th October, 1945.

20-3-28

Dr. Louis Wright,
218 West 139th Street,
New York.
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Wright,

I had a successful and very interesting trip. When I reached London, I found that on account of difficulties of accommodation and food, the Congress was meeting in Manchester. I went to Manchester and found about 100 delegates who have been made comfortable for the whole week. They are an interesting lot, and on the whole, the Congress has been of a high level.

I am very comfortably housed and in excellent health. I trust you are taking care of yourself.

Very Sincerely Yours,

[NAACP]

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.1.

19th October, 1945.

Mr. Roy Wilkins,
C/o NAACP.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York.

20-14-2

Dear Mr. Wilkins,

Enclosed is a clipping from the Manchester Guardian, October 18th. The Congress has about 100 delegates and has been of high order. Publicity, however, is difficult on account of the small size of rationed newspapers.

Very Sincerely Yours,

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.1.

19th October, 1945.

20-3-10

Mr. Arthur Spingarn,
36, West 44th Street,
New York.

Dear Mr. Spingarn,

I had a most interesting flight to England, breakfast in New York, supper in Newfoundland, breakfast again in Ireland and dinner in London. The Congress which is meeting in Manchester, where it found better accommodation is really an excellent body. It has a much stronger African representation than any of the previous Congresses and the men of Africa on the whole are of high character, and have given us a lot of facts, together, of course, with considerable emotion.

I am very glad I came, I think much good will come out of the Meeting. Just when I can get back and how, I am not sure. I am afraid it is going to be hard to find a ship, but I am already trying.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Spingarn.

Very Sincerely Yours,

[NAACP]

29th October 1945

Mr. Roy Wilkins
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkins,

Enclosed are some clippins, posters, etc. illustrating the work of the Pan-African Congress. With regard to the press conference held October 26, may I say it was attended by 22 newspaper men and women representing Europe, Asia and Africa. Please save these things and when you are through with them hand them to Miss Diggs. I am still awaiting transportation home.

20-1-1

Very sincerely yours,

WEB DuBois

[NAACP]

Mr. Walter White
20 West 40th Street
New York,N.Y.
USA

2nd November 1946

20-5-68

My dear Mr. White,

On Monday night, 29th October, I had dinner with Herbert Agar and his new bride in their apartment ~~at the~~ the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane. Mr. Morrison, the new editor of the Times Literay Supplementary was present. We had a pleasant evening. Mr. Agar wishes to be remembered to you, ~~however~~, the following Tuesday, I had tea with the Vicomitessa Simon. Dr. Moody was present and the secretary of the Aborigine s Protedtive Society. Lady Simon spoke of you several times and sent greetings

I have as yet no idea as to when I can get transportation back. I am keeping in close touch with the priorities office but they can tell me nothing definite. Yesterday, I had a cable from Mordecai Johnson saying that the State Decartment was going ~~to ask him~~ to seek me as observer in the UN Education and Cultural Conference. I had mentioned the possibility to Johnson and he has evidently been working on it. I will let you know if it comes through alright.

I hope Miss Diggs has returned but if she has not, it is only because of the dilatory methods of the University of Havana. They have made it almost impossible for Americans to get degrees there. But Miss Diggs has persisted and is on the edge of success. I wired her when I came away saying that I was leaving but advising her to stay in Havana until she finished her work. Her delay, of course makes it difficult for your office and especially for mine; but I think you will realise her great value when she once returns and gets down to work. I hope the office moving has been as successful as could be hoped.

Very sincerely yours,

27 November 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I landed at LaGuardia Field, Monday, November 26, at 12:27. I shall send you my expense account within a few days.

On the plane coming over I met John Marshall of the Rockefeller Foundation. He suggested to me confidentially that perhaps the NAACP would like to take up the matter of the illegitimate children of American Negro soldiers in England. It has been estimated that there are at least one thousand of them. There is no provision in the English social service machinery adequately to take care of these children although there is goodwill and concern. Mr. Marshall suggests that American Negroes might adopt these children and provide for them. I told him I would lay the matter before you. He says that Victor Weybright, who was formerly on the SURVEY GRAPHIC and now connected with Penquin Books can give you a great deal of information.

I shall be glad to confer with you concerning this or any other matters at such time as you may wish.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

19-9-52

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

N. A. A. C. P.

October 8 to December 3, 1945

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

The chief activities of this department have included the trip of the Director to the Fifth Pan African Congress in England and his participation as observer in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Youth Congress together with lectures and contacts with various persons; and also the bestowal upon the Research Assistant of the degree of doctor of philosophy and letters by the University of Havana, Cuba.

The Director left the United States by air October thirteenth landing in London, October fourteenth. The Pan African Congress met in Manchester where it was able to secure better accomodations than in London. Delegates began to assemble on the thirteenth at Chorley Town Hall and the Congress was in session from October fifteenth to October twenty-first.

46-2-230

The reception of the Director was unexpectedly cordial showing a deep appreciation of the part being played in the advance of the African peoples by American Negroes. The Director was asked to preside through all the sessions of the Congress and was made president of the permanent organization.

There were present nearly two hundred delegates from sixty different countries. In contrast with earlier congresses the majority of the delegates came directly from their countries with mandates from the countries. They represented especially the working classes through their trade unions and also naturally the professions, civil servants and students.

Among the more prominent delegations were those from West Africa including the Gambia; Sierra Leone which sent the well-known Wallace Johnson; the Gold coast was represented by Ashie-Nikoi and by the head of the Railway Union which recently staged a successful strike; from Nigeria came one of the chiefs and a representative of the Nigerian Youth Movement; from East Africa; eleven organizations in Great Britain were represented by African-born persons including African students in Scotland and Ireland; the West Indies were represented, especially Jamaica, Barbados and Guiana.

The program of the Congress included a luncheon on Sunday, October fourteen; a welcome address on October fifteenth by the Lord Mayor of Manchester; and from the sixteenth to the twentieth, two daily sessions discussing North and West Africa, Southern Africa, East and Central Africa, the West Indies; North, Central and South America. On the twentieth there was a general summing-up and adoption of resolutions. On Sunday the twenty-first there was a public meeting addressed by Dr. Du Bois and Dr. Armottoe, an anthropologist of Negro descent and French training now living in Ireland.

The Congress recognized the former efforts toward Pan African unity by calling itself officially the Fifth Pan African Congress and resolved that a Sixth Congress should be held in Africa, if possible, in 1946 or 1947. It provided for a permanent office in London with a paid secretary.

The Congress adopted a series of resolutions making detailed complaints and suggestions in all the colonial areas represented and covering sixteen typewritten pages. Letters of sympathy in their struggle for independence were sent to the peoples of India, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia.

The Director returned to London, October twenty-second, where the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization met November 1 to 16, 1945. At the suggestion of President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University, the United States Department of State cabled November fifth and asked that Dr. Du Bois be made an official observer. There were technical difficulties in carrying this appointment out officially, but Dr. Du Bois was invited to the plenary sessions and attended the conference when the final act was adopted. Haiti and Liberia were represented but Ethiopia was not, and there was no colored delegate on the United States Delegation.

The final act declared "that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races." In two or three other parts of the act race discrimination was condemned, but also the organization was "prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within domestic jurisdiction" of the member states. The main results of this meeting were excellent but colonies were not directly represented and in many cases like that of Holland and Belgium were not mentioned.

Also there met in London, October twenty-ninth to November fourteenth, the World Youth Congress which was one of the most impressive meetings that the Director has attended. He was present at three plenary sessions and had luncheon with a group of the delegates. The colored delegates from America, especially Esther Cooper of Alabama, were outstanding in their contribution and influence. The final constitution of the World Federation of Democratic Youth declared as its aim "To work for the active participation of youth in state, economic, social and cultural life, for the removal of all restrictions and qualifications connected with sex, education, domicile, property or social status, creed, colour or race; to ensure for the democratic youth freedom of speech, press, assembly and demonstration and to work for the foundation of independent democratic organizations."

In addition to these larger meetings, Dr. Du Bois lectured to the English Quakers on the American Negro and to the Indian organization where he spoke with Fenner Brockway, Member of Parliament. He had tea with H. G. Wells and Lord Noel-Buxton, grandson of the great abolitionist, and the Viscountess Simon. He had a conference and luncheon with Harold Laski and also with Mr. Lewis the young Jamaican who is the only colored member of the faculty of the University of London. He had dinner with Herbert Agar of the American Embassy, his wife and Mr. Morrison, editor of the literary supplement of the London Times.

46-6-231

On October twenty-second at the London office of the Pan African Congress he had a conference with twenty-two press representatives representing papers and press associations all over the world. He there explained the work and objects of the Pan African Congress. He was given a reception by the League of Coloured Peoples and a final dinner by the representatives of various organizations of subject peoples in London. He attended a session of a Parliament Committee held in the House of Commons where Miss Pankhurst told of conditions in Ethiopia. He was made a temporary member of the National Liberal Club which has one of the most magnificent club buildings in London and which was almost indispensable in London during these difficult days.

After a vain effort to secure return passage to the United States by ship before January first, the Director secured plane passage November twenty-fifth landing at La Guardia Field, November twenty-sixth. The total cost of this trip was about $1,800 of which $1,200 was for travel. The vouchers and accounts will be handed the Secretary.

Continuing the work already done in this office and the further extension of it which the trip to England has indicated, the Director desires the following action on the part of the Board and administration:

1. the publication of certain pamphlets to illustrate the work of this department. The first of these should be a history of the Pan African Congresses. It would be a pamphlet of about one hundred pages. The second should be a republication of the demands for colonial freedom made by the native congress of South Africa; the third should be a history of the Fifth Pan African Congress and a statement of the proposed permanent organization. The fourth should be a study of the struggle for economic freedom among the cocoa farmers of West Africa. These four pamphlets of one hundred pages each should be published over the course of a year and at the end of this time the question of further publication of pamphlets illustrating the work of this department should be considered.

2. The Director has a library of unusual value composed of over 2,500 volumes. This he is installing in his office for use and reference. In addition to this he has pamphlets, reports, manuscripts, correspondence and papers covering the last fifty years in race relations which are invaluable as a source of study and information. These must be filed and arranged and for this and other work he needs clerical help. He would like to have, therefore, a clerk assigned to help him.

46-6-232

[NAACP]

18 December 1945

20-3-25

Memorandum to Mr. White:

During the holidays between December twenty-first and January second, I shall be working for the most part in Baltimore and Washington so as to be near my home and allow my family to be with Mrs. Du Bois.

During part of this time I shall require Miss Diggs' services there and at other times she will have assigned work at the Schomburg Collection and the public library.

Contact with me can be made by telephone in Baltimore: Hamilton 9015 or by mail, 2302 Montebello Terrace.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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Arthur B. Spingarn

Chairman of the Board
Dr. Louis T. Wright

Acting Chairman of the Board
Hon. Charles E. Toney

Vice-Presidents
Mary McLeod Bethune
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T. G. Nutter
Rev. A. Clayton Powell
Oswald Garrison Villard

Treasurer
Mary White Ovington

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

Official Organ: The Crisis

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Roy Wilkins *Assistant Secretary*
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Madison S. Jones, Jr.
Administrative Assistant, National Office
Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel
Robert L. Carter
Edward R. Dudley
Milton R. Konvitz [on leave]
Special Counsel Assistants
Leslie S. Perry
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Director, Special Research
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Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.
Secretary, Veterans' Affairs

December 21st, 1945

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Berkeley, Calif. — Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Birmingham, Ala. — Dr. E. W. Taggart
Boston — Dr. John B. Hall
Julian D. Steele
Chicago — Earl B. Dickerson
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Cincinnati — Theodore M. Berry
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Oklahoma City — Roscoe Dunjee
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St. Louis — Sidney R. Redmond
Topeka, Kans. — Hon. Arthur Capper
Washington — William H. Hastie
Charles H. Houston
Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb

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William H. Hastie, Washington, Chairman

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Birmingham, Ala. — Arthur D. Shores
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Nashville, Tenn. — Z. Alexander Looby
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Andrew D. Weinberger
Pittsburgh — Homer S. Brown
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San Francisco — Bartley C. Crum
Tulsa, Okla. — Amos T. Hall
Washington — Charles H. Houston
Edward P. Lovett
Leon A. Ransom
Ruth Weyand
Wilmington, Del. — Louis L. Redding

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As we begin a new year it is necessary that we reach an understanding and definite agreement regarding the relation of the Department of Special Research to other departments of the NAACP.

During the year 1945 certain actions by yourself seriously interfered with the smooth operation of the NAACP as a whole. Specifically, among others, are the following:

(1) The correspondence you had with individuals in Dayton, Ohio, which you later used in columns in the Chicago Defender, stating that while you were opposed to segregation, Negroes must recognize the gains they may obtain from segregated schools. When our Dayton branch appeared before the Board of Education to protest the extension of segregated schools in that city, they were confronted with your statement and the Superintendent of Schools dismissed their complaint saying that you, as a national executive of the NAACP had taken the position in favor of segregated schools. I was informed in Dayton recently that this had cost the branch to lose a number of memberships from persons who resented any NAACP national officer defending segregation.

21-6-136

(2) Your action in moving from 69 Fifth Avenue to 55 West 42nd Street without either consultation with or approval by any responsible executive and your attitude in your memorandum to the Board in which you stated that "with or without the Secretary's consent" you were going to move.

(3) Your appearance before a Senate Committee in connection with the San Francisco Charter without notifying the Association or ascertaining what plans it had which cut across Association plans and also got us into difficulty with the press because they were not given notice of your appearance.

It is imperative to the successful smooth operation of the Association that all departments function as integral parts of the Association as a whole. I would like to have assurance from you that this can be accomplished. One of the difficulties, in my opinion, has arisen from the request you made of Mr. Wilkins as Acting Secretary when I was overseas that the mail of the Department of Special Research be not opened and that it be treated in an entirely different fashion from mail addressed to other executives. In the light of the Dayton situation it will be necessary that all mail be handled precisely the same for all executives with your secretary making a digest of mail to be supplied to other executives so that each of us knows what is going on in other departments.

Will you be good enough to let me have your reaction to these requests.

Ever sincerely

Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

WW:emw

Copies to L.

S. Graham

Sturgeon

Wright

December 26th, 1945

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE.
(Copy to Mr. Wilkins, Budget Director.)

When I approved your memorandum of November 29th requesting permission to select two desks for yourself and Miss Diggs, and chairs, waste-paper baskets and a tree for coats I did so on the assumption that you would purchase desks and other equipment in keeping with that used by other executives. It is therefore with surprise that I see the bills from Berry, Dickie and Stettler totaling $671.15, including

1 walnut desk	$260.00
1 red leather revolving armchair	68.00
1 red leather desk lamp, with bulb	30.00
2 walnut armchairs	50.00
2 brown leather armchairs	87.00
1 walnut revolving armchair, brown leather	68.68
1 red leather ashtray	3.50

The desks used by other executives cost $60.00 each. The desk in my office, which was bought while I was out of the country, cost only $125.00 - less than half the one which you have just purchased. The walnut hat-tree purchased for me cost only $9.75 as against $24.00 for the one you bought.

I cannot approve the purchase of such expensive furniture.

I understand that you have additional furniture on order for Miss Diggs. That must be of the same quality as the rest of the general office.

We are informed by Messrs. Berry, Dickie and Stettler that you have on order over two hundred dollars worth of steel shelving. I did not authorize this. You requested "the services of a carpenter and cabinet maker to arrange and add to the bookcases". Mr. Wilkins informs me that he told Miss Diggs to inquire of the Blank Company about the cost of steel shelving. It is Mr. Wilkins' impression that Blank's prices are lower than those of Berry, Dickie and Stettler. Was inquiry made by Miss Diggs or yourself before the order was placed?

46-6-180

[NAACP]

.109

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

20-5-67

NB135 48=WUX NEWYORK NY 27 1119A

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO= 14

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM 1045 DEC 27 PM 12 11

MRS ROOSEVELT HAS ASKED ME TO WRITE HER LETTER LISTING MATTERS WE WISH HER TAKE UP AS AMERICAN DELEGATE TU UNO CONFERENCE PLEASE WIRE TODAY YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR INCLUSION IN LETTER I SUGGESTED TO MRS ROOSEVELT THAT MRS BETHUNE AND YOU BE ASKED TO JOIN IN SIGNING LETTER=

WALTER WHITE.

Ha-9/15
adse
1234P

.UNO TEXT PER CY.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1945 [NAACP]

Mr. Arthur Spingarn
36 West 44th St., New York, N.Y.

Dec.

Night letter

21-6-137

Desire a place on program of Annual Meeting to defend myself ag against the attacks of Walter White stop Am forwarding correspondence stop wire me date of meeting and kindly arrange conference between me you and Dr. Wright before meeting stop plan to leave here january second but will leave sooner if necessary.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Hamilton 9015

LE - 3300

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

COPY TO DR. DU BOIS

From Walter White

December 28th, 1945

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In response to your request for information on the desires of American Negroes for your guidance as a member of the American delegation to the U.N.O. I telegraphed Mrs. Bethune and had hoped that I would have her reply to include in this letter, but it has not yet come. Since you are leaving tomorrow I am therefore sending on this letter which is a combination of the ideas of Dr. DuBois-- who with Mrs. Bethune served as Associate Consultant at San Francisco-- and my own.

The following are matters which might be stressed in the assembly of the U.N.O.:

(1) The placing of all colonies mandated after World War I under U.N.O. trusteeship and the development of immediate means of preparing these colonies for self-government and independence.

(2) A world-wide and sincere campaign to abolish the entire colonial system as one of the chief causes of war, poverty and disease.

(3) A world campaign of education for the uneducated colonial and other peoples.

(4) A world campaign to utilize all the resources of science, government and philanthropy to abolish poverty for all people in our time.

(5) Denial to the Union of South Africa to annex former German Southwest Africa because the South African treatment of native peoples is undemocratic and uncivilized.

(6) The restoration of Eritrea and Somaliland to Ethiopia and the withdrawal of British troops.

(7) Freedom and independence for Indonesia, India, Burma, Indo-China and Siam.

(8) Democracy for China.

(9) Withdrawal of recognition of Franco's Spain.

Ever sincerely

Secretary

20-3

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
c/o Mrs. William D. Sporborg
737 Park Avenue
New York, New York

WW:emw

COPY TO DR. DU BOIS

SPECIAL DELIVERY

December 28, 1945

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Just a few minutes after I had sent you a Special Delivery letter containing Dr. DuBois' and my suggestions, the following telegram came from Mrs. Bethune containing several excellent additional ideas:

"My suggestions for inclusion in letter follow:
First, Careful review concerning the establishment of the trusteeship system;
Second, One of the basic qualifications for employment on the UNO permanent secretariat should be sympathetic attitude toward and technical experience with the problems of racial minorities;
Third, Elimination of laws imposing race restrictions on migration and citizenship by several Latin American countries;
Fourth, Recommend to United Nations Educational and Cultural Organizations that Negroes be included among exchange students from Europe and other nations to be invited to attend Southern schools such as Fisk, Talladega, Atlanta University, etc."

Ever sincerely

Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
c/o Mrs. William D. Sporborg
737 Park Avenue
New York, New York

WW:emw

20-3

Date? [NAACP]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY COLONIES AND PEACE

Department of Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE OF THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE:

Enclosed is a draft for the proposed resolution. I have followed the four basic directives and expanded them by using the phraseology of various resolutions passed by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Council on African Affairs and the West Indies National Council. Will you please read the enclosed resolution and compare it with the directives and return it to me immediately with any comments or suggestions which you may have?

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-6-239

Mr. Maung Saw Tun
1668 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

Mr. Charles A. Petioni
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

Mr. Akiki Nyabongo
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Francis N. Nkrumah
Lincoln University
Chester County, Pennsylvania

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

Mr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Mr. Kumar Goshal
64 Poplar Street
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Mr. Julio Pinto Gandia
Secretary General of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico
Box 238
Madison Square Station
New York, N. Y.

Mr. John R. Andu
49 Clinton Street
Apartment 15
New York City 2

date? [NAACP]

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I am sending my report to the Board to Miss Diggs herewith. I am also enclosing my expense account for the San Francisco trip with vouchers. Two vouchers I sent you a week ago.

I sent the enclosed bill to Mr. Tierney, but have had no answer. Will you please bring this to his attention.

I expect to be in New York for good about June 19.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-3-22

[NAACP]

[?] 28, 1945

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I. I shall shift my things in my office so as to leave the desk and table clear for the Administrative Assistant. I cannot remove them for I have no place; and from time to time I shall have to consult the files and books.

2. Miss Diggs returns to work September I. However some time during September she may be sommoned to the University of Havana for her final examinations for the doctorate. She will be gone not less than a week nor more than a month. She would like leave of absence without pay during that period.

3. During her absense I would like to use the services of a clerk at 69 Fifth Avenue for transcribing dictograph rolls

20-18

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

32. 28. 40

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this Association shall be the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Any person may become and remain a member of this Association with the consent of the Board of Directors, by accepting membership in writing under and in accordance with this Constitution and by paying annually in advance a membership fee of at least One Dollar ($1.00).

2. The Board of Directors shall have power to create such classes of membership as it may deem desirable and may issue appropriate cer-

tificates of membership to persons entitled thereto.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The Association shall have a Board of Directors not exceeding forty-eight (48) members. The control and government of the Association shall be vested in the Board of Directors who shall exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the Association, except as otherwise specifically provided.

2. The present Directors shall continue to serve for the terms for which they were elected, and thereafter sixteen Directors shall be elected annually (by ballot by the Association) as hereinafter provided for a term of three years and until their successors are chosen. Any vacancy occurring during the year may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired term.

3. Election of Board of Directors: The said Association shall have a Nominating Committee consisting of seven (7) members of the Association; three (3) to be elected by the delegates to the annual convention; three (3) to be elected annually by the Board of Directors from its own members; and the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Nominating Committee shall submit to the Secretary not later than October 1 of each year nominations for all vacancies to be filled on the Board of Directors. The Secretary shall forthwith send to all branches and have published in the next issue of the Crisis, or other official organ of the Association, the said report of the Nominating Committee. In the event that no annual convention is held in any year the members elected by the convention delegates to the preceding annual conven-

tion shall serve on the Nominating Committee until the next annual convention.

Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty (30) members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Secretary not later than November 1 of each year. The Secretary shall send to each Branch of the Association, not later than November 15 of each year, a ballot containing the nominations of the Nominating Committee, plus the nominations by independent petition. Each Branch at its annual meeting shall by vote of the members present make its choices for members of the Board of Directors. The said choices shall be marked upon the ballot submitted by the Secretary and the said ballot shall be signed by the president and secretary of the Branch and must be returned to the national office not later than December 31 of each year. The said ballots shall be held by the Secretary in a safe place until the annual meeting.

32,28,41

At each annual meeting the said ballots shall be opened by a committee selected at said annual meeting and counted on the following basis:

	Members		Votes
Branches of from	50 to	100	2
	100	500	3
	500	1,000	4
	1,000	2,500	5
	2,500	5,000	6
	5,000	10,000	8
	10,000	20,000	9
over	20,000		10

Any ballot or ballots containing the name or names of any persons for election to the said Board not nominated in accordance with this Constitution shall be void.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

1. The officers of the Association shall consist of a President, Chairman of the Board of Directors, such vice-presidents as the Board of Directors may elect, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and such other officers as the Board of Directors from time to time may designate and elect. The said officers shall be elected by the Board of Directors as soon after the annual meeting as the new Board can conveniently convene for the purpose.

2. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be elected for a term of one year; all other officers shall be elected for a term of one year, unless the Board of Directors shall by resolution passed at the time of the particular election order otherwise. Any vacancy in office may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired term.

3. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Chairman of the Board of Directors shall take office immediately after their election, and they shall serve their respective terms of office computed from the day of said election or until their respective successors shall be elected and shall qualify.

4. The Board of Directors may from time to time employ such executive officers as it deems necessary.

ARTICLE IV

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

1. The President of the Association shall perform such functions and exercise such duties as may be voted by the Board of Directors. He shall preside at all meetings of the Association,

and in the absence of the Chairman of the Board, at all meetings of the Board of Directors. He shall be ex officio member of all committees.

2. The Vice-Presidents shall perform such functions and exercise such duties as may be voted by the Board of Directors.

3. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall hereafter between meetings of the Board have general control and supervision of the Association, with full authority over all officers and employees of the Association, subject to such limitations as the Board may from time to time impose. He shall preside at all meetings of the Board and shall appoint all committees of the Association not elected directly by the Board. He shall be ex officio member of all committees.

32.28.42

4. The treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Association and shall have general charge of its fiscal affairs. He shall receive regular reports on the finances of the Association from all divisions, branches, departments and bureaus thereof, and shall inspect the books and audit the accounts thereof, from time to time. He shall render to the Board of Directors at their regular meetings, or whenever they require, an account of his transactions as Treasurer and shall submit a report of the financial condition of the Association at its annual meeting.

5. The Secretary shall have charge of the general secretarial work of the Association. He shall coordinate and integrate the work of the several divisions, branches, departments, and bureaus, and shall aid and cooperate in the work of all committees. He shall submit reports to the Board at its regular meetings, or whenever it requires, covering the state of the Association and its activities since the date of his last report. He shall make an annual report cover-

ing the status of the Association and its activities. He shall perform such other functions and exercise such further duties as may be assigned him by the said Board.

6. In the absence of any officer or employee, or for any other reason that may be deemed sufficient, the Board of Directors may delegate such officer's or employee's powers and duties to any other officer or employee, or to any director for the time being.

ARTICLE V

COMMITTEES

1. The Board of Directors may create such standing or special committees in addition to those prescribed herein as it considers advisable to carry out any purposes connected with the work of the Association.

2. Salaried officers and staff members shall be eligible for committee assignment, except on committees dealing with personnel and employment.

ARTICLE VI

DIVISIONS, DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS

The Board of Directors shall have power to create from time to time such regional divisions and such departments or bureaus of the Association as it may deem advisable to carry out the objects for which the Association was created.

ARTICLE VII

BRANCHES

The Board of Directors may create Branches, Youth Councils, College Chapters, and such other units of the Association in such places and under such conditions as it sees fit. Each

of the above shall be administered under a charter granted to it by the National Board of Directors of the Association and in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws authorized by said Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

MEETINGS OF DIRECTORS

1. Regular meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held on the second Monday of each month unless such Monday be a holiday, in which event the meeting of that month shall be held on the first business day thereafter; except that the regular meeting in January in each year shall be held on the same day as the annual meeting.

2. A special meeting of the Board of Directors may be called by any officer of the Association upon the written request of any three (3) members of the Board. The object of such meeting shall be stated in the notice therefor and the business transacted in the meeting shall be limited to the object so stated.

3. The Secretary shall give the members of the Board seven (7) days notice in writing of its regular meetings and three (3) days notice of any special meeting of the Board.

4. Six (6) members of the Board shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except to adjourn.

ARTICLE IX

CONVENTIONS

The Association shall have an annual convention to be held at the time and place determined by the preceding convention. The annual convention of the Association shall have power to establish policies and programs of

32.28.43

action for the ensuing year. All actions of the convention on the question of policy and program, which are not contrary to this Constitution, shall be binding on the Board of Directors, officers, branches and other subordinate units of the Association except as hereinafter provided; no proposal for change of policy or program of action shall be in order unless it shall have been submitted by a branch in good standing to the Secretary at least sixty (60) days prior to the annual convention and published in the Bulletin or the Crisis prior to the annual convention; action of the convention pertaining to policy or program of action shall be valid only if passed during the last two days of the convention. All action of the convention on matters of policy and program of action shall be considered by the Board of Directors at its next regular meeting and if the Board expresses its disapproval by two-thirds vote of members of Board present and voting, the matter shall then be submitted to the branches for final action; each branch shall vote on said matter and notify the Secretary of such action within thirty days of receipt of same and action of branches shall be counted by the use of the scale of voting set out in Article II, Section 3.

2. Representation of Branches at the annual conventions shall be on the following basis:

	Members		Voting Delegates
Branches of from	50 to	100	2
	100	500	3
	500	1,000	4
	1,000	2,500	5
	2,500	5,000	6
	5,000	10,000	8
	10,000	20,000	9
over	20,000		10

Representation shall be on the basis of membership as recorded in the national office thirty (30) days prior to the opening date of each convention. All voting at conventions must be by delegates present and may not be exercised by proxy.

Each Branch is entitled to a number of alternate delegates equal to the number of voting delegates. Alternate delegates shall be permitted to vote in place of absent voting delegates.

3. Delegates to the annual convention shall be elected by the Branches at their regular monthly meetings prior to the convention.

4. Delegates must present to the convention a certificate of election as delegate signed by the president and secretary of the Branch. Blank forms for certificates and duplicate certificates must be furnished by the National Office. A duplicate of all such certificates must be returned to the national office and the original thereof presented to the convention.

5. **Convention Committees:** During the first regular session of the convention the following committees shall be elected by the delegates:

A. Resolutions
B. Credentials
C. Time and Place
D. Rules

A. The Committee on Resolutions: Shall take charge of all resolutions referred to them and report thereupon to the convention with proper recommendations.

B. The Committee on Credentials: Shall examine and report upon the credentials of all delegates to the convention.

C. The Committee on Time and Place: Shall take charge of all invitations for next annual

Dr. Du Bois

1945

[NAACP]

VACATION SCHEDULE
(Executives and Junior Executives)

Miss Baker	-	August 17-September 17.
Miss Baxter	-	August 16-September 16.
Miss Black	-	August
Mr. LeRoy Carter	-	August 27-September 4.
Mr. Robert Carter	-	August 3-24.
Dr. Du Bois	-	August 6-18.
Mr. Dudley	-	August 20-September 10.
Miss Freeland	-	September 24-October 8.
Mr. Griffin	-	(To take vacation after Mrs. Nance begins work with his office.)
Mrs. Hurley	-	August 15-September 15.
Miss Jensen	-	August 1-September 1.
Mr. Donald Jones	-	July 23-August 23.
Mr. Marshall	-	July 16-August 16.
Miss Peyser	-	July 2-16.
Mr. Taylor	-	June 1-July 1.
Mrs. Waring	-	(To take one week after the Assistant Bookkeeper is trained.)
Mr. White	-	
Mr. Wilkins	-	September 15-October 15.
Miss Randolph	-	August 13-27.
Mr. Dedmon	-	August 10-17 (8 days).
Mr. Perry	-	August 20-September 4, inclusive.

20-12

CTF

[NAACP- Alameda County, California]

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
BUELL G. GALLAGHER

April 2, 1945

20-2-1-51

Doctor W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The fact that I write to you rather than telegraphing is not an index of a lack of urgency or of importance in the matter I am placing before you. It is rather due to the present uncertainty of the San Francisco Conference and my hope that by the time this letter reaches you, the uncertainty will have been removed.

If the San Francisco meetings go ahead as now sheduled, the Alameda County Chapter of the NAACP wishes to present you as a speaker for a mass meeting on the afternoon of Sunday, April 29th. John Foster Dulles is scheduled to speak on the afternoon of April 22nd at a meeting sponsored by the Churches of the area. It is our desire to make sure that the point of view which is covered by none as well as by yourself receives adequate public statement in connection with the San Francisco meetings.

If by any chance the meetings now set to open on April 25th should be postponed, we should wish to make coresponding adjustments on the date of this public meeting to meet your convenience.

What I am writing now to ask is; will you consent to address this mass meeting on the 29th of April on "Color, Colonies, and World Peace" or on some similar topic of your own selection? I should appreciate a collect telegram from you.

May I add that my enthusiasm is not diminished by the probability that I might have a little time with you informally on the side.

Very cordially yours,

Buell G. Gallagher

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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WU A28 NL PD=BERKELEY CALIF APR 8 [NAACP-Alameda County, California]

W E B DUBOIS=

:NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

AS I WROTE YOU LAST WEEK THE ALAMEDA COUNTY CHAPTER URGENTLY DESIRES TO PRESENT YOU AT MASS MEETING SUNDAY AFTERNOON APRIL 29 IN OAKLAND MAY WE EXPECT YOU TELEGRAPHIC REPLY APPRECIATED=

:BUELL GALLAGHER.29.947A. APR 9.

APR 9 1945

Dr Dub

Ret Journal Telegram

20-21-52

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NAACP - Alameda County]

Charge to the account of $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

9 April 1945

20-21-53

night letter
charge to NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Pacific School of Religion
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

HAVE PROMISED THE ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY TO SPEAK IN OAKLAND THE THIRTIETH stop PLEASE CONSULT THEM stop IF SPEAKING FOR YOU THE TWENTY-NINTH DOES NOT CONFLICT AM WILLING stop BOTH ENGAGEMENTS ARE CONTIGENT UPON MY BEING ALL WED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO TRAVEL TO SAN FRANCISCO.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP - Alameda County]

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WUA162 10=BERKELEY CALIF APR 18 1027A

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:NAACP=

=ARRANGEMENTS COMPLETED FOR YOUR ADDRESS APRIL TWENTY NINTH AFTERNOON WRITING=

:BUELL GALLAGHER. 201P..

2:01 PM APR 18 1945

D (CT)

Ke Town Telegram

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NAACP- Alameda County]

20-21-42

May 11, 1945

Rev. Buell G. Gallagher
1798 Scenic Ave
Berkeley

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

As I have not heard from the Alameda Branch may I suggest that $50.00 would be a fair contribution toward my expenses for the lecture here April 29th?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[c. MAY 1945]
[NAACP - Alameda County]

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
BUELL G. GALLAGHER

20-21-43

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We shall, of course, make at least a $50 contribution to the Secretarial expenses in lieu of a fee to you. I am waiting for the monthly meeting of the Executive Committee on the 21st, and your check will come soon after that.

The meeting was exactly what I had hoped for — and a noticeable contribution to the development of thought in this area.

Ever,

Buell Gallagher

[NAACP- Alameda County, California]

20-21-44

May 24, 1945

Dr. Buell Gallagher
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

I have not heard from the Oakland Branch and am leaving Saturday.

My address will be 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Greetings!

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[NAACP - Alameda County]

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
BUELL G. GALLAGHER

June 7th, 1945

lectures

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

If the check has not reached you by now, please let me know. I am sufficiently embarrassed by the delay of my colleagues in the Alameda County Branch, and do not wish that embarrassment to increase!

The meeting which you addressed was, I am told, the most "successful" meeting "this Branch has ever had." From the standpoint of a critical appraisal of the quality of the address, I can certainly say it was a highly useful afternoon for us.

I am now reading "Color and Democracy." I particularly like your handling of Russians. With real gratitude for your courtesy in addressing the Branch here, I am

Yours,

Buell Gallagher

20-7-55

[NAACP - Alameda County]

May 30, 1945

Mr. C. L. Dellums
The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California

20-7-57

Dear C.L.,

At the Executive committee meeting a week ago, the Treasurer of the Alameda County Chapter of N.A.A.C.P. was authorized to send a check for $75.00 to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in San Francisco as a contribution toward the expenses of secretarial help for our consultants at the San Francisco Conference, in lieu of a fee for his lecture on April 29th.

For all I know, the check has been mailed, however, a letter from Dr. DuBois, written on May 24th, says that he has not yet heard from our treasurer and that he was leaving for New York on Saturday the 26th.

Since I do not have the address of our treasurer, I am asking you to forward this letter at once to her so that the check may be mailed to Dr. Du Bois at 69 5th Avenue, New York City. Or, if it was mailed to him at the Saint Francis Drake Hotel, I would suggest that the treasurer might address a letter to the Mail Clerk at the hotel to make sure that the letter is not lost in a pigeon hole.

Yours ever,

July 20, 1945

20-2-56

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

I am venturing to write this just because you were anxious to have me let you know.

I have received no check from the Alameda County Branch. This makes no particular difference to me personally because I have been paid by the National Office for my secretarial expense and when the check comes I shall turn it over to them because they had to pay out a good deal for secretaries at San Francisco.

I wish you all success.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Buell Gallagher
Pacific School of Religion
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

[NAACP - Alameda County]

1210 Excelsior Avenue
Oakland 10, 1945
July 20, 1945

20-23-42

Dr. W.E.DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed check for $75.00 is a token of appreciation from the Oakland, California Branch for the address which you delivered for us at the University High School during the United Nations Conference.

Again we thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Ida L. Jackson
by WB

Ida L. Jackson

Used for
news 55
W 42

[NAACP - Alameda County]

Lectures

August 6, 1945.

Miss Ida Jackson,
1210 Excelsior Avenue,
Oakland, California.

Dear Miss Jackson:

I am still on the trail of the elusive check for Dr. DuBois' address to the Alameda County Chapter of the NAACP.

Mr. Dellums tells me that the check was drawn, and handed to you for mailing to Dr. DuBois at the New York office, 69 Fifth Avenue. I am wondering whether his memory is correct, and if so, whether the check was actually mailed. A letter to me from Dr. DuBois on July 20th indicates that at that time he had not received the check. Can you help me?

I only learned last week that you were out of town, and that there is some possibility that you may not be returning to these parts. I hope my information on this latter point is incorrect!

Cordially,

Dr. DuBois:

It does make a difference to me! If by any chance the check comes through, please let me know. I am chagrinned, and not a little piqued over the delay.

[NAACP - Alameda County]

August 23, 1945

20-7-54

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

The check is here. Thank you!

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Buell Gallagher
Pacific School of Religion
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley, California

[NAACP-Chicago]

20-2-21

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A. N. WILLIAMS
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WU A22 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL MAY 16

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE N A A C P

:CITY WIDE COMMITTEE AND N A A C P DESIRE YOU TO SPEAK AT MASS MEETING IN CHICAGO 3 OCLOCK SUNDAY AFTERNOON JUNE 10TH AT PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH STOP SUBJECT YOUR APPRAISAL OF SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE AND THE FUTURE OF DARKER RACES WITH PARTICULAR OBSERVATION ON NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES STOP PLEASE WIRE YOUR ANSWER COLLECT AND INDICATE OBLIGATION TO BE MET BY US ACCORDINGLY=

CHICAGO BRANCH N A A C P
3456 S STATE ST.

923A MAY 17.

VRD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCE

N A A C P 3 10TH .

[NAACP - Chicago]

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CA763 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 16

1945 MAY 16 PM 5 24

DR W E B DU BOIS=

918 ST FRANCIS DRAKE HOTEL SFRAN=

CITY WIDE COMMITTEE AND N A A C P DESIRE YOU TO SPEAK AT MASS MEETING IN CHICAGO 3 OCLOCK SUNDAY AFTERNOON JUNE 10TH AT PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH STOP SUBJECT. YOUR APPRAISAL OF SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE AND THE FUTURE OF DARKER RACES WITH PARTICULAR OBSERVATION ON NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES STOP PLEASE WIRE YOUR ANSWER COLLECT AND INDICATE OBLIGATION TO BE MET BY US ACCORDINGLY=

CHICAGO BRANCH N A A C P 3456 S STATE ST=

Calumet 2780

N A A C P 3 10 3456

APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NAACP - Chicago]

20-21-33

NIGHT LETTER

May 16, 1945

Oscar C. Brown
President NAACP
3456 So. State St.
Chicago, Illinois

SPEAKING MAY 28th IN D NVER. MIGHT SPEAK FOR YOU JUNE THIRD.

LETTER FOLLOWS

W.E.B. DUBOIS
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HOTEL

[NAACP - Chicago]

Calumet 2780
Victory 5723

May 16, 1945

20-24-30

Mr. Oscar C. Brown
3456 South State Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Brown:

I have a memorandum from Mr. White saying you would like me to speak May 28th on "Restrictive Race Covenants".

On May 28th I ams peaking at Denver and therefore could not accommodate you. Moreover, I am not an expert in law and could not attempt to speak intelligently on Restrictive Covenants.

I could speak for you June 3rd on "The Results at San Francisco". You will understand that I am not one of the Field Staff of the NAACP and am employed in a Special Department. I make my own lecture arrangements. My fee for lecturing June 3rd would be $100.00.

I can be reached here at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel until May 27th.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[NAACP - Chicago]

CHICAGO BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

3456 SOUTH STATE STREET — CALUMET 2780 — CHICAGO 16

AIR MAIL

May 19, 1945

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Executive Secretary

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20-24-31

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have your letter of May 16 regarding your inability to be in Chicago for May 28th. You have already agreed to be in Chicago for the Address at Pilgrim Baptist Church on Sunday afternoon, June 3rd. We are looking forward to this address and we are sure that you will have an unthusiastic audience. We are prepared to pay the $100.00 fee which you indicated.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar C. Brown

Oscar C. Brown
President

OCB:H

[NAACP-Chicago]

5 June 1945

20-24-17

My dear Mr. Brown:

I want to thank you so much for your cooperation in the city-wide meeting at Dr. Austin's church. I enjoyed the audience very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oscar C. Brown
NAACP
3456 South State Street
Chicago, Illinois

[NAACP - Corpus Christi]

DR. H. BOYD HALL, PRESIDENT
722 ARTESIAN ST., PHONE 9724

H. B. DAVIS, SR., SECRETARY
1012 CHIPITO ST., PHONE 5779

MRS. J. K. KUYKENDALL, TREAS.
REV. SIDNEY R. SMITH, ASS'T SEC'Y

CORPUS CHRISTI BRANCH OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS

March 12, 1945

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1ST. VICE PRESIDENT

REV. I. V. JONES,
2ND VICE PRESIDENT

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o 69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

20-10-24

We would like to have your appear in our city at some time this spring. Please let us know if and when this would be possible. Let us know also what you would want for your services.

We here are great admirers of ~~what~~ your works and the things you have stood for. We believe that your appearance here would be a great asset to this community.

Yours very sincerely,

H. Boyd Hall, D.D.S.
H. Boyd Hall, D. D. S.

HBH:MV

There is a destiny that makes us brothers
None goes his way alone
All that we send into the lives of others
Comes back into our own.

[NAACP - Corpus Christi]

23 March 1945

20-10-25

My dear Mr. Hall:

I appreciate your kind invitation but I see no way for me to visit Corpus Christi this year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. H. Boyd Hall
NAACP
722 Artesian Street
Corpus Christi, Texas

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

(N. A. A. C. P.)
DETROIT OFFICE
606 EAST VERNOR HIGHWAY
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

RAndolph 6262

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MRS. L. W. TYRELL

ANDREW W. L. BROWN
(Armed Forces)

May
tenth
1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Researsh N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York , New York

My dear Mr. DuBois:

A committee representing a wide cross-section of the community is presenting Dr. James J, McClendon, president of the Detroit Branch, N. A. A. C. P., with a testimonial banquet on Wednesday, May 23, at the Lucy Thurman Y. W. C. A. Dr. McClendon has been president of the Detroit Branch, N. A. A. C. P. since 1938. During that time and through his leadership, the Branch has grown from three thousand to twenty-five thousand members, and has come to be one of the leading community organizations in Detroit for better race relations.

A leather-bound booklet containing greetings from community leaders and friends of Dr. McClendon throughout the country will be presented to him on that occasion.

We would like to request that you send your personal greetings (by letter) to Dr. McClendon in order that we may include it in the presentation booklet. Address communications to 606 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit, 1, Michigan. Since the time is short, we are asking that these greetings be in our hands no later than May 21. An immediate reply will be appreciated.

We will sincerely appreciate your cooperation in assisting us to make this testimonial a success.

Very truly yours,

Ira W. Jaynes
For the Committee

IWJ:ltc

[NAACP - Detroit]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

(N. A. A. C. P.)
DETROIT OFFICE
606 EAST VERNOR HIGHWAY
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN
RAndolph 6262

Lectures

20-7-1

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(Armed Forces)

May 25, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Director, Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear doctor Dubois:

The Detroit Branch NAACP is in the midst of its membership drive which closes on June 18. What is the possibility of securing you for a mass meeting either on Sunday, June 10th or June 17th to speak on the San Francisco Conference and the question of Colonies?

There are a number of interracial groups and peace study groups who would help the NAACP interest, white people as well as our own members in attending. Your coming will greatly help our membership campaign as well as get before the Detroit people the association's views on world security for subjugated peoples. If you cannot come for a mass meeting on Sunday we could even arrange one during the week on some date convenient with you. If you come during the week we would like to use you twice, say for a luncheon engagement at one of the downtown hotels and have an evening mass meeting for our general membership. Please answer immediately as to what is preferable to you in accordance with your schedule en-route to the east or dates available.

If there is any honorarium for such services, please so state. We sincerely hope that you will be able to appear for the Detroit Branch.

Very truly yours,

GBC/lmg

Gloster B. Current
Executive Secretary
Detroit Branch, NAACP

[NAACP- DETROIT BRANCH]

20-12-13

28 May 1945

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of May 25 addressed to Dr. Du Bois, please permit me to say that Dr. Du Bois is enroute from San Francisco to New York but because of Lectures will not arrive until June fifth. I may say, however, that he has lecture engagements on the sixth and twelfth of June which I am reasonably sure would prevent him from speaking in Detroit on either June tenth or seventeenth. Nevertheless, your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his arrival in New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Gloster B. Current
Detroit Branch, NAACP
606 East Vernor Highway
Detroit 1, Michigan

[NAACP GREAT NECK]

MRS. NORMAN STERN
77 FAIRVIEW AVENUE
GREAT NECK, N. Y.

20-21-12

June 12, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The Great Neck, L.I. branch of the N.A.A.C.P. is having a series of lectures, starting Oct. 11, on the subject of The Negro's Struggle For Freedom.

We expect to sell at least 400 series, & to have a large & mixed audience at the St. Paul's Episcopal Parish House.

The proceeds will go to the Negro College Fund, after N.A.A.C.P. expenses are deducted. We can afford to pay our speakers & so are seeking outstanding specialists in each field.

We very much hope that you can initiate the series on Thursday Oct. 11, at 8:45 P.M. The topic for the first speaker will cover the Colonial Period upto the Civil War. If we are fortunate enough to have you come, I know that the problems of the past will be related to the colonial questions of to-day.

MRS. NORMAN STERN
77 FAIRVIEW AVENUE
GREAT NECK, N. Y.

20-21-13

I'll call you at the N.A.A.C.P. office next week.

Sincerely yours,
Ruth W. Stern

[NAACP - Los Angeles]

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1105 EAST VERNON AVENUE LOS ANGELES 11, CALIF.
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April 24, 1945

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
% Mr. Noah W. Griffin
12 Geary St.
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Wilkins advised that we write to you regarding the definite time that you could speak at a meeting for us during the month of May.

We are anxious to know as soon as possible when you can come so that we can make arrangements for the meeting.

We are eagerly anticipating the opportunity of having you with us again.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.

20-24-9

[NAACP-Los Angeles]

20-24-10

April 28, 1945

Mr. Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
President, Los Angeles N.A.A.C.P.
1105 East Vernon Avenue
Los Angeles 11, California

My dear Mr. Griffith:

I could I think come to Los Angeles for a talk the week of May 13. I should have to charge you for my expenses and also I think a part of the load of clerical service here should go to California rather than to New York but we can take up that matter.

Let me know if that week will suit you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. D. Du Bois

[NAACP - Los Angeles]

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NITA BLACKWELL

April 30th,
1
9
4
5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for accepting the invitation of the Los Angeles Branch to be with us on Sunday, May 13th. The meeting will be held on that date at 8 P. M. at the Second Baptist Church. Since that Sunday is Mother's Day, we felt it would be wiser to schedule the meeting at night rather than in the afternoon.

We will gladly pay your expense, and I will look forward to talking with you about the clerical services you mention in your letter of April 28th. Would you be kind enough to send us a photograph of yourself or some mats, and also the subject of your address for the purpose of publicity. If this can be done at once, we will properly prepare the releases in due time for the papers.

Yours truly,

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.

TLG:lt

[NAACP-Los Angeles]

May 2, 1945

20-24-12

Mr. Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
President, Los Angeles NAACP
1105 East Vernon Avenue
Los Angeles 11, California

My dear Mr. Griffith:

I will speak for you Sunday, May 13th, coming down on the 12th.

I think Dr. Somerville is expecting me to stop with her. Will you get in touch with her to see if that is all right?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[NAACP-Los Angeles]

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20-24-13

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May 7, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Hotel Sir Francis Drake
Room 918
San Francisco, 1, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have cleared with Dr. Somerville and they will be expecting you on May 12th.

We are giving wide publicity to our meeting on May 13th and expect a large attendance. Everyone is anxious to hear you.

We shall be glad to meet you if you let us know what time Saturday you are arriving.

Sincerely yours,
Thomas L. Griffith, Jr. per N.B.
Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.

[NAACP - Los Angeles]

20-24-14

May 16, 1945

Mr. Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.,
1105 East Vernon Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Griffith:

I want to thank you very much for the splendid audience which you furnished.

I think that $75.00 would be a fair compensation for my services including travel and part of the office expense.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel

[NAACP - Los Angeles]

20-24-15

May 24, 1945

Mr. Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
President
NAACP
1105 East Vernon Avenue
Los Angeles 11, California

Dear Mr. Griffith:

I have not heard from the Los Angeles Branch. I am leaving Saturday.

My address will be 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

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20-2-44

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June 2nd
1
9
4
5

Features

W. E. B. DuBois, Director, Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By this time, I hope you have received the $75.00 check payable to you from the Los Angeles Branch. It was mailed May 24th, 1945, to you at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco, California. If for any reason you have not received it, will you please let us hear from you.

Yours truly,

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.

TLG:lt

[NAACP - NEW BRITAIN BRANCH]

Charles S. Moorehead, Pres.
Franklin R. McDew, V. Pres.

Mrs. Mary P. Thompson, Sec'y
Mrs. Meana L. McDew, Treas.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE

NEW BRITAIN, • CONNECTICUT

July - 31st - 1945

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
166 West 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I was again reading your column of June 30th in the Chicago Defender, and wished so much that it had been a front page head line in all our papers.

I have reread "Dusk of Dawn" three times in fact most all of your books, and articles of 1934 from Germany thru the far east with much thought and wish each day that it will be possible for you to carry your program there the

20-5-71

column of the Bulletin, since the N.A.A.C.P., has a large membership at this time, but needs to enlarge its program in an economic project for the masses along with the defense.

I feel there can be some young qualified people, to carry on the pioneering work that you suggested June 30th. if they are educated to such a program. Some N.Y.A. Workers here told me that no one had ever talked to them in that way when I spoke to them of preparation for work in Africa, there is a glorious opportunity open to us, however leadership must come from a reliable national organization.

The Pan-African Conference

20-5-72

revived will be a great accomplishment for us - whether some of our leading people want to believe it; our problem will never be settled here until Africa comes back to her glorious past.

We would like to have you come and speak to us on World affairs and our place in it. What is your fee?

Let me extend a few flowers to you while you can hear it for your uncompromising life work of militancy and research in the Sociological field, that means so much to us, to have the true historical records of our glorious African background reconstruction period. Here I see the foundation laid for your objectives - may you be blessed to see

Sincerely
Thompson

20-5-73

[NAACP - New York]

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20-7-67

September 7, 1945

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At the present time the New York Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. is planning a dinner to be held on Saturday evening, October 13, 1945, at the Grand Street Boys' Association, 106 W. 55 St. This dinner will launch our membership campaign on a city-wide basis.

Because of your long years of service to the Association and your intimate knowledge of social and economic conditions, especially in reference to the darker races of the world, we are inviting you to be the principal speaker for this occasion.

I will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience as to whether you will be able to accept this invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

James Egert Allen

James E. Allen
Vice-President

[NAACP - New York]

September 14, 1945

20-7-68

Mr. James E. Allen
New York Branch
N. A. A. C. P.
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York 30, New York

My dear Mr. Allen:

I would be glad to speak for your meeting October 13th but unless my present plans fail, I shall at that time be in London attending the Pan African Congress. In case I do not go, I will write you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:jd

[NAACP- Omaha]

PHONES: WE. 2349
AT. 9477

H. J. PINKETT
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW
409 ARTHUR BUILDING OR
2314 NORTH 24TH STREET
OMAHA, NEBRASKA

May 6, 1945.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

20-10-47

Will it be possible for you to come to Omaha for a lecture under the auspices of the Omaha Branch of the NAACP? If so, when? Please state terms and conditions. We are prepared to pay reasonable lecture fee.

Hope things are going in the right direction at the Conference.

Will appreciate an early answer.

Sincerely,

H. J. Pinkett.

Carbon sheet for you

PHONES: WE. 2349
AT. 9477

[NAACP-Omaha]

H. J. PINKETT
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW
409 ARTHUR BUILDING OR
2314 NORTH 24TH STREET
OMAHA, NEBRASKA

May 16, 1945.

20-21-30

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your telegram was received and presented to the Executive Committee of the Omaha Branch of the NAACP. The Committee decided that the time is too short for a successful meeting. Therefore, you are advised that we cannot have you here for a lecture at this time, May 30th, but wish to have you come in September or October of this year. Please advise us of dates in either of those months when we may have you come.

My Grand Niece, whom you met here in 1943 is now living in California with her mother. She wrote me she would try and get to see you. It seems that she told her classmates in High School there that she knew you and that you "had been a guest in our home" and they did not believe her.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. Pinkett.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Sir Francis Drake Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People • San Francisco Branch

1865 PINE STREET SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA PROSPECT 0777

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Executive Secretary

54-12-02

April 19, 1945

Lectures

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Mrs. Willa Evans
575 - 24th avenue
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The San Francisco branch of the N. A. A. C. P. is indeed happy to know that you will represent our national body as an observer to the United Nations Conference. May we then, add an expression of confidence from our branch in your representation as well as a word of welcome to the city of San Francisco !!!

We would like to extend, again, an invitation to you to be our guest speaker at the regular monthly public meeting of the San Francisco branch ~~with~~ which will be held on Sunday ~~M~~May 20th, at 3 o'clock. We are aware of your many responsibilities as observer to the conference. At the same time, we are also aware of the tremendous contribution that you can make to our membership in sharing with them your conference experiences and in stimulating critical thinking on their part, in respect to the agreements that may possibly develop out of the United Nations Conference and their significance to minorities. It is for this reason that we make this added demand on your time.

May 20

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience, in order that we may begin immediately on our publicity for the meeting. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Again, our sincerest welcome to San Francisco!!!

Sincerely,

Helen Edna Williams

Helen Edna Williams, Chairman
Education Committee
N.A.A.C.P., San Francisco branch

[NAACP - San Francisco]

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WESTERN UNION

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1201

SYMBOLS

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LD259KV DL PAID (VIA KR VIA FH)

SANFRANCISCO CALIF 415P APR 28 1945

A E B DUBOISE 2066 PINE ST

NATIONAL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE SFRAN

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE INVITE YOU BE PRESENT AT LARGE MASS MEETING SUNDAY APRIL 29 8 PM CIVIC AUDITORIUM IN HONOR DELEGATIONS CONFERENCE PROGRAM. INCLUDES CHARLES BOYER ORSON WELLS WALTER WINCHELL CLARK EICHELBERGER PHILLIP MURRAY AND BRIEF MESSAGES FROM DELEGATES THIS TELEGRAM WILL ADMIT YOU TO SEAT IN RESERVED SECTION. PLEASE TELEPHONE YOUR ACCEPTANCE SUTTER 1618

FLORENCE BORDEN HARRIMAN CHAIRMAN

26-21-63

948P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NAACP SAN FRANCISCO]

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People • San Francisco Branch

1865 PINE STREET SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA PROSPECT 0777

June 22, 1945

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Treasurer

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69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 3, N. Y.

WALTER WHITE
Executive Secretary

20-15-62

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Office--NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the News Features Syndicate Co., Inc. concerning a particularly vicious comic strip that has been appearing in the Sunday "Chronicle" here.

Because this thing has national circulation and particularly because I know the National Office has been conducting, over a long period of time, an inquiry into things of this sort, I thought it wise to acquaint you with my action.

Another copy of this letter is going, in the same mail, to Miss June Blythe, Public Relations Director for the American Council on Race Relations, who has been working directly on the comic strip syndicates from the race relations viewpoint. Likewise, the San Francisco "Chronicle" managing editor has been notified of this action, and he has a copy of the enclosed letter.

I am looking forward to the time when you will again be our guest. It is my pleasure to wish you good health and continued success in your noble work.

Yours most sincerely,

Joseph James

JOSEPH JAMES

[NAACP- SAN FRANCISCO]

July 11, 1945

My dear Mr. James:

I have your letter of June 22nd. I remember your hospitality with pleasure while I was in San Francisco.

Thank you for the evidence of your activities.

My best wishes to you and Mrs. James.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

20-15-03

Mr. Joseph James
President, NAACP
1865 Pine Street
San Francisco 9, California

P.O. Box 4
Wilberforce, Ohio
July 30, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
% The Crisis
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New Yor 3, N. Y.

V. I. C.

Strictly Personal

20-14-41

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

For several months I wanted to write to you, encouraged as I was to do so ever since I met the Smythes. Nevertheless, I did not have the courage to approach you since you had turned me down once. Since then some new developments have taken place and I felt that you might be tempted to succumb to my appeal if I narrate some of these developments to you.

The latest one will be self-eloquent when you read the enclosed letter to the Members of the Boards of Trustees of the Tennessee A & I State College. The incident floored me for a while, but I have regained faith again. Last year, Dr. Wesley had recommended me as assistant to the dean of the two colleges, and, of course, I was voted down. Among other things I was accused of being unChristian, and the foreign born question also came up. The Quarterly is going on tho I get discouraged since no one is able to see its potential usefulness as well as growhh and I am starved for any secretarial help. Out of it all, I have developed the philosophy of mak-ing the best of the situation.

I have been called a "Pocket Edition of Du Bois." That is thrown at me by your enemies as an insult to me and to you also indirectly, but I always feel flattered by the allusion, regretting, of course, that I am not half as smart and half as hardworking asyou are. Sometimes, I do think that I might be, after all, a pocket edition of you, and if I am, you are just the person to whom I could approach again inspite of an earlier refusal.

I have just realized that I must write at least a book, tho I have now three in mind. The first one is about Negro business. A few chapters of this were written some time ago and since the close of the Summer school I reread them which resulted in my conviction that the book ought to be published, even if I had to do myself. The Antioch Press will take this. Now, there comes the question of writing the preface, and try as I might, I do not see any one that can do it as well, or that has a moral right to do it from all angles, as you have. The book has no racial angles in it, but the Negro business men will not like it. I have completely ignored the philosophy of Dale Carnegie on "How to Influence People and Win Friends." I am anxious to tell the truth as I see it.

The chapter on Brief History of Negro Business is ready in its final form. Incidentally, I read your notes on Negro business in several issues of the Crisis and I cannot see why you could not write even a two page preface without feeling that it will not help the sale of the book. After all, that is not the purpose of the book. I have no illu-

sions on that score. Even Bond's book on Negro education was a financial loss to the publishers.

All I want you to do is write at least two pages and give to me your concrete blessing. Since you believe in maintaing your right to express yourself, I am sure you will grant a similar one to me in the event you decide to write the preface and want, therefore, to read the manuscript in whole or in part.

20-14-42

The Chapter on Negro Newspapers as a Business Venture is also ready and I am now writing on the National Negro Business League.

The other chapters are:

Insuranceand Banking
Other Types of Successful Business Ventures
Some Successful Negro Business Men
Business Education in Negro Colleges
Social and Economic Development of the Negro

I am writing today to the University of North Carolina Press asking the publisher if he would want to undertake the publication of this book. I feel certain that he will do so if you write the Preface or Foreword. ~~or if he does not, because of you, I don't care to have him is published there.~~ It is my intention to dedicate the book to Dr. Wesley who is doing his best to bring the school to its logical position. I admire him thoroly, and my only serious disagreement with him is that he tries to please every one and hates to hurt people and antagonize those in power. The unfortunate part of it is, that he loses, even then, as must be evident to all those who witness the recent fight between him and the board. Frankly, I do not know what the future for Wilberforce is. If it was just the death of one man, it would be different, but the death of a system is hard since a system seems to have a perpetual life and breeds its own evil successors. Attempts have been made each year to get rid of me and that has dampened my enthusiasm a great deal, but the whole western world is so rotten that I have made up my mind to stick here and be buried here when my time comes with the feeling that I have done my part.

Excuse this rambling. I miss your notes on the World Events in the Phylon and especially those on Africa and India. Last year I had a run in with Ira De August Reid. My election at Tennessee State and at Fisk was blocked, I believe, by Negro Business Men and possibly the A.U. crowd. And it is once more the repetition of the same old story.

Mrs. Holland is in Xenia attending her sick mother and complaining her sad fate as we all seem to be doing in one shape or form. She made a very splendid record at Southern and Delaware State. Of course, she still loves the British with all her heart and could not accept my candy when I told her I was celebrating the die-hard Britsh Impreialist's defeat in not winning the prime minister's seat back.

With best wishes and with hopes of getting favorable reposne to this letter. (I donot see how you will have the heart to give any other types of reply), I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

V. V. Oak

20-14-43

31 August 1945

My dear Mr. Oak:

You must pardon me for not answering sooner your letter of July 30, but I was dead tired at the time and left the next week for two weeks complete rest in a Maine camp. I feel quite like new and am now attacking my correspondence.

First with regard to your book. The difficulty with my sponsoring any treatise on Negro business is that as a socialist for over a generation I do not believe in the fundamental profit philosophy of retail business and anything that I would write would either be too vague to be of any use or would contradict the main thesis of the book.

Secondly, with regard to Tennessee A and I State College, I am sorry that you did not get an opportunity to go there and at the same time it may be a blessing in disguise. The new man has a chance to do something for the school but as the school was run under the last president it was simply a matter of excellent buildings without spiritual content.

I am sorry not to be of more use to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. V. V. Oak
P. O. Box 4
Wilberforce, Ohio

500 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

March 23, 1945.

Dr. W.E.Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P
60 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

20-4-165

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your kind invitation to the Colonial Conference which you scheduled for April 6. I shall make every effort to be there, but, in view of the nearness of the date of this Conference, I cannot promise any material contribution to your program.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Nnodu J. Okongwu

20-4-166

28 March 1945

My dear Mr. Okongwu:

I hope you will be sure to attend the Colonial Conference, April sixth, and that you will bring a short written statement of the essential facts concerning present conditions in Nigeria. This will be of great assistance to us. It can be read in whole or in part.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Nnodu J. Okongwu
International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

COPY [FROM OLUANDE]

Makerere College,
P.O. Box 262,
Kampala,
Uganda,
14th October, 1945.

T.R. Batten, Esq.,
The Vice - Principal(and Senior Tutor in Social Studies),
Makerere College,
Kampala, Uganda.

42-8-273

Sir,

I respectfully beg to apply to be allowed to take Sociology for my Professional Course instead of Medicine.

My interest - as you might have noticed since the beginning of this year - has been enormously concentrated on Social Studies. I did not force this interest. I just followed my conscience. Your arguments about African poverty, backwardness and the obstacles which hinder African progress, have all conclusively convinced me of the immense task that faces the few African youths that the poor masses are educating.

Through Social Studies, I have learnt that there is still a lot which is not known about the African Society: the past and present; the customs and so on. It is this lack of knowledge that is one of the greatest obstacles to our progress.

I therefore offer myself to be a whole time Social Scientist in order to obtain some of this lacking information. If my work is to serve its purpose, I must be fully equiped with proper professional knowledge and technique, so that I can both secure the information and interpret it properly.

In short, it is for the immense Social importance of, and my enormous interest in the work, that I apply to change my course.

I have no doubt that you will consider this sincere petition sympathetically. After all "where there's a will there's a way".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours faithfully,

B.F.F. OLUANDE.

.....

Ref. No. P.104/46

Mr. B.F.F. Oluande,
C/O Hon. Mrs. E.L. Grant,
Gikammeh,
NJORO, KENYA.

MAKERERE COLLEGE,
P.O. Box 262,
KAMPALA, UGANDA.
18th January, 1946.

My dear Oluande,

I am very glad to be able to tell you that I have to-day heard from the Kenya Government to the effect that the College application for you to be allowed to take a two-year Course of Sociology at the College has been approved. I know that this will please you. I shall forward to seeing you next term.

Please give my very kind regards to Mrs. Grant.

Yours sincerely,
T.R. Batten
Ag. Principal.

Note: This letter was sent to me at Mrs. Grant's farm where I was working for pocket money during the long vacation.

[1945?]

ONE WORLD CITIZENS' LEAGUE

425 EAST 86th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Tel. SA. 2-4630

20-4-83

WHAT IS IT?

1. A membership organization of citizens of various countries, viz—The United States, Great Britain, China, India, Korea, Puerto Rico, Indonesia, Africa, etc.

2. A memorial to the late World Citizen Wendell Willkie, in appreciation of his great devotion to the philosophy of "One World."

WHY IS IT NEEDED?

1. To bring about a better understanding between the various peoples of the world.

2. To help unite citizens of various countries to work for the recognition of the basic human rights of all peoples.

3. To represent to the governments of the United Nations the aspirations and needs of their citizens.

4. To cooperate with the governments of the United Nations in winning the war as well as the peace through democratic channels.

WHAT DOES IT STAND FOR?

1. Removal of imperialism, exploitation, racial discrimination, aggression and power politics.
2. Balanced migration for all peoples on functional basis—not racial or national.
3. Freedom of worship, trade and culture for all peoples.
4. Equitable economic opportunity for all peoples.
5. Creation of a world public conscience to protect the basic human rights of all peoples.

PROGRAM OF WORK

1. Research and circulation of news through releases, articles, pamphlets and books, etc.
2. Conferences, institutes, classes, seminars and mass meetings.
3. Appropriate individual and group social action through democratic channels to attain the objectives of the League.
4. International exchange of students, lecturers and scholars.

ORGANIZATIONAL

The One World Citizens' League has a Working Committee, consisting of nationals of various countries, which is responsible for the conduct of its work.

c. April 1945?

12 East 97th Street
New York

My dear Dr Du Bois,

I had a call yesterday from a Mr Kennedy who is , to qote him, "preparing a statement about the participation of people affiliated with settlementsin the interracial movement." He was most interesting to me to talk with for he was one of the young men whom Robert Woods got hold of when he was leading the settlement movement in Boston. Of course we got on the race question and I found he knew much about it and that he had a gret desire to meet you. Would you like to come here to meet him some evening of the week beginning April 22nd. If he could meet you he would apparantly give up any and every engagement.

But perhaps you will not be ub the city. The threatened telephone strike makes me write but if you can call me up Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning I expect to be home. I would like to have Mr Kennedy meet Thurgood Marshall if you would like another person but this is for you and Mr Kennedy, first and foremost.

Always sincerely,

Mary White Ovington

20-15-88

Apr 12

17 April 1945

20-15-89

My dear Miss Ovington:

I regret to say that I am leaving for San Francisco on the nineteenth and probably will be gone a month. When I come back I should very much like to meet Mr. Kennedy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Mary W. Ovington
12 East 97th Street
New York City

[1945]

31-13-171

12 East 97th Street
New York

June 22.

Dear Dr Du Bois.

I received the enclosed letter from Mr Kennedy, whom I told some two months ago that I would try to arrange that you meet. ~~him~~. I have found that he only comes to N.Y. twice a week. And I thought I ought to give up the pleasure of having you two up here, & let him do the arranging. — Of course, I'd

adore being in on the talks and
it would be very jolly to see
you again, but you two arrange
whatever is convenient. If it were
convenient for you two to
come here any evening you
chose, I should be delighted
to welcome you both.

Always sincerely

Mary W. Dingham.

Arthur Spingarn told me you were busy
on Horace - or was it Gower, Noyes!

[enclosure]

National Federation of Settlements, Inc.

147 AVENUE B • NEW YORK 9

31-13-172

Dear Miss Arrington -

I spoke with Mr DuBois on the telephone & he asked me to call him on Tuesday, when he will arrange a meeting. If you happen to see him in the meantime & can get a day & hour please do so & I will confirm.

Faithfully yours

Albert J. Kennedy

P.S.

I could not reach you on the telephone - hence this note.

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[1945?]

Care H.E.Maxwell
So. Portland, Me. August 2.

31-13-173

My dear Dr Du Bois,

You rashly told me at that good dinner Mr Kennaday invited us to, that you would like to read my manuscript. If you still feel so disposed, the most accessible carbon is with ARthur Spingarn. His office must be very near yours, and with my permission I think he will loan it to you, knowing you will return it soon. Since a year ago, he has guarded it for me, receiving additions from time to time.

I wish you would tell me two things:

Does the elite type make you dread a little reading the sheets?

Am I in the story too much? Shirley Graham says "not enough". She thinks I air my opinions too much and dont tell enough of the facts of my life.

What a lot of work you are able to do! I am only able to work about three hours a day.

Always sincerely,

Mary White Ovington.

"The dedication was just that, but I guessed. She has read the first part. I am writing her, asking her to read the second part when in your possession.

[OXFORD UNIV. PRESS]

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS LONDON · CLARENDON PRESS OXFORD
OXFORD MEDICAL PUBLICATIONS

NEW YORK

ONE FOURTEEN FIFTH AVENUE
TELEPHONE: WATKINS 9-1100

20-14-46

March 20, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have had a request for permission to reprint the article 'African Culture' from your book The Negro, in a forthcoming volume entitled Primer for White Folks which will be edited by Bucklin Moon and published by Doubleday, Doran and Company.

Our fee for this permission would usually be fifty dollars. Mrs. Pollard of Doubleday, Doran informs us that their budget would allow for a fee of thirty-five dollars only. We were wondering if, in view of the nature of the work, you would be willing to have us grant the permission at this lowered fee.

Looking forward to an early reply, I am

Yours sincerely,

mary Ann Bacon

Mary Ann Bacon
Permissions Department

28 March 1945

20-14-50

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of March 20, I beg to say that so far as I am concerned, I would be glad to grant permission for the lower fee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Mary Ann Bacon
Permissions Department
Oxford University Press
One Fourteen Fifth Avenue
New York City

20-25-24.

I take the book and will be grateful to read it.

DEEPHAVEN CAMP
ASQUAM LAKE
ASHLAND, NEW HAMPSHIRE

August 6 1945

My dear Du Bois:

I have just finished reading Color and Democracy. I think it is fine. Dr Henry B. Washburn who summers near here says he expects to see the book soon through the "Book of the Month Club".

My friend Prof Lewis Jerome Johnson 90 Raymond St Cambridge, who is much interested in distribution of land and taxation, tells me that the best solution of the problem is in Northern Nigeria. Eight days work on the roads is all the tax individual citizen has to pay. The Government holds title to the whole province and no land can be sold. Perhaps if you have opportunity to find out more about Northern Nigeria you could make a note about it in your second edition.

With good wishes Sincerely

Dr. Calvin Coolidge Page 90 mo 94

20-25-25

October 6, 1945

Dr. Calvin G. Page
Deephaven Camp
Asquam Lake
Ashland, New Hampshire

My dear Dr. Page:

I thank you so much for your kind letter of August 6th. I am glad you liked the book.

I am trying now to get to London to attend a Pan African Congress but have not yet got the consent of the British Government.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[ALBERT PALMER]

THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Affiliated with the University of Chicago through the Federated Theological Faculty
5757 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO 37

ALBERT W. PALMER, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D.
President and Professor of Practical Theology

August 27, 1945

8-24-46

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. DuBois:

This is to thank you for your note of permission granted to Dr. Palmer with regard to your statement of faith.

Cordially yours,

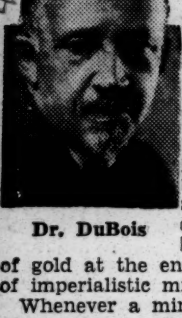
President's Secretary

jp

Pan-African Congress For Peace Called

Call For Formation of Group To Present Program Of World's Negroes

DAYTON, O. (ANP)—In the midst of war nations and peoples prepare for the peace to come. Governments in exile must be reinstated; representative forms must be established to supplant totalitarianism. Wherever the Nazi heel of persecution has left its imprint unfortunate Jews must be repatriated. Racial divisions must be regrouped according to blood, customs, religion and traditions. Poland will again be repartitioned, and the natural resources of Africa once more will become the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow of imperialistic might.



Dr. DuBois

Whenever a minority in a group of peoples continues forever the butt of every exception to all right rules of mingling, that minority automatically draws to itself the support of higher thought. But this backing will avail nothing unless those upon whom it is bestowed rise in their own righteous effort and help themselves.

First Pan-African Meet

At the close of the past World War, at the peace conference of Versailles a Pan-African congress was called by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Assisting him were four of the six colored members of the French Chamber of Deputies, Diagne from Senegal, Grosilier from Martinique, Candace and Boisneuf from Guadalupe.

This congress met in Paris, Feb. 19-22, 1919, and the total cost was $750. There were assembled 58 delegates representing 16 different Negro, racial groups. It was convened because, in Dr. DuBois' words, "the destinies of mankind centered there."

According to Dr. DuBois' report immediately after his return home in 1919, "If the Negroes of the world could have maintained in Paris during the entire sitting of the Peace Conference a central headquarters with experts, clerks, and helpers, they could have settled the future of Africa at a cost of less than $10,000."

[PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS]

22 March 1945

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I notice in the Defender a statement concerning a proposed Pan African Congress. You know, of course, that I am interested in such a meeting and have been connected with attempts along this line since 1918. I have written to Mr. Harold Moody and to the Secretary of the WASU concerning a congress after this war.

Your statement calls for a definite meeting six months after the war in Paris. May I bring to your attention the fact that it is by no means certain that six months after the end of the war in Europe it would be possible to secure passage for any significant number of colonials.

Secondly, a Pan African Congress ought to be held in Africa. We have held them in the past in London, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon and New York. We should meet this time in Africa. This seems to me of the greatest importance.

Thirdly, the meeting should not be set for a definite date as yet. We might say six months after the close of the European war or six months after the close of the World War. I hardly think we could be more definite than this and be able to carry the matter through.

Finally, you give the text of a manifesto. Could you send me the names of the organizations which are particip ting in this statement? It is, of course, in the main what we should all agree with but I think we should be careful not to bind colonial peoples in support of a statement which they have not had ample opportunity to consider beforehand. In other words, the definitive statement should come after the congress and not before.

I should be very glad to hear from you at your convenience and to know what organizations are participating and just has

actually been done up to this point. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has at present nearly five hundred thousand paid members and it has definitely adopted a Pan African Congress as a part of its program after the war and designated me officially to help in carrying out this project. I would like, therefore, your advice and the names of persons and organizations who have similar ideas.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-6-21

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N. W. 1
England

[incomplete]

22 March 1945

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Your statement calls for a definite meeting next September in Paris. May I bring to your attention the fact that it is by no means certain that it would be possible to secure passage for any significant number of colonials.

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(DuB.)

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

22 March 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-20

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(1948)

21-6-112

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Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

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Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N. W. 1
England

[PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

11 April 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-27

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I am writing you hurriedly again before you have had a chance to read my last letter. Since writing you I have had direct communication with the meeting of colored labor leaders at Manchester and I think I understand their wishes and point of view with which I am in complete sympathy. I have, therefore, approached the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the proposal that this organization call a Pan African Congress in Paris. Also I have changed my mind as to the time.

The head of the International Labor Office in Montreal has called on me and tells me that they are going to meet in Paris in September and the world labor conference will take place at that time. If, therefore, it is possible for them to meet at that time and place, it ought to be possible for us.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will assume a considerable part of the expense of the meeting; the exact amount will be determined in the next few days by a committee appointed yesterday.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Padmore
Press Room
Ministry of Information
London
England

11 April 1945

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21-6

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Mr. George Padmore
Press Room
Ministry of Information
London
England

[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W.1.

12th April, 1945

21-6-31

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just received your letter of the 22nd March and am availing myself of the good offices of a friend who is returning to the States to send you this reply.

I am delighted to hear that progress is being made in connection with the Pan African Conference at your end. But first a few words of clarification. Putting on one side the use of terms (Pan-African was only employed because it epitomises the conception behind the idea endorsed by Colonial organisations in this country), there is no attempt to monopolise or by-pass the work of others engaged on a similar undertaking. We are well acquainted with the historical origin of the Pan-African Movement, especially me, as I am a nephew of the late Sylvester Williams, a West Indian barrister who initiated the project with which you, Bishop Walter and others have been associated.

During the visit in this county of Mr. Walter White, we explored the possibility of reviving the idea of convening such a conference at the most convenient time. Towards this end I was able to arrange a gathering with the West African Students Union, at which Mr. White told them about the activities of the N.A.A.C.P. and other groups in America in connection with the whole question of race and world politics. I was therefore delighted to hearvthat you had returned to the N.A.A.C.P. to take charge of their Special Research Department.

Now the Manifesto issued out of certain concrete proposals which were put forward on the occasion of the visit of the Colonial delegates to the World Trade Union Conference in London. A number of Colonial organisations in Manchester organised a Co-ordinating Committee for the purpose of entertaining these overseas delegates; and they secured the endorsement of the mass organisations which these Colonial delegates represented to the Co-ordinating Committee constituting itself as a sort of convening body to issue a call to the Colonial peoples and other Coloured communities for a world conference. The question of the proposed date arose in relation to the fact that in September next a large group of Colonial representatives is expected to arrive in Europe in connection with the formal launching of the new Trade Union International. It was therefore thought that if we could avail ourselves of their presence, the Pan-African Conference could be held, or, if it was considered inopportune, that at least a preliminary conference could take place, to set a date for a world conference, when the convenience of travel and other factors permitted. Everything was tentative; there were no definite commitments. Now that I have had the good fortune of establishing direct contact with you, I shall assume the responsibility of placing your letter before the Co-ordinating Committee. I know that they will endorse your suggestions. As soon as we have been able to meet together and discuss things, you will receive an official communication.

With regard to the text of the Manifesto which appeared in the "Defender," this

was prepared by one of our colleagues, Mr. Desmond Buckle of the Gold Coast, then discussed, amended and endorsed by the organisations constituting the Co-ordinating Committee, as well as the League of Coloured People, which had been invited to participate in promulgating the Manifesto. I note that you are in direct touch with Dr. Moody and WASU. I am not sure of the attitude of the League in regard to co-operating with the existing Co-ordinating Committee of the proposed conference, but I can guarantee the support of the other groups. I mention this because our major criticism of the League is their single-handed attitude, but I think that pressure of public opinion may force them into line. This, however, will present no great difficulty in our Transatlantic collaboration.

21-6-32

There is one other observation I would like to make, and that is about the venue. We agree in principle that Africa is the best place to hold a Coloured Conference, but whether or not the Colonial Governments would allow us the possibility of calling a meeting of Negro peoples in their territories is a matter open to debate. I am very certain that if we could hold our conference in Sierra Leone or Nigeria, for instance, we should have the masses of the people behind us, and there is not the least shadow of our doubt about the success of such a Conference, and we shall certainly explore the possibilities. But failing this, it seems to me that, considering the closer ties which the war has brought between Liberia and the United States, and since America is not a Colonial Power in Afruca, it might be possible for the N.A.A.C.P. and other participating organisations to secure facilities for us to meet in Monrovia. And that again is a matter we shall have to investigate.

The organisations which participated in the promulgation of the Manifesto are:

International African Service Bureau, 58, Oxford Road, Manchester
Negro Association, c/o Dr. Milliard, 191, Slade Lane, Levenshulme, Manchester
Negro Welfare Association, Mr. J. Cowan, Secretary, c/o 66, Oxford Road, Manchester

If we want to make this thing a success, the concrete procedure would be for your group in America to recognise the principle of democratic decentralisation. Since you have greater facilities at your disposal, you should set up in New York a Committee which will take care of organising the American delegation as well as the West Indian one. As to the West Indies, we can send you all the contacts we have with the mass organisations, and this would make things easier than from here. We can give you all the data, and you should prepare the necessary draft resolutions, which should cover:

a) a general resolution
b) specific resolutions relating to specific areas, such as the Caribbean, Latin America, ~~Spain~~

We will try to broaden the existing Co-ordinating Committee by co-opting all other organisations which are now outside of it, and to transform it into the Pan African Convening Committee in Great Britain. Our task will be to contact all organisations in Africa, which I think we should consider our sphere, and to circularise them direct with the draft documents, which you will be preparing, to get their amendments and observations. When this preparatory work has been done, the two Co-Ordinating Committees in London and New York will decide upon the best time

and place to have this conference, and will inform their respective contacts - you in the New World and we in Africa - as to the concrete steps to be taken for us all to get together.

21-6-33

I am enclosing a copy of the Manifesto which, although printed upon the League of Coloured People's letterhead, is a collective document, not of anyone organisation, but of all the participating groups. I only mention this, because if we are going to make the thing a success, we must not have a false impression. We hope to have a meeting of the delegates of the participating organisation, and the general feeling is that Dr. Moody, who took it upon himself arbitrarily to do this sort of thing, will be slated. I shall do my best to prevent the splitting of this co-operation, because, in light of your letter, we now have a wider conception in relation to the conference, and this can only be made possible from our end by team-work. But there is unfortunately too much egotism, and this hampers co-operation.

You see, there are no mass organisations in Britain, because we have no mass communities, but we all have, in varying degrees, contact and influence with the mass organisations in the British Colonies, and unless we pool our forces we do not get anywhere. I want to emphasise this, because you may have the impression that any one of the groups represent large followings. And the League has an outlook which concerns itself chiefly with the student community here, and therefore has a floating membership, while the other organisations are primarily concerned with the workers and peasants, who must be the driving force behind any movement which we middle class intellectuals may establish. Today, the African masses, the common people, are awake and are not blindly looking to doctors and lawyers to tell them what to do. This was particularly sharply reflected in the composition of the trade union delegations which came here. They came from the masses and have their roots deep in the masses.

I have written at some length as I wanted to make the position as clear as possible, and I look forward with very great interest to your subsequent observations.

Assuring you of my sincere desire to co-operate in every way, and of my complete interest in the work which you are doing,

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[PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS]

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I have written at some length as I wanted to make the position as clear as possible, and I look forward with very great interest to your subsequent observations.

Assuring you of my sincere desire to cooperate in every way, and of my complete interest in the work which you are doing,

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ George Padmore

20-8-7

(PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS)

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

July 9, 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-61

My dear Mr. Padmore:

You will pardon my delay in answering your kind letter of April 12th. The following week I was called out of town to serve as Consultant to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference. I staid for five weeks and then had a number of lecture engagements. Indeed, I have just gotten back permanently to my desk.

We are still working on the Pan-African Congress. We have received notice that the Colonial Minister of France will be willing and pleased to have such a Congress meet in Paris. But on the other hand, there are going to be difficulties about transportation from the United States, more especially as to the return trip because of the great number of soldiers who will be returning during the rest of the year. Whether or not we can get visas from the State Department I am not yet sure, but am working on the matter. I expect to be able to write you very soon again.

If we cannot arrange to have the proposed meeting in September we shall try again for the spring. Of course, the great advantage of meeting in September will be, as you emphasize, the presence of the colonial delegates to the World Trade Union Conference.

I am not quite sure as tohow far we should go in drafting resolutions before the conference. There are already a number of such resolutions in existence, and these should become a part of the matter which we will study but I think we should go slowly as to further resolutions until the Congress actually meets.

I do not like the idea of dividing up the calling of the Congress into the hands of a number of convening committees. I think that would be cumbersome and quite unnecessary at present. We have certain direct contacts with Africa and would want to feel free to extend invitations. You and your committees undoubtedly have various contacts with America, especially with the West Indies. My experience teaches me it is a good deal better in a meeting of this sort to have as little preliminary machinery as possible and let the meeting find itself and organize its own machinery after the convocation. Eventually, of course, we want to have the Pan-African Congress a meeting of duly accredited delegates from groups, organizations and states; but this plan will develop slowly and will call for a great deal of care and thought.

21-6-62

Mr. George Padmore -2-

The Congress which we propose calling in September will have to be exploratory and tentative, a matter of getting acquainted and comparing ideas. I think we should be very catholic and cooperative and avoid trying to push people too far or to get any particular set of ideas adopted too quickly. It would be very easy in a case like this for us to get split up before we began. Mr. Moody and his organization is conservative, especially when it comes to trade unions and communism. I imagine the WASU has the same kind of tendencies. American Negroes on the other hand are much more radical and broadminded than they were a generation ago and wish to go far in cooperating with the labor movement. All of this requires time and care to bring out the best unity and the widest results. I shall write further on this matter and on the exact steps.

With regard to the historical origin of the Pan-African movement, the late Sylvester Williams initiated the Pan-African "Conference" in 1900. The matter then lapsed for 19 years until I, with the assistance of the NAACP, called a Pan-African "Congress" (note the change in name) in Paris that year. The second Pan-African Congress was held in 1921, the third in 1923, the fourth in 1927. This, then would be fifth in the series. Your uncle should have the credit of initiating the idea and the name, although I think it would be a good plan to keep now to the series of "Congresses".

As I have said I shall write you very soon as our plans develop here.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

Mr. George Padmore
22, Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

July 9, 1945

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I do not like the idea of dividing up the calling of the Congress into the hands of a number of convening committees. I think that would be cumbersome and quite unnecessary at present. We have certain direct contacts with Africa and would want to feel free to extend invitations. You and your committees undoubtedly have various contacts with America, especially with the West Indies. My experience teaches me it is a good deal better in a meeting of this sort to have as little preliminary machinery as possible and let the meeting find itself and organize its own machinery after the convocation. Eventually, of course, we want to have the Pan-African Congress a meeting of duly accredited delegates from groups, organizations and states; but this plan will develop slowly and will call for a great deal of care and thought.

The Congress which we propose calling in September will have to be exploratory and tentative, a matter of getting acquainted and comparing ideas. I think we should be very catholic and cooperative and avoid trying to push people too far or to get any particular set of ideas adopted too quickly. It would be very easy in a case like this for us to get split up before we began. Mr. Moody and his organization is conservative, especially when it comes to trade unions and communism. I imagine the WASU has the same kind of tendencies. American Negroes on the other hand are much more radical and broadminded than they were a generation ago and wish to go far in cooperating with the labor movement. All of this requires time and care to bring out the best unity and the widest results. I shall write further on this matter and on the exact steps.

With regard to the historical origin of the Pan-African movement, the late Sylvester Williams initiated the Pan-African "Conference" in 1900. The matter then lapsed for 19 years until I, with the assistance of the NAACP, called a Pan-African "Congress" (note the change in name) in Paris that year. The second Pan-African Congress was held in 1921, the third in 1923, the fourth in 1927. This, then would be fifth in the series. Your uncle should have the credit of initiating the idea and the name, although I think it would be a good plan to keep now to the series of "Congresses".

As I have said I shall write you very soon as our plans develop here.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

Mr. George Padmore
22, Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

cc:. H. A. Moody

[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

July 20, 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-12

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I am writing to let you know that the chances are that I will not be able to come to Paris for the proposed September meeting. The NAACP has voted in favor of helping to promote a Pan-African Congress and appropriated the money, but unfortunately the situation in the United States as to transportation is such that arrangements will be difficult, if not impossible. We could get over to Paris with perhaps a half dozen delegates but American soldiers are streaming back from Europe now in such numbers that I do not think we are going to be able to obtain any assurance of transportation from France to America during the year 1945. If it is possible I will, of course, hasten to let you know. But as I see it now it looks impossible.

In the meantime I hope you will be present at the Paris meeting of the Trade Union delegates and that you will assemble them in a conference on Africa. I think it would better be called a consultative conference rather than a congress. You might, therefore, make preparations for a real and fairly complete Pan-African Congress in the future. As Acting Permanent Secretary of the last four Congresses I had delegated to me the power to assemble the Fifth Congress. Whatever that power amounts to I very gladly turn over to any meeting in Paris so that they will feel free to take any action that they may wish and I want to assure you and them that I shall be willing to cooperate in the future in any way in accordance with my ability.

I shall follow this letter by another just as soon as the decision of the NAACP is final, but I thought this warning letter ought to go immediately.

I am sending a letter identical with this to Mr. Moody.

Very sincerely yours,

W E B Du Bois

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

74 15

Telephone: CENtral 6603

Pan-African Congress

Sponsoring Organisations:—
Pan-African Federation
The League of the Coloured Peoples
West African Students Union

International Secretaries:—
G. Padmore, Esq., and
P. Abrahams Esq.
Carnleigh House,
22, Carnleigh Street,
London,
England.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES:—
E. A. COWAN, Esq., and
F. B. JOSEPH.

Head Office:
[redacted]
[redacted]

22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W.1.

21-6-90

17th August, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
Special Research Department,
N.A.A.C.P.,
69, Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Even before your letter of the 9th July arrived we read of your presence at San Francisco. Consequently we can well understand the delay in acknowledging our letter of April 12th. A few days before your July 9th letter arrived we addressed to you a communication dated July 16th in which we summarised in concrete fashion the plans and progress made up to that date. On August 11th and 12th there was convened at Manchester, the headquarters of the Pan-African Federation, a delegate conference representing all of the organisations which have been invited to participate in the forthcoming Conference. At that ad hoc meeting a review of the preparatory work was made. From the reports it was revealed that the position was as follows.

A number of replies had been received from Labour, Trade Union, Co-operative, and other progressive organisations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, in acknowledgment of the formal invitation to attend the Conference. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, making minor modifications and suggestions here and there, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time is too short or the difficulties of transport at the present time too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organisations will give mandates to the natives of the territories concerned who are travelling to Paris to attend the World Trade Union Conference. Where territories will not be sending delegates to the Trade Union Conference, organisations will mandate individuals already in Great Britain to represent them.

In this way we are assured of the widest representation, either through people travelling directly from the Colonial areas to Britain, or individuals from those territories who are already in the British Isles. Apart from these overseas delegates, more than 14 organisations of Africans and peoples of African descent in Great Britain and Ireland will participate in the Conference.

A few words about procedure. Our provisional committee appreciates the view you have expressed that no attempt should be made to impose any fixed ideological

pattern upon the Conference, but we have every reason to believe that there will be unanimous agreement upon the fundamental aims and objects which the Conference desires to arrive at. I do not know what is the situation in America among coloured organisations regarding the future political outlook of Afro-Americans in relation to the American scene, but I can assure you that there is complete unity of purpose and outlook among the Colonial peoples of the British Empire. This, as you realise, is easily understandable. They are all inhabitants of territories in which they constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. Living under alien rule, their first manifestation of political consciousness naturally assumes the form of national liberation, self-determination, self-government - call it what you may. They want to be able to rule their own countries, free from the fetters of alien domination. On this all are agreed, from even the most conservative to the most radical elements. There might be differences as to the rate at which improvement is made towards the goal and regarding the political form which the objective should take.

For example, Left-wing elements among Colonials emphasises self-determination to the point of secession from the British Empire, while the more conservative elements, although endorsing our claims for self-determination, clarify it in terms of Dominion status within the British Empire. But again I repeat there is no cleavage as regards the desired objective. Consequently there is complete unity of purpose among all of our participants in the Conference.

In our ranks the question of Communism or anti-Communism, Stalinism, or Trotskyism, and all the other ideological tendencies which may obtain in the American Negro scene, do not exist here, for the simple reason that the American Negro is part and parcel of the American body politic and he finds it difficult to isolate himself from the political currents which may prevail in American society. The British Negro lives away from the British Isles, and those individuals who are here constitute an alien minority, although they are subjects of the same Crown. As a result, when the Negro comes to this country he does not ally himself with the existing political organisations and become a vehicle within his own racial group for the ideologies prevailing among the British political parties. Rather he tends to get together with other Colonial organisations to advocate and propagate his own political aspirations which, as I have suggested above, concentrate on the question of self-determination for the country whence he comes. This does not mean that there are no individual Negroes who subscribe to political philosophies, whether they be Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, etc. But these are more in the nature of personal idiosyncracies than practical politics.

In Brief, even those who call themselvesCommunist are nationalist. That is to say, they realise that their countries must first be nationally free before they can begin to practice their Communism. I mention this, because living as you do on the other side of the Atlantic, it is very easy for you to interpret political trends among British Colonials in terms of the American scene. If you will permit me a personal allusion: As an individual I have very strong political views onthe Left, views which a man like Dr. Moody does not subscribe to. While it would be unfair to say that Dr. Moody is hostile to Socialism, he does not advocate the Marxian philosophy as I do. But regardless of our personal views, there is no cleavage as regards the immediate steps which confront our people, which, as I said, is self-government for the West Indies, self-government for Africa, etc. You would be surprised to know how easy it was to bring into existence the Pan-African Federation, which is a federated body comprising more than 14 constituent organisations composed of workers, students, intellectuals, Africans, West Indians, and other peoples of African descent. When it comes to the struggle against Imperialism, British or otherwise, these people feel as one. They do have their little petty squabbles, but they are never of a fundamental character.

21-6-91

Having made this clarification, I would like to say a few words about the machinery of the Conference. Our Committee here agrees with you that we should have few pre-arranged plans but allow the Conference to evolve. However, there must be a minimum amount of machinery, otherwise we shall have anarchism, and that is one philosophy from which I think the average Negro has an instinctive aversion. We are well acquainted with the modus operandi of running Conferences. The truth is that we have too many conferences. Conferences of one kind or another are a typical British institution, and this is a malady which we as British subjects have not been able to escape. But the Committee which is now functioning is a provisional committee. Its specific task is to establish contact with organisations in this country and overseas and to issue invitations. It has further set itself the task of preparing the technical facilities for the Conference, budgeting, entertainment, securing meeting hall, etc. Such machinery is inevitable, as without it the Conference could not bring itself into existence. When the delegates arrive we propose that the provisional committee shall turn itself into a Standing Orders Committee, to register credentials, elect reporters for the various subjects on the agenda, and such matters. When the Conference officially opens, the whole machinery will be in the hands of the delegates, who can then do what they like. That is surely the minimum machinery which we contemplate.

Concerning resolutions: We do not intend to have any resolutions cut and dried for the delegates to approve or reject. All that we are proposing is that we should have reports upon the various parts of the world which are to come under review. Out of these reports we take it that sub-committees will be set up to draft their resolutions, which will embody the salient problems emerging from the different reports and discussions. For example, we are expecting American delegations to give us a report on the problems of the American Negro today and the perspective before him. Discussions will follow these reports, and a resolution will be adopted by the Conference as a final document. In this connection it is suggested that it would be very helpful if our American friends, who are better acquainted with the Negro problems in their country, could undertake the preparation of reports on these problems and be responsible for drafting such documents. We hope to get some of the delegates from other parts of the black world to do likewise.

Our suggestion to get committees together in each of the territories was merely to facilitate the gathering together of delegates, particularly in view of the shortness of time, and they are only regional committees. There are so many Negro organisations in America - political, religious, labour, cultural, etc. - and our proposal was that if you could issue invitations to those groups to set up their own American Committee it would help matters, because they could then either send individual delegates or have a delegation to represent them collectively.

In the case of the Colonial organisations the situation is entirely different. They are in scattered territories, very often having no contact with one another. Hence it was more expedient for the provisional committee to invite the organisations in these different territories, since we could act centrally. Over eighty invitations went out to such organisations and replies are coming in, our Committee centralising the plan. In your situation all of the coloured organisations are in one country, and all that we are suggesting is that you in New York, like us in Britain, should act as the co-ordinating link for the American scene, while we do likewise for the British, French, and other imperial areas. You mention that you have some contacts in Africa, but we doubt whether your contacts are any different from ours. In truth, there is no organisation in the British Colonial Empire with which we are not in contact. Our problem is not lack of contact, but how it will be able for these people to travel at such short notice to Britain. If they could all send delegations to Britain we would

have to hire the Albert Hall.

After reviewing the situation we do feel like you that our Conference should be merely a preliminary one to a greater, more representative Congress to be held some time next year, especially as a new Government has come into being in Britain since we started planning the forthcoming Conference.

The Pan-African Federation has recently addressed an Open Letter to Mr. Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister, and we are hoping to have long discussions with the new Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. George Hall, and it is hoped that out of these talks we shall be able to get the support of the British Labour and Trade Union movements in facilitating the bigger conference which we have in mind for 1946, when more normal shipping and travelling facilities will exist. The situation here in this respect is at the moment so topsy-turvey that it is even impossible to get travelling facilities from London to Paris, which is, as it were, just a stone's throw away. Apart from that, every one who comes back from Paris warns us to keep away from there, for Europe is facing famine, and what with the shortage of coal, holding a conference in Paris in September would just be inviting trouble.

It is not surprising that the French Colonial Minister expressed such willingness for us to meet in his capital. In this connection, if the French Colonial Minister really knew that we are uncompromisingly opposed to all forms of Imperialism, that we would like to break up the French Empire as much as we would like to liquidate the British Empire, it is doubtful whether he would be so pleased to have us denounce French Colonial rule from the very metropolis of his Empire. For while we hold no brief for British Imperialism, the latter is a humanely run institution by comparison with the French. In spite of the popular impression which exists among Western Negroes that France has a liberal policy towards her Colonials, because of the absence of the Colour Bar in Paris prior to the war, in Africa the French policy is so repressive that whereas we have legal political and trade union movements in the British Colonies, in the adjoining French Colonies there is no such thing. The facts in the recent articles of Rene Maran in the "Chicago Defender," while they may come as a shock to Afro-Americans, are common knowledge to us. And with the present Labour Government in power in this country we have more possibility to manoeuvre than the French Colonials have under the semi-dictatorial regime which exists in France. After all, all the Negroes here voted for the Labour Party and supported them. They are members of the Labour Party and surely have a constitutional voice in shaping policy. All the Negroes in Britain are members of the Trade Union movement. Our French African comrades are not in that position, and unless France makes a bloodless revolution like the one which occurred here a few weeks ago, we see no prospects for French black Colonials.

Since it is now officially announced that the World Trade Union Conference will begin on September 25th and close on October 9th, we are planning to convene the Pan-African Congress on October 15th. It should last a week. This will enable the Colonial delegates to get from France to England between the 9th and 15th October. It will also enable us to hold some informal meetings and finish off our plans.

We heard from Mr. George Weaver of the C.I.O. Committee for the Abolition of Racial Discrimination in Washington. They would like to participate in the Conference and will no doubt give a mandate to the coloured members who are likely to be included in the delegation to the World Trade Union Conference.

21-6-42

Mrs. Garvey writes us that she has issued instructions to the Garvey Association in America to support the Conference. It might not be practicable for them to send delegates, but I am suggesting to the New York headquarters at 100-2, West 116th Street that they should get into touch with you and to indicate what they would like to do.

Regarding the C.I.O. again, if you contact Mr. Henry Le Moon, he would be able to inform you whether the C.I.O. will be sending any Negroes in their delegation this time.

One more thing. There seems to have been some confusion caused through the use of the term "Pan-Africam Congress." Whether it is Congress of Conference, our Committee does not mind in the least. If you would like it to be called Congress, all well and good; if not, then Conference is all the same. Like typical Britishers, the people here have a great capacity for compromise and are not much carried away by nomenclature. It doesn't matter much to them whether it is conference or congress. The truth is they wanted to call theirs the African Peoples Conference, but somehow or other, the secretary, in preparing the letter-heading, used the term Pan-African Congress. But this is a very minor matter and can easily be straightened out. Its the purpose that really counts.

Yours very sincerely,

George Padmore.

George Padmore

COPY FROM W. E. B. DUBOIS

[1945?]

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People voted at the last meeting of the Board of Directors to send me as a delegate to the Pan-African Congress which has been called to meet in London, October 15 to 21, 1945. There have been five meetings called "Pan African" before this: the first in 1900 called by a West Indian barrister and then a series of four called and supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, under my direction.

Strictly speaking, none of these Congresses were "Pan African" in the sense that they represented all Africa; but they did initiate the idea. They were attended by a considerable number of Africans and they represented, as no meetings have before or since, the general attitude of Africans and their descendants in the matter of their freedom and autonomy.

There is no reason to think that the present Congress is going to be more "Pan African" than the others. In fact, Africa is a vast and deeply separated continent and its unity must be a matter of future planning and upbuilding rather than of past fact. Nevertheless, the peoples of Africa and more especially the darker peoples of Negro and mulatto origin, have had in modern days increasingly common oppressions, desires and ideals. It will be difficult to weld these into one great united demand but it will not be impossible.

One natural difficulty this Congress may bridge: heretofore, quite naturally, the African peoples have been represented by educated men, trained largely in the professions and more or less permanently

16-6-42

resident in Europe. To these have been added some merchants and traders. These people had a natural right to speak for African aspirations; but, on the other hand, the great mass of workers, artisans and technicians have not heretofore been generally called into counsel.

When the trade unions from all parts of the world met in London last winter, the representatives from Africa conceived the idea of a Pan African Congress and organized a committee to that end. This committee, under the secretaryship of George Padmore, (the nephew of that first West Indian barrister who called the Pan African Congress in 1900), has arranged for the meeting in October. They have appealed for cooperation to Negro citizens of the United States and the West Indies, but many difficulties, due to the war, have given this appeal little publicity.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wants a real and representative Pan African Congress to meet in the near future. It realizes that the present meeting can only be preliminary to such a more complete organization, but it wishes to do everything that it can to further the movement. For that reason, although the time is short, I am asking the United States Government and the British Government to allow my attendance at the London meeting. If I go, I shall go as an individual but taking with me the sympathy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a promise of its further cooperation whenever a permanent organization is formed.

I should be glad to hear from any persons who are interested in this movement or any organizations who would like to send delegates.

116-6-43

(PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS)

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

21-6-95

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

September I2, I945

Mr. George Padmore:

Dear Mr. Padmore:

After lnng deliberation, the Board of Directors of the National Association for theAdvancement of Colosnd People voted to be represented at the Pan-African Congress to be held in London October I5--2I, I945. They have asked me to attend the meeting as their delegate. As the meeting has already been planned and called without our official participation, I come officially simply as an observer; but I am authorized to say that if a permanent organization results, and a representative congress is called for I9456 or I947, this organization will take part and will aid with an appropriation toward expenses. Final decision on these points will be made by the directors after my report to them on the present meeting. As you doubtless know, the NAACP has at present a paid membership of 400,000 persons and is the largest organization of its kind in the U.S.A., representing I3,000,000 Americans of Negro descent.

The chief difficulty now facing me is obtaining facilities of travel to London and return, and also obtaining a British visa. I am writing to our Department of State today and also to Harold Laski and Mr. Creech-Jones both of whom I know, to help get me a visa. If the Labor government is favorable to the Congress they can do much to help foreigners get visas. On the other hand if they take no action, you may find it very difficult to get your delegates together. Also the matter of hotel accomodation is of importance, and I will be glad of advice and help.

21-6-96

There are many matters that ought to be thoroughly threshed out before the meeting which time and distance precluded. Perhaps only one aspect ought to be emphasised as the sine qua non of success: avoid the appearance of making this predominantly a "British" meeting; we must not neglect the interests and opinions of French, Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish Africans as well as Africans of West Indian and American descent. Many of these last will be slimly represented and some not at all; but they will count in complete Pan-Africa. Union of effort among us today will count as never before.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

There are many matters that ought to be thoroughly threshed out before the meeting which time and distance precluded. Perhaps only one aspect ought to be emphasized as the sine qua non of success: avoid the appearance of making this predominantly a "British" meeting; we must not neglect the interests and opinions of French, Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish Africans as well as Africans of West Indian and American descent. Many of these last will be ably represented and some not at all; but they will count in complete Pan-Africa. Union of effort among us today will count as never before.

Very sincerely,

September 12, 1945

Mr. George Padmore:

Dear Mr. Padmore:

After long deliberation, the Board of Directors of the National Association for theAdvancement of Colored People voted to be represented at the Pan-African Congress to be held in London October 15—21, 1945. They have asked me to attend the meeting as their delegate. As the meeting has already been planned and called without our official partiepation, I come officially simply as an observer; but I am authorised to say that if a permanent organisation results, and a representative congress is classed for 19456 or 1947, this organisation will take part and will aid with an appropriation toward expenses. Final decision on these points will be made by the directors after my report to them on the present meeting. As you doubtless know, the NAACP has at present a paid membership of 400,000 persons and is the largest organisation of its kind, representing 13,000,000 Americans of Negro descent.

The chief difficulty now facing me is obtaining facilities of travel to London and return, and also obtaining a British visa. I am writing to our Department of State today and also to Harold Laski and Mr. Creech-Jones both of whom I know, to help get me a visa. If the Labor government is favorable to the Congress they can do much to help foreigners get visas. On the other hand if they take no action, you may find it very difficult to get your delegates together. Also the matter of hotel accomodation is of importance, and I will be glad of advice and help.

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21-6

[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

21-6-103

Sponsoring Organisations:—
Pan-African Federation
The League of the Coloured Peoples
West African Students Union

International Secretaries:—
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22, Carnleigh Street,
London,
England.

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Pan-African Congress

NATIONAL SECRETARIES:—
E. A. COWAN, Esq., and
F. B. JOSEPH.

Head Office:
~~58, OXFORD ROAD,~~
~~MANCHESTER 1, ENGLAND.~~
22, Cranleigh House, Cranleigh St.
London, N.W.1.

18th September, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
Special Research Department,
National Association for the Advancement of
Coloured People,
69, Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK CITY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

No doubt this will be the last opportunity I shall have to write you before the Congress convenes. As I have informed you, the date has been officially fixed for the 15th October, 1945, but even that is still contingent upon the conclusion of the World Trade Union Conference in Paris. That conference begins on September 25th, and is supposed to end on the 9th October. But there might be some delay, which would mean we should have to push our conference back a little. But we hope that everything will go to schedule.

Several delegates to the Pan-African Congress have already arrived in this country and others are on their way. This past weekend the Executive Committee of the Pan-African Federation, which comprises all of the organisations of Africans and peoples of African descent in the British Isles, with the exception of the League of Coloured People, met in London to complete final plans for the forthcoming Congress. Your letter of September 12th was put on the agenda and its contents discussed. I am therefore able to report to you the sentiments of our Executive.

1) We are glad to hear that you are making every effort to attend and sincerely hope that you will be able to undertake the trip.

2) We get the impression from your letter that you were having some difficulty in securing visas. This is rather surprising, as we thought the only difficulty in your way was to get passage facilities. We hope that the intervention of Prof. Laski and Mr. Creech Jones will be of aid in obtaining a British visa. Had we known of this obstacle in your way sooner, we could have set our machinery in

motion to assist you. However, we must hope for the best.

3) While the Colonial peoples expect a more sympathetic attitude towards their problems and aspirations from Labour than from the Tories, they have no illusions about either party, for on matters affecting imperial policy there is only a difference of degree rather than of kind. Therefore, in launching our Congress we were not concerned with whether the Labour Government welcomes it or not. We do hope they welcome it, but this is immaterial. We shall make our deliberations, pass our resolutions, and make our representations to them to implement their pre-election promises. If they don't fulfil those promises, we shall expose them even more ruthlessly than the Tories, for the Tories never promised us anything but blood, tears, toil and sweat.

4) Hotel accommodation here is on the difficult side, but we shall always be able to fix you up, if you will let us know a few days in advance of your arrival here. We have one or two middle-class supporters, who will be delighted to welcome you in their homes.

5) As you will see from our agenda, our whole approach is an international one, an inclusive one. But we are realistic enough to know that a Congress taking place immediately following a war in which the whole machinery of international communication was broken down, would find it difficult to get delegates from all parts of the Colonial world and the Americas. Nevertheless, the respone to our invitation has been much greater than our most optimistic anticipations. There will be two kinds of delegates:

   a) Those travelling directly from the West Indian Colonies, South America, and various parts of Africa, to attend the Congress;
   b) Those mandated by organisations unable to send delegates directly because of passport and transport obstacles.

   We are, however, expecting to have representation from every territory in British West, South and East Africa, and also some French Negroes. We have not forgotten the French, Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish parts of Africa. The thinking of the young Africans who form the vanguard of the new Pan-Africanism is in terms of Africa as a whole. Their ideological outlook transcends the arbitrary frontiers which European imperialists have set up in Africa. But our problem is a technical one, for while we have contacts in all parts of the Continent, and that with organisations and not merely individuals, our difficulty is to get them out.

There is one point which my Executive has asked me to put clearly before you. If we were satisfied to have at our Congress merely people who come from various parts of Africa, then it would be 100% represented, for there are to be found in Britain natives from every part of the world. All we should have had to do would have been to bring them together at a meeting and call it a Pan-African Congress. But this is

21-6-104

not our purpose. All our delegates must have mandates from organisations, and they will therefore speak not for themselves but for masses of people representative, not of the middle class strata and professionals in the Colonies, but of the workers' organisations, the co-operative societies, peasant associations, labour parties and national liberation organisations. This was the emphasis with which the Congress was conceived and brought into being.

In reviewing the work of our Congress, my Committee this weekend came to the conclusion that the weakest representation we shall have is from the United States. In this respect we are largely to blame. We had assumed that the relationship between the various progressive organisations in America, as, for example, the NAACP, Urban League, the March on Washington Movement, the Negro Congress, the West Indian National Council, and the various trades unions associated with the C.I.O., would have been able to get together, as we have done here, and set up a provisional committee. And we had thought that out of this united front a delegation would have been selected from America to represent these various sections of Negro opinion. But it seems that this was not possible. Unfortunately though we did not address our invitations directly to those different organisations, and it does not seem possible to do so at this late date. We very much regret this, because we did not want to give the impression that we did not want to treat with any organisation other than the NAACP.

It is therefore all the more disappointing to us to hear that your organisation is unable to give you a plenipotentiary mandate. However, we shall be most happy to welcome you in whatever capacity you come, realising as we do the valuable contribution which you have made to the progress and emancipation of our people in the United States.

Yours sincerely,

George Padmore.

George Padmore

P.S.

Your telegram was received just before dispatching this letter. We shall arrange accommodation for you with Dr Belfield Clarke. I might be away from London at the time of your arrival, so please cable Dr Clarke at 112 Newington Causeway, S.E.1. saying when you are arriving. Try & supply the name of railway station, date & time of arrival. He will meet you.

[PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS]

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[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

1

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

October 5, 1945

21-6-111

Mr. George Padmore
22 Granleigh House
Granleigh Street
London, N.W. 1

My dear Mr. Padmore:

Matters are slowly shaping up so that it looks as though I may be able to attend the Pan African Congress. I appealed to the President of the United States and got an interview with the Acting Secretary of State. He is taking the matter of priorities under consideration. I hope to hear from him in a day or two. I have received my passport; but British consent to a visa has not yet been obtained. The consul office here has cabled to London but has as yet received no reply. Then too, if I come, I shall have to fly and that will greatly increase the expense. I do not yet know whether the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will consent to this increased expense, but I think it will.

If I do come, I appreciate the stopping place which you have secured for me at Dr. Clarke', 112 Newington Causeway, S.E.1. I will cable him as soon as I know my plans. In the meantime, will you please see if he can arrange a comfortable room for me which I can occupy alone and also will you try to secure for me the services of a typist and a small office or desk space where I can work. I shall of course expect to pay for all these accomodations. I shall bring my own portable typewriting machine.

If I do not succeed in getting to London, I shall try to rush to you, in time for the Congress, certain proposals and considerations which I should like laid before it.

I thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

D:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

A World Gathering of Africans & Peoples of African Descent

Convened in Manchester

to Discuss & Decide on their Economic, Social & Political Position in the Post-War World.

OCT. 13 TO OCT. 21, 1945

AGENDA:

Monday,	*1st Session.*	*Reports and discussion on North and West Africa.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Reports and discussion on Southern Africa.*
Tuesday,	*1st Session.*	*Reports and discussion on East and Central Africa.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Resolution on Africa.*
Wednesday,	*1st Session.*	*Reports and discussion on the West-Indies.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Further reports and discussion on the West-Indies.*
Thursday,	*1st Session.*	*Resolution on the West-Indies.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Reports and discussion on the Negro problem in North, South and Central America.*
Friday,	*1st Session.*	*Further reports and discussion on North, South and Central America.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Resolution on the Negro problem in North, South and Central America.*
Saturday,	*1st Session.*	*General summing-up decisions.*
„	*2nd Session.*	*Special Session of the Congress committees and commissions.*

SUNDAY.—PUBLIC MEETING.

For information apply to:—

PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION, 58 Oxford Rd., Manchester, 1

[1945?] 1952?

PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION

Colonials and British Friends of Subject Peoples

RALLY

AT

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

ON

SUNDAY, DEC. 9th at 2 p.m.

To Protest against the Colour Bar in Britain and the Colonies.

To Demonstrate your solidarity with the Coloured Peoples of Indonesia and Indo-China.

To Demand withdrawal of British and Indian Troops from Java.

To Demand Freedom for Indian National Army Prisoners.

Long Live unity between the Peoples of Asia and Africa!
Long Live the Freedom of all Colonials!

SPEAKERS from

Africa, West Indies, India, Ceylon, Burma, Java, Malaya and other Territories.

COME AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS.

Printed by CAUSEWAY PRESS, 113 Newington Causeway, S.E. 1.—Hop. 3087

[1945]

MESSAGES SENT TO THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

1: THE SOCIALIST VANGUARD GROUP - are in complete agreement and sympathy with the basic objects and proposed activities of the forthcoming congress.

2: THE LANCASHIRE I.L.P. Sends fraternal greetings to the Delegates and wishes the congress success.

3: COMMONWEALTH: Sends fraternal greetings and wish the congress every success. They wish to be associated with us in the common struggle for the common man everywhere.

4: THE JOINT PROVINCIAL COUNCIL, GOLD COAST COLONY: Wishes the Congress every success.

5: MAGARATUAM: Sends his earnest good wishes. He reminds us that our struggle is the struggle of all subject peoples, and that only with Unity can we achieve victory.

6: PROFESSOR JABAVU: It is absolutely impossible for an African to get a passage to England within so short a time. Nevertheless both my wife and myself wish the meeting all success and prosperity.

7: D.W. BOPAPE, Secretary African National Congress - writes :-
I can assure you that my Committee appreciates your kind invitation with great pleasure. We are already making preparation and arrangements to attend the conference if we obtain passports. These arrangements are being made in conjunction with our President General of the African National Congress, Dr A.B. Xuma.

(Footnote:- It seems that the delegates could not get passports to come.)

8: T.E. SEALY: Co-ordinating Editor The Daily Gleaner, Jamaica, British West Indies :-
My message to the congress, one which I hope is consistent with your programme, is that respect will come to us Negro peoples, fully, only when we have won the fight for political self-determination wherever we may be. Where we are numerically in the majority we must have a correspondingly preponderant influence and power in a self governing authority. Where we remain a minority we must have protection and privileges equal to those demanded by and afforded to the dominant majorities. I believe that until the world becomes a rational Utopia people will always have racial and other prejudices. But prejudices must not be allowed to have legal, political or economic status, must not be permitted to deprive us of full opportunity. Give us - we demand it - educational, economic and political freedom, and we will by our own constructive lives prove fraudulent and empty the social prejudices of the "superior peoples". Fraternally yours - -

- - - - - - -

The following resolution on Indo-China was unanimously adopted :-

"That the Pan African Congress comprising of peoples of Africa "and African descent now in Session in the City of Manchester, "extends its fraternal greetings to the struggling peoples of "Java and Indo-China in their fight against Dutch and French "Imperialism, and pledges its solidarity in their struggle for "freedom.

HANDS OF JAVA!

HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA!

54-5-48

The Standing Orders Committee recommends that for the purpose of drawing up resolutions the following shall be the groupings :-

1: WEST AND NORTH AFRICA.

2: SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3: EAST AFRICA.

4: WEST INDIES.

5: NORTH CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA.

6: ORGANISATION RESOLUTION.

THE FOLLOWING COMMITTEES were appointed by a full session of Congress:

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE:

G. Padmore; B.A. Rinner; J.S. Annan;
E.A. Aki-emi; J. Kenyatta; Makonnen.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:

Cowan;
F.B. Joseph;
J. Taylor.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE:

P. Abrahams; E. de l. Yearwood;
E.K. Taylor; Mrs Price.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE:

Wallace Johnson; Mrs Garvey; Dr Dubois;
G. Jahumpa; G. Ashie-Nekoi.

PANEL OF CHAIRMAN:

Mrs Garvey; Dr Milliard; Dr Dubois; M. Hlubi;
G. Ashie-Nekoi; W. Johnson; A.S. Mossell;

P R O G R A M M E .

The Standing Orders Committee recommends the re-organisation of the whole programme as follows :-

SATURDAY 13th Oct: Delegates report and various Committees assemble. A social function in the evening at Congress Hall, 6-30 p.m.

SUNDAY 14th OCT: Luncheon to the delegates 12-30 noon, Orient, visit to American Red Cross, Lever Street, 6-30 p.m.

MONDAY, 15th OCT. COLOURED PROBLEMS IN EUROPE. Welcome address by the Lord Mayor of Manchester.

TUESDAY, 16th OCT. 1st Session. Reports and discussion on North and West Africa - 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.
2nd Session: Reports and discussion on Southern Africa, 2-30 to 5 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, 17th OCT. 1st Session: Reports on East & Central Africa.
2nd Session: Resolutions on Africa.

THURSDAY, 19th OCT. 1st Session: Reports and discussion on the West Indies. 2nd Session: Further reports and discussion on the West Indies. Social Function (evening).

FRIDAY, 19th OCT. 1st Session: Resolutions on West Indies.
2nd Session: Reports and discussion on Negro Problems in North, Central and South America. Resolution thereon.

SATURDAY, 20th OCT. 1st Session: General summing up and decisions.
2nd Session: Special Session of the Congress Committees and Commissions. Banquet - 7-30 p.m.

SUNDAY, 21st OCT. Public Meeting - 3 p.m.

Sponsoring Organisations:—
Pan-African Federation
The League of the Coloured Peoples.
West African Students Union

International Secretaries:—
G. Padmore, Esq., and
P. Abrahams Esq.
Carnleigh House,
22, Carnleigh Street,
London,
England.

Telephone: CENtral 6603

Pan-African Congress

Head Office:
58, OXFORD ROAD,
MANCHESTER 1, ENGLAND.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES:—
E. A. COWAN, Esq.. and
F. B. JOSEPH.

October 24th, 1945

40-80-5

28628 NOV-5'45

Dear Sir,

The Pan-African Congress which has just completed its 5th Session in Manchester, takes this opportunity of inviting you to a Press Conference in order to meet Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the eminent Negro scholar and writer who is President of the Congress.

Dr. Du Bois will make a statement on the aims and objects of the Congress and the position of the African peoples of the world. Questions will be answered.

The Conference will take place at:

GOLD COAST & NIGERIAN FARMERS' BANK;
Effingham House, 3rd Floor,
Arundel Street,
(off) Strand,
London W.C. 2

on Friday, October 26th, at 3 p.m.

(Biographical sketch overleaf).

Yours sincerely,

Peter Abrahams,
Publicity Department.

[PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
~~69 FIFTH AVENUE~~ 20 West 40th Street
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

28 November 1945

21-6-123

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I arrived safely in New York Monday noon. I want to thank you again for your great kindness and hospitality while I was in London. The books, particularly, which you gave me are invaluable. I shall get at the matter of the Pan African Congress just as soon as I am settled in my new office.

I have forwarded your matter to Lochard and the Crisis. Greet Mr. Nicoi and other friends.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Padmore
c/o Gold Coast & Nigerian Farmers' Bank
Effingham House, Third Floor
Arundel Street
London W. C. 2
England

[1945]

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT
PETER ABRAHAMS
Director

Head Office:-
58, OXFORD ROAD
MANCHESTER.1. ENGLAND

Press Release No 4

On Monday, the 15th of October a Pan-African Congress will begin in the Chorlton Town Hall, Manchester, and go on for a week. Roughly two hundred delegates, representing practically the whole coloured world, will attend. These delegates hold mandates from political, social, industrial and co-operative organisations; cultural and youth movements. The Colonial Trade Union movement is well to the fore in representation. Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, the eminent Negro scholar and writer will represent the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples of America.

This Congress promises to be the greatest and most representative ever called by Africans and peoples of African descent to plan and work for their freedom.

BACKGROUND OF CONGRESS.

This will not be the first Pan-African Congress. For the idea of a Pan-African Congress was first conceived and executed by Dr. Du Bois in Paris in 1919, when he was over there investigating the conditions of Negro soldiers. Of this first Congress Dr. Du Bois writes in his autobiography: "DUSK TO DAWN".

> "I was convinced by my experience in Paris in 1919 that here was a real vision and an actual need. My plans as they developed had in them nothing spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such world organisation of black men as would oppose a united front to European aggression, that certainly would not have been beyond my dream ..... Out of this there might come, not race war and opposition, but broader co-operation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated development of black folk".

Dr. Du Bois held a second Pan-African Congress in 1921, a third in 1923 in London, Paris and Lisbon, a fourth in New York in 1927, and a fifth was planned to be held in Tunis in 1929, but the French Government vetoed the project and it did not come off.

The 1921 Congress held in London attracted most attention of all. THE TIMES, OBSERVER, and other British papers, discussed it widely. In Paris

too, it had wide press comment.

All these Congresses, however, were not really representative. They were the pioneering work of one man, very great work, but definitely not of the same representative character as the forthcoming Pan-African Congress. There were no accredited delegates from organisations such as is the case with the present congress.

The idea of the present congress was born last year after the World Trade Union Conference in London. The Colonial delegates to the Trade Union Conference were invited to Manchester by the Pan-African Federation.

The basic programme of the Federation is:-

(1) To demand self-determination and independence of African peoples and other subject races from the domination of Powers claiming sovereignty and trusteeship over them.

(2) To secure equality of Civil rights for African people and the total abolition of all forms of racial discrimination.

(3) To promote the well-being and unity of African peoples and peoples of African descent throughout the world.

(4) To strive for the co-operation between African peoples and other peoples who share their aspirations.

48-5-48

The outcome of the informal meeting of Colonial delegates last February in Manchester was the idea of the present World Pan-African Congress. It was warmly received. The delegates took it back to their countries and discussed it with their peoples. Response was immediate and the business of organising the Congress proceeded.

CONGRESS AGENDA

The representative nature of the Congress is apparent from a glance at the Agenda, which covers the problems of Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world.

SATURDAY, 13th October:	Delegates report and various committees assemble. A social function in the evening - Congress Ball. 6-30 p.m.
SUNDAY, 14th October.	Luncheon to the delegates 12-30 noon. Orient. Visit to American Red Cross, Lever St., 6-30 p.m.
MONDAY, 15th October.	1st Session. Welcome of delegates by Lord Mayor of Manchester (Ald.W.P.Jackson). Reports and discussion on North and West Africa. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. 2nd Session. Reports and discussion on Southern Africa. 2-30 to 5 p.m.

TUESDAY, 16th October.	1st Session. Reports on East and Central Africa. 2nd Session. Resolutions on Africa.
WEDNESDAY, 17th October.	1st Session. Reports and discussion on the West Indies. 2nd Session. Further reports and discussion on the West-Indies. Social Function (Evening).
THURSDAY, 18th October.	1st Session. Resolutions on the West-Indies. 2nd Session. Reports and discussion on the Negro problem in North, South and Central America.
FRIDAY, 19th October.	1st Session. (a) Further reports and discussion on the Negro problem in North, South and Central America. (b) Report on the coloured communities in Europe. 2nd Session. (a) Resolutions on the Negro problem in North, South and Central America. (b) Resolutions on the coloured communities in Europe. Negro Life and Culture. 7-30 p.m.
SATURDAY, 20 October.	1st Session. General summing-up and decisions. 2nd Session. Special Session of the Congress committees and commissions. Banquet 7-30 p.m.
SUNDAY, 21st October.	Public Meeting. 3 p.m.

48-5-49

The struggles of the Colonial peoples for independence has entered a new phase. In particular, the colonial workers are showing a new mood of militancy. It is not a chauvinist mood. It is not narrow and racial. It is a mood that recognises clearly that the victory against Hitlerism can only be entrenched when the workers of the European countries and their leaders will find, in the words of the Open Letter to the Prime Minister:

> "The courage to face squarely the fact that Imperialism in one of the major causes of war. The courage to admit that any high-sounding blue-prints that beg the question of man's territorial and political domination by other men, whether their skins are white, yellow or black, is only staving off the day when the vils of war with their ghastly new scientific twists will again be unleashed on humanity" and to live up to that courage when they have found it. That would be a giant stride towards the century of the common man.

[1945]

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Publicity Dept,
Peter Abrahams - Director.

Head Office,
58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.

Press Release No.5.

T

Since Friday October12th. delegates to the Pan-African Congress have been arriving in Manchester in a steady stream.

The African National Congress of South Africa had informed the International Secretaries of their plans to send a delegation under the leadership of Dr.Xuma President of the African National Congress of South Africa if they could get travelling facilities. Their non- appearance suggests that the "pigmentocracy" that is South Africa is as ridden with colour bars now as it was before the appearance of the nazis

48-5-46

The American delegation under the leadership of Dr.E.B. Dubois is expected within a day

Fraternal delegates from various organisations in Gt.Britain will be present .

Below is a list of delegates who have so far arrived and registered:-

WEST AFRICA

		Organizations	Delegates
1.	Gambia.....	(a) Committee of Citizens	.....Garba Jahumpa .....Downes-Thomas
2.	Sierra Leone	(a) T.U.C.	.....Wallace Johnson
		(b) Youth League	" "
		(c) Sierra Teachers Union	.....Rev.H.A.E.Sawyer
		(d) The Peoples Forum	.....L.Tankoh
3.	Gold Coast	(a) Aborigines Rights Protection Society	.....Ashie-Nikoi
		(b) Ashanti Confederacy Council	.....
		(c) The Gold Coast African Railway Employees Union	.....J.S.Annan

(d) Gold Coast Youth Conference.....

(e) Gold Coast T.U.C.....

4. Nigeria) TTrade Union Congress of Nigeria... Chief Coker.
The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons..... Magnus Williams
F.B. Joseph.

5. East Africa.
(a) The Nyassaland African Congress.. Dr. Banda (subsistute G. Padmore)

6. Gt. Britain.
(a) The Negro Association..... C.D. Sayle
M. Faro.
F. Niles.
Dr. P. Milliard.
P. Richardson.

(b) The Negro Welfare Centres.....J.E. Taylor.
E.J. Duplan.
C.D. Hyde.
E.A. Cowan.
E.K. Taylor.

(c) Friends of Africa Freedom Society. Gold Coast.....B.A. Renner.

(D) Kikuye Central Association....Jomo Kenyatta.
Mako Hlubi.

(e) Coloured Workers Association..E.P. Marke.
E.A. Aki-Emi.
R.H. Daniju
J. Daniel.

(f) International African Service Bureau.....T.R. Makonnen.
G. Padmore.
P. Abrahams.
F.K. Nkrumah.

(g) Coloured Peoples Association of Edinburgh.....J.C. de Graft Johnson

(h) The Young African Progressive League.....R. Fini.
E. Brown.
G. Nelson.
A. Agunsanya.

	(i) United Committee of Coloured & Colonial Peoples Association...	A.E. Massell S.J.S.Andrew.
	(j) West African Students Union.....	F.R.Mankem Boadu. J.E.Appiah F.O.B.Blaize.
7. Jamaica	(a) Jamaica T.U.C.....	KenHill (substitute C.D.Sayle)
	(b) Peoples' National Party.....	Thoywell-Henry (substitute G.Bedford)
	(c) Universal Negro Improvement Association & Garvey's African Communities League.....	Miss Alma La Bardie

48-5-57

Later Speakers were

[1945]

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS.

PRESS RELEASE 10

The Session on East and Central Africa held on Wednesday morning was opened by a Report from Mr George Padmore who read greetings from Dr Zua and the Rev. Reginald Sorenson.

Mr Kenyatta ~~was the first speaker,~~ covering the six territories Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyassaland and the Rhodesias. He gave an outline of the conditions under which the native peoples lived before the advent of the Europeans. A picture of a happy and contented peoples enjoying the common use of the land with an agricultural, pastoral and hunting economy. He contrasted that picture with present day conditions with a landless native people of 14 millions, and a small minority of white Europeans forcing the natives to work at slave rates under appalling conditions. Mr Kenyatta detailed the conditions obtaining in the territories upon which he was reporting, varying only in detail, and all displaying the characteristic pattern of Imperialistic capitalism that Mr Kenyatta condemned. He called for political independence for East Africa, and an end to racial discrimination.

Mr Hiubi followed speaking on Southern Rhodesia. The Parliament there could not be representative of the coloured peoples while they could not be elected there. He called for constructive action.

Mr Hyde, West African, spoke of having to travel to S.Africa as a seaman because a visa would not be issued to him as a student. He spoke of attempts at racial segregation in Durban.
Mr Jahumps and Mr Nikoi made supporting speeches.

34-6-54

Mr Wallace Johnson spoke of the indifference of the British Press and Parliament to African problems. Speaking on the lack of educational facilities in West Africa, Mr Johnson said: "the position in West Africa is identical with that of East Africa. We have difficulty in obtaining any education at all". There was one school accommodating 250 children in a district of about 27,000 children. When attempts were made by the natives to found their own school for adults the Commissioner for the district directed that it should be closed. Mr Johnson declared: "Let us make up our minds that we will carry on the struggle from one state to another until final victory is assured".

Mr George Padmore, speaking on Southern Rhodesia, where there was a population of 50,000 Europeans and two million Africans, instances the fact that before Bills concerning the Black people could be made law, they must have the sanction of the Colonial Office. The land had been taken from the Africans and given to Europeans, the natives were then forced to work upon the farms and tobacco plantations at low wages. The Europeans wanted the three States to come together so that the laws now prevailing in Southern Rhodesia would be extended. Of Northern Rhodesia Mr Padmore told of London and American controlled copper mines where the wages paid to coloured workers amounted to 1/6d a day. White miners got £1 per day. Profits of the mining companies over the last sixty years averaged £10,000,000 and out of this there had been paid only about £1,500,000 in wages. Profits and income tax are paid to the Exchequer in London, the mining companies being registered in London, and taxes are paid to the country in which they are registered. Mr Padmore spoke of the increasingly progressive element among the younger coloured people and called on the Congress to give all support for the aspirations and demands of the peoples of East African territories.

Press Release No. 10

346-55

The Session on the West Indies was opened by George Padmore. He described the West Indies as being governed by sugar for sugar. Sugar dominated not only the political and economic life of the West Indies but every aspect of social existence. Mr Padmore gave a brief historic survey of the background of the Carribean area, from the time of the landing of Columbus in the 16th Century and the extermination by the Spaniards of the Red Indian inhabitants of the islands and the arrival of British and French settlers following the Spaniards, who used African labour as a reservoir of general labour supply. That was how the slave system began and millions of Africans were forced away from Africa to work as slaves on plantations in the West Indies. They remained slaves until their emancipationcin 1833. Later the British imported labour from India, and small groups of Chinese, Portuguese and other races from time to time had arrived there seeking employment. In spite of such a mixture of races there was no racial struggle in the islands. Mr Padmore said it was on going to the Americas that he was reminded of his differences in race. The West Indies were in the 19th century considered to be the most valuable possession in the world outside Europe.

Following Mr Padmore, Mr Ken Hill, representative of Jamaica Trade Union Council brought greetings and messages of solidarity to the people of Africa. He paid tribute to the work of Marcus Garvey. Mr Hill said his people were tired of special promises and declarations and were now demanding self government and an end to Crown Colony rule. He complained of absentee investors of Insurance Companies and so-called Government Savings Banks whose profits were exported abroad while poverty and unemployment remained in the islands. He warned that trouble would arise unless fair treatment was given to members of armed forces. "If our people are good enough to fight for the empire", he said, "then they are good enough to expect to be thought of as civilised human beings when they are demobilised and enjoy the fruits of a lasting peace".

Mr C. Lughington representing the West Indian National Party and the Federated Workers T.U. both of Trinidad declared "we don't want any transfer from British to American or any other Government. Imperialism, whoever administers it, is the same". He spoke of economic troubles of the islands and recommended nationalisation of the sugar and oil industries and state ownership of the public utilities as the way of keeping the wealth in the colonies needed for better education, housing and health services.

Mr Harper, delegate from British Guiana, the only British possession in South America, brought congratulations from the Rev. H.N. Critchlow. He said that under Crown Colony Government they were worse off than when they had self government. In an area covering 89,000 square miles there was a population of only 360,000 and yet they had unemployment. There was racial discrimination in favour of the small

white minority. He wanted Self Government for his country and later Federation with West Indian Colonies.

Mr F.F.F. Hojas, Trinidad Socialist Party and T.U.C. gave a comprehensive and factual review of the method of Government obtaining in Trinidad and Tobago.

Mr Yearwood, speaking for Barbadoes Progressive League and Workers Union, gave an outline of matters in Barbadoes, and said "The new day has come at last and Barbadians with the rest of oppressed peoples of the world are resolved to demand the right of self determination".

[1945]

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Press Release:- No. 12.

The main speakers at Friday's session were Dr. Du Bois and Dr. Armattoe.

Dr. Du Bois, speaking of the problems of the Negroes in the U.S.A., said: "I am going to talk about conditions of the American Negroes. The 14 million Negroes in America are, on the whole, poor, ignorant, and discriminated against. They are not as poor as the Negroes of Africa and the West Indies. They have succeeded in abolishing colour discrimination to a large extent. First of all, they are citizens of the U.S.A. They cast two million votes, which is about half the votes cast. No President would antagonize the Negroes, because of their voting strength. About 20% of the Negro population are employed in commerce, trade and skilled labour, 10% are in the professions.

Dr. Armattoe, from the Gold Coast, dealt with the politics and economics of West Africa. He estimated the population of West Africa to be 60 millions.

Speaking about the French in West Africa, Dr. Armattoe stressed how they have used the principle of educating a certain section of the people of the French territories to assimilate French culture. The French, he said, emphasise legal and social equality rather than political theory and freedom. French Colonials are divided by the French into two legal sections - the overpowering majority are known as "subjects" and are without rights, the "citizens", as the others are known, have the same rights as Frenchmen. The subjects are those born outside certain areas of West Africa, and they have the opportunity of qualifying for citizenship by fulfilling specified obligations.

Dr. Armattoe dealt at length with the Belgian Congo, stressing particularly the displacement of African workers by Belgian workers, and illustrated his conclusion that the history of the Belgian Congo is tragic for the indigenous peoples.

The British territories in West Africa were also dealt with by Dr. Armattoe. He declared that the British do not believe in the equality of Africans and Anglo-Saxons.

Finally, he replied to many questions, among them the question of whether there is a growing nationalist feeling among those who are "subjects" as against those who are "citizens". He replied that "all French Africans feel that it is better to be governed badly by your own people than to be governed well by anyone else".

The session adjourned until Saturday.

18-5-52

[1945]

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Press Release:- No. 13

A landmark in the bitter struggle of Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world for their emancipation was reached with the conclusion of the Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. The whole world - and particularly the Labour Movement - should be aware of the significance of this Congress and salute with pride the political "Coming of Age" of the Colonies in their struggle.

A cable was received from the President of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society of the Gold Coast, instructing the delegates from that terri ory that there must be no compromise on the question of independence of the Colonies. The cable said: "We request you to emphasise that in considering any proposal or scheme for self-government, emphasis should be laid on two facts that are often overlooked, namely: first, that Africa was self-governing before Europe tempered with her usages and institutions; secondly, that self-government need not be according to English models or ideals. It is not true that responsible and representative government is the invention of British statecraft. The British are notoriously incapable of recognising democracy in any country unless it wears an English garb or expresses itself in terms intelligible to the English mind. But the English form of democracy cannot work in non-English countries. Even the American variant differs essentially from the English. Provision should therefore be made in every constitution for the control of the legislature by a supreme court with wide powers, which can pronounce as to the validity or invalidity of questionable or unconstitutional measures."

Resolutions were received from West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, the Protectorates, West Indies, also from the Garvey Movement, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti, Indo-China, Java, India, America and Great Britain.

The Congress passed a resolution of solidarity with India in her struggle for freedom.

The Chairman welcomed Miss Dinah Stock, delegate from the Freedom Defence Committee. Miss Stock asked the delegates to give their support to a petition by the Freedom Defence Committee to the British Government, asking that political prisoners held under Defence of the Realm Regulation 18b now be granted amnesty. This petition the delegates later signed.

A banquet was held on Saturday evening for the delegates, at which several speeches were made.

A Committee was elected to discuss with the Executive of the Pan-African Federation the establishment of a secretariat to carry out the decisions of the Conference and prepare for the calling of the next one; and also to act as a clearing house and link between organisations of Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world.

The Congress concluded with a mass meeting, held in the Chorlton Town Hall, Manchester, on Sunday, October 21st, 1945. Dr. Du Bois was elected President of the Pan-African Congress, and he was presented with a silver cigarette box by Mr. T.R.Makonnen, on behalf of the delegates.

THE FORWARD MARCH OF AFRICANS AND PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT

SHALL GO ON !

48-5-53

(1945)

THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT

Credit for the first use of the word Pan-African should go to a West Indian attorney practicing in London, H. Sylvester Williams, whose nephew is the widely known George Padmore. Williams called a Pan-African Conference in London in July, 1900. The meetings were held in Westminster Town Hall and were attended by 32 delegates representing 8 different countries, chiefly Negroes resident in Europe, the United States and the British West Indies. There were three from Africa. The address of welcome was delivered by the Lord Bishop of London who afterward entertained the delegates at tea. A memorial was directed to Queen Victoria and answered by a promise that Her Government would not overlook the interests and welfare of native races. An address to the world was adopted appealing to civilisation not to let skin color or hair texture be made the excuse for denying half the world the right to share in opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.

Although a permanent organization was formed, nothing further was done for 19 years. Then the NAACP sent Dr. DuBois to Europe to study the condition of Negro soldiers and he with the help of M. Diagne, Deputy from Senegal, called the first Pan-African Congress which met at the Grand Hotel in February, 1919. Fifty-seven delegates were present, 16 from the United States, 15 from French West Indies, 7 from Haiti and 12 from Africa. Among those who took part were M. Van Overbergh of Belgium, Freire d'Andrade of Portugal, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell of the United States; 3 black members of the French Parliament from West Indies, the President of Liberia, the colored Mayor of Battersea, London, Madame Julia Siefried of the French National Association for the Rights of Women, and others.

Resolutions were adopted to be presented to the Peace Conference at Versailles which was then in session. The resolutions demanded native ownership of land in Africa, control of capital investment, free labor, education, health and self-government. "Wherever persons of African descent are civilised and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture they should be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens. They should not be denied, on account of race or color, a voice in their own government, justice before the courts, and economic and social equality according to ability and desert."

The second Pan-African Congress which met in London, Brussels and Paris, August 28, 29 and 31 and September 2, 3, 5 and 6, represented different groups of people of Negro descent: namely, British Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, the Egyptian Sudan, British East Africa, former German East Africa; French Senegal, the French Congo and Madagascar; Belgian Congo; Portuguese St. Thome, Angola and Mozambique; Liberia, Abyssinia; Haiti, British Jamaica and Grenada; French Martinique and Guadeloupe; British Guiana; the United States of America, Negroes resident in England, France, Belgium and Portugal, and fraternal visitors from India, Morocco, the Philippines and Annam. There were 110 delegates in all. The Congress was watched and reported on by English, French, American, Belgian and other European papers. Among the notable speakers and visitors were Norman Leys, Professor Gilbert Murray and John H. Harris, of England, Paul Otlet and Senator LaFontaine of Belgium, Bellegarde of Haiti, Diagne and Candace of France. Henry O. Tanner and Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Spingarn, Walter White and Rayford Logan of the United States of America, William Rappard of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and others. The resolutions adopted directed the executive officers of the Congress to approach the League of Nations with three requests: A section in the International Bureau of Labor to deal with Native Negro labor; a Negro member to be appointed to the Mandates Commission, and regard for the rights of persons of Negro descent in civilised countries.

The third Pan-African Congress met in November, 1923, in Dennison House, Lo England, with an adjourned session in Lisbon. Thirteen countries were represente the London sessions and eleven at the Lisbon session. Among the distinguished visi and speakers were Harold Laski, Sir Sidney afterward Lord Olivier and H. G. Wells of England; Chief Amoah III, Gold Coast; and Jose do Magalhaes, Member of Portuguese Parl. ment, together with the Minister of Colonies of Portugal and a former minister.

A fourth Pan-African Congress was planned to meet in the West Indies in 1925 but difficulties in transportation occurred. Attempts were made to assemble the Congress in Northern Africa but colonial governments objected. Finally, the fourth Congress was assembled in New York City in August, 1927, and financed by the Circle of Peace and Foreign Relations under the late Mrs. A. W. Hunton. Dr. DuBois and Rayford Logan acted as chairman and secretary. Among the chief speakers were Bellegarde of Haiti, Herskovitz of Columbia, Menshing of Germany and John Vandercook. There were 208 delegates representing 22 states of the United States of America and the West Indies, South America, Africa, Germany and India. The resolutions demanded for Negroes a voice in their own government, the withdrawal of American military forces from Haiti and native land ownership in Africa. A committee to call a fifth Pan-African Congress was appointed with Dr. DuBois as Chairman and Dantes Bellegarde and Rayford Logan as members with the right to enlarge their number.

The economic disruption of the world followed and no future attempt to assemble a Pan-African Congress was made until recently. On the 9th of April, returning from the World Trade Union Conference in London, Mr. Henry Lee Moon reported to Dr. DuBois:

> "Colored people in Britain express a great deal of interest in proposals for a Pan-African Congress. All of them look to you for leadership in calling and guiding such a Congress. ********** A provisional committee was set up to coordinate activities leading to a Pan-African Congress. This committee was composed of James Talor from the Gold Coast; Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; Dr. Peter McD. Milliard from British Guiana; Ato Makonnen of Ethiopia and I.A.T. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone. All of these save Wallace Johnson are resident in Manchester. George Padmore is acting as secretary to this committee."

Mr. George Padmore wrote April 12th:

> "A number of Colonial organizations in Manchester organised a Co-ordinating Committee for the purpose of entertaining these overseas delegates; and they secured the endorsement of the mass organisations which these Colonial delegates represented to the Co-ordinating Committee constituing itself as a sort of convening body to issue a call to the Colonial peoples and other Coloured communities for a world conference. The question of the proposed date arose in relation to the fact that in September next a large group of Colonial representatives is expected to arrive in Europe in connection with the formal launching of the new Trade Union International. It was therefore thought that if we could avail ourselves of their presence, a Pan-African Conference could be held, or, if it was considered inopportune, that at least a preliminary conference could take place, to set a date for a world conference, when the convenience of travel and other factors permitted."

Dr. H. A. Moody, President of the League of Coloured Peoples, and President last year of the London Missionary Society, has also written commending the idea by proposing that the "Conference in Paris in September next as something in the shape of a preliminary exploratory meeting to plan and prepare for the larger affair, to set afloat investigations which will render the later Conference a much more effective gathering. Why not let it be the 'Dumbarton Oaks' in preparation for our 'San Francisco'?"

Two years ago the government of Southern Rhodesia requested that the Union of South Africa convene a Pan-African "Conference" for coordination of East and South Africa. North Rhodesia and Kenya joined, asking the British Government to invite General Smuts to "arrange a Pan-African Conference immediately." This conference envisages a meeting of whites with no native representation.

This, then, is the present situation. African delegates representing trade unions and organizations for social uplift in Africa and England and France will be present in France in September. If we do not lead the way there is nothing to hinder them from forming a Pan-African movement of their own without the participation and guidance of American Negroes. If they do not do this, and perhaps even if they do, white South and East Africa with their Pan-African movement will seek to consolidate white control of Africa. It seems, therefore, essential that we should step into this movement as soon as possible.

On the other hand, difficulties of transportation, difficulties of food and entertainment, the attitude of our State Department, and the cost are all difficult matters for us to settle. I have obtained the cordial assent of the French Minister of Colonies which June first "gives its entire agreement to Dr. DuBois' proposal," of a Congress in September. This proposal was laid before M. Flaven of the French Delegation at San Francisco.

I have estimated that the cost of holding the Congress, including the expenses of two delegates, would be about $2500. It is impossible at present to be more precise and definite concerning the Congress until we have some word from the State Department at Washington.

W. E. B. DuBois

28-15-31

At the Pan African Congress sitting in Manchester, there was presented yesterday one of the most extraordinary stories of economic exploitation which has been told. It is pretty well known that the black farmers of West Africa fighting against the introduction of the Plantation System have made the Gold Coast the greatest cocoa-raising region of the world. It is not known how ~~fascist~~ British capital has tried to retrieve through selling arrangements, the profits which they lost by not being able to introduce slave labour. The object of the merchants has been to obtain a complete monopoly and thus fix prices for cocoa and other raw material, by cartels and restrictive word agreements. They went far, but the native producers fighting through the Colonial Governments held them somewhat in check. These local Colonial Governments were, however, under the ~~control~~ domination of home monopolies and could not be fully controlled.

38-5-11

The merchants in 1937 formed a Buying Agreement ~~which they called "co-operation"~~ in order to fix prices and control the entire cocoa crop. The producers organized a strike and refused to put their cocoa on the market. A Royal Commission came to the Gold Coast. They condemned the Buying Agreement and recommended strengthening the economic position of the producers in relation to the buyers. The Colonial Governments stalled, but at the outbreak of War the British Government practically made itself the centre of a new Buying Agreement by monopolizing the cocoa crop. At the back of these Colonial Governments stood the strong cocoa firms dominating the Home Government.

As a result in 1941/2 farmers received 60 dollars a ton for their cocoa which sold at the same time in England for 180 dollars a ton and in the United States for 200 dollars a ton. In addition to that a War Sur-tax of 4 dollars a ton was laid on the producers. On the other hand goods imported from England rose without restriction so that from Austria cotton cloth which sold for 1 dollar 20 cents a yard before the War is now selling for 20 dollars a yard.

The Government made 50 million dollars profit from Gold Coast and Nigerian cocoa and now propose to use this money without giving the producers any voice whatever on its disposal.

38-5-12

Representatives of 300,000 of these farmers are attending the Pan African Congress. The Colonial Secretary, Hall, has refused to see them and the Committee which heard them listened while six of them got up and left.

In a great square Hall in Manchester in that England of the Economic Revolution and where the Slave Trade first brought Capitalism to Europe, there met yesterday and today the Fifth Pan African Congress.

As I entered the Hall there were about 100 Black men present. They represented many parts of Africa. - the Gambia, that oldest and smallest of English West African Colonies that numbers 200,000 Negroes; Siera Leoni with 2 million, the Gold Coast with ½ million and so to Nigeria with more than 20 million. They were mostly young men and full of enthusiasm and a certain exuberant determination. Around the walls were slogans "Africa arise, the long, long night is over ", "Africa for the Africans"; "Down with the Colour Bar", and then the slogans reached out - "Freedom for all subject people"; "Oppressed peoples of the Earth Unite"; "Down with Anti-Semitism" and some specific demands like "Ethiopa wants out to the Sea"; "Arabs and Jews Unite against British Imperialism".

There were at the morning Session, Tuesday, 7 speakers. One from the Gold Coast, educated in America NKRUMAH. He demanded absolute independence and a Federation of West African Republicans.. NIKOI followed, Chairman of the West African Delegation to the Colonial Office. He spoke with force and rhythmic eloquence, charging Great Britain with the beginnings of slavery and speaking as a representative of that Aborigines' Protection Society which obtained from Queen Victoria the dictum "I had rather have your loyalty than your land" He was fierce in his demands - "Down with Imperialism ! No Dominion Status - I want to be Free" He represents 300,000 farmers of the Gold Coast, the upper class farmers who raise the greatest crop of Cocoa in the World. He complained of the new Colonial Secretary of the Labour Government who refused to remove economic controls. He said that the West African Produce Control monopolises the natural products and fixes prices for a mass of people whose average income is 20 dollars a year.

Then came ANNAN, a worker Delegate from the Gold Coast Railway Employees Union. He told how in 1944 they had celebrated on the Gold Coast the Centenary of the Bond; that original effort at Black Democracy in West Africa and a Century after that Bond the issue on the Gold Coast is poverty - grinding poverty.

He reminded his hearers that the workers must be able to live in order to vote, that the Gold Coast needed industrial development and that sacrifices were necessary if their demands were to be granted. They must be willing to live with the dockers and miners. There is Imperialism among us Negroes, ourselves and we must remember that we can expect no more from a British Labour Government than from a Tory Government. COKER, Delegate of the Nigeria Trade Union Congress was more measured in his demands. He too represents the Cocoa Farmers, but he stressed certain remedies like co-operation and planning and believed that India's Gandhi had the remedy in non-violence.

Then came perhaps the best known man in West Africa WALLACE JOHNSON, Delegate of the Siera Leone Trade Union Congress and of the Moslem League. He represents 10,000 organised workers and 25,000 unorganised workers, and in order to establish these Unions he has spent 5 years in British West African Prisons. Trade Unionism in Africa he said was developed against and in spite of the Law and they had a much harder time than Unionism in Britain. He drew violent applause from the audience. I have brought, he said, a monster document to the Labour Govt. In 150 years Britain in my country has made but 5% of the population literate and today instead of sending prepared students to England they cater to reaction and complacency. He instanced the fact that in Siera Leone, Ginger, bringing 25 ~~dollars~~ pounds a ton in the open market before the War had to be sold to the merchants for £11 ~~dollars~~ a ton and after the fall of Singapore when the price rose to £100 ~~dollars~~ a ton, the Black Merchants got only £30 ~~dollars~~.

DOWNS-THOMAS of Gambia spoke for the oldest West African Colony and demanded the abolition of Crown Colony Government. How, he said, can 40 different Colonies in all stages of development be ruled by the Colonial Office?

Perhaps the best and most philosophical speech was made by OWOLOWO of the Nigerian Youth Movement. He said that the long range programme was Independence for Nigeria, but the short range programme had to meet internal hindrances like poverty, ignorance and disease and taking account of the fact that the Negroes were unarmed; that the external hindrance was the British Government itself which would never willingly give up the Colonies. The Leaders must go down to the masses and he agreed with Blaze of the West African States Union that it is idiotic to think of the Colonies as liabilities. If they were they never would be kept by the Imperial Government. Attrocities are not confined to Germany and Japanese prisons

They were all too common in the English Prisons before the War and British Democracy apparently was not for export.

38-5-18

FIFTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS. MANCHESTER. TUESDAY, 16th Oct. 1945.

The Fifth Pan African Congress has been meeting now for 3 days in Manchester, England. It was first planned for Paris to follow the Trade Union Congress. Difficulties of living made it seem better to transfer it to London and finally it was brought to Manchester where better accommodations could be found.

It is in a way logical to have the peoples of Africa air their problems in the centre of England where the Economic Revolution began and in that Region where the African Slave Trade first brought Capitalism to Europe.

Something over 200 Delegates have met in Charlton Town Hall, Manchester. They are for the most part Delegates sent directly from African Colonies. Represented there is Gambia with 200,000 Negroes, Sierra Leone with a million, the Gold Coast with 4 million; the Union of South Africa with 7½ million natives and coloured people; Nigeria with over 20 Millions and still other Colonies in North Africa and the West Indies.

The Delegates for the most part are young men, some of them immature and [illegible], others with considerable experience in Colonial life and Social development. The proceedings have been of great interest, the speakers exhibiting not only the natural eloquence of Negroes, with something of emotionalism; but also an illuminating substratum of hard fact and careful judgment.

One can trace more or less clearly two tendencies; a Self criticism warning against inner class conflict; urging to sacrifice as the beginning of reform; The other, and the stronger, a demand, sometimes arising to bitterness for Self Government and even Independence.. The basis of these demands has been an exposition of Colonial conditions that has astonished people who know something of what Colonies mean. It was emphasised for instance, that in West Africa under the Controls of War Administration, Ginger, which used to sell at 25 pounds a ton, and then in war-time rose to 100 pounds, was bought from the Black farmers, under compulsion, at 11 pounds and 30 pounds. Representatives of 300,000 farmers of the Gold Coast complained bitterly of the refusal of the new Colonial Secretary of the Labour Government to listen to any change at present in the Economic Controls now in use. Each speaker emphasised the poverty of West Africa,-grinding poverty. They told of families receiving an average of 5 pounds a year for their work and skilled labour at 2/- a day.

Perhaps the best known Delegate was Wallace Johnson, representing 10,000 organised and 25,000 unorganised workers, who has been 5 years in British West African prisons in order to promote Unionism.
As one speaker put it, Concentration Camps did not begin in Germany and Japan, but still exist in Africa, and British Democracy is for home consumption and not for export.

W.E.B. DUBOIS

a final report sent!

The Fifth Pan African Congress meeting in Manchester with 200 Delegates representing 60 Nations and Groups of African descent finished their work to-day and will adjourn with a Mass Meeting to-morrow at Chorlton Town Hall. On Thursday and Friday, complaints and appeals were heard from Ethiopia and the West Indies. Ethiopia demands the return of Eritrea and Somaliland and ports of the sea. She charges that England is occupying and proposing to keep some of the best grain lands of Ethiopia. The Delegates from the West Indies, that former Empire of sugar by sugar for sugar, complained of poverty and neglect with land monopoly and low wages in the face of 100% in the cost of living. The situation brought revolutionary strikes and riots in 1937, led by Butler, Bustamente and Payne, who were promptly thrown in jail. Reforms followed. Something approaching Home Rule has been granted in Jamaica and other, but insufficient reforms in various Islands. Later a Black Professor from Londonderry reported on French Africa and its rising Nationalism. Finally, the Congress, in addition to a large number of specific reforms demanded in all of the various Colonies made this general appeal to the world.

Who was the first resolution.

200

The Delegates of the Fifth Pan African Congress believe in peace. How could they do otherwise when for centuries they have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans as a last resort may have to appeal to force, in order to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free; we want education, the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, and to adopt and create forms of beauty. Without all this, we die even if we live.

We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence so far and no further than it is possible in this 'One World' for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable World Unity and Federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people; we are willing even now, to sacrifice and strive to correct our all too human faults; but we are unwilling longer to starve while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discredited Imperialism. We condemn monopoly of capital and rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy; wherefore, we are going to complain, appeal and arraign; we are going to make the World listen to the facts of our conditions. For their betterment we are going to fight in all and ever way we can.

To this statement we append the immediate and specific demands of various groups of peoples of African descent.

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To this statement we append the immediate and specific demands of various groups of peoples of African descent.

3-8-5-1

Pan-Africans Extend Greetings To Negro America

By GEORGE PADMORE
(Defender London Correspondent)

LONDON—After hearing a report by DuBois on the status and aspirations of thirteen million Afro-Americans based on historic survey from the reconstruction period to the present period, the Pan African Congress passed a resolution of solidarity and extended fraternal greetings to peoples of African descent living in the United States.

The Congress declaration ran as follows: "American Negroes continue their demand for full rights of American citizenship, economic, political and social. They will continue to fight for their rights by intelligent organized planning, as well as by legal contention and political pressure. Pan African Congress opposes the unequal distribution of wealth, also the rule of wealth and the conduct of industry solely for private profit.

"We offer a united effort with trade union labor. We believe that the success of Afro-Americans is bound up with the emancipation of all African peoples; also other dependent peoples and laboring classes everywhere."

Discussion on the American Negro subject took place in a special session at which fraternal greetings from Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Jones Quartey, secretary of the African Students' Association of America and Canada; Lester Taylor, secretary of the International Convention of African Peoples of the World, organized by the New York Garvey club, were announced. Warm applause was expressed by colonial delegates, after which the above quoted resolution was unanimously adopted.

(1)

Pan African Congress

1945

The idea of the Fifth Congress was born after the World Trade Union Conference in London in February, 1945. The colonial delegates to the Trade Union Conference were invited to Mancester, where the Pan-African Federation was just in the process of coming to life. An informal meeting was held and representatives from the various colonies exchanged information and discussed their problems. As a result of these discussions, George Padmore threw out the idea of a world Pan-African Congress. It was warmly received. The delegates took it to their countries and discussed it with their peoples. Response was immediate and the business of organising the Congress proceeded.

DECLARATION OF FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TO IMPERIALIST POWERS OF THE WORLD.

The delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace. How could it be otherwise when, for centuries the African peoples have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be Free. We want education, the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, and to adopt and create forms of beauty. Without all this, we die to live.

We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in the 'ONE WORLD' for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We are willing even now to sacrifice and strive to correct our all too human faults. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support, by our poverty and ignorance,

(Continues on 2 following pp.)

a false aristocracy and a discredited Imperialism.

We condemn monopoly of capital and rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome Economic Democracy as the only real democracy; wherefore we are going to complain, appeal and arraign. We are going to make the world listen to the facts of our conditions. For their betterment, we are going to fight in all and every way we can.

MANIFESTO TO THE COLONIAL WORKERS, FARMERS AND INTELLECTUALS OF AFRICA

We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all Colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All Colonies must be free from foreign Imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the Colonies must have the right to elect their own government, a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the Colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal.

The object of Imperialist Powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the Colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front lines of the battle against Imperialism. Your weapons -- the Strike and the Boycott -- are invincible.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress calls upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the Colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration

and strike; freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action - the organization of the masses.

Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World - Unite!

38-5-3

1. League of C.F. reception Nov 15 Nov 21 Nov 20 Lond
Press Conference
- Danish Oct
Norwegian Oct
- Swedish weekly Kungl Nov 11 Finnish Prochy
Danish League Reelected 35 - 22 Nov.
- Icelandic Finnish Con Oct 30 & 4
Published
Brus Pamphlet Co. Nov 15
- Leader Nov 8
- Leaflet Nov 12
N.L. Chief — Nov 7 Pilot + Wakeliffe
- Nat-Bulletin Nov 12 Nov 19
- Welsh
Pamphlet N
- Friends Nov 22
Red Cross - Thanksgiving
- UNESCO Nov. 5

385-13

OD Hon 12 Lv. Gen. Nov 14
Nov 15 Manchester — Chair
OD Hon 15-21 PA Conf 5
London + Paris
Gen Counsel - Reception
30 - Summer - Lee
UNESCO — U.S. State dept Klemp Nov 1-16
Youth

38-5-14

OLD BECOMING NEW BECOMING OLD

[Pan-Africa?]
[1945?]

Organizations in United States

New York State Conference NAACP, James Egert Allen, President
National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Mae Wright Downs, President
National Sunday School, B.T.U. Congress, Dr. W.H. Jernagin, President
National Bar Association, Earl B. Dickerson, President
West Coast Regional Office NAACP, N.W. Griffin, Regional Secretary
American Teachers Association, Walter N. Ridley, President
National Association of Colored Women, Inc., Mrs. Christine S. Smith, President
Non-Partisan Interfaith Citizens Committee, C.B. Powell, A. Clayton Powell, co-chairmen
National Negro Congress, Max Yergan, President
Council on African Affairs, Max Yergan, Executive Director
Southern Negro Youth Congress, Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary
Improved Order of Elks of the World, J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Belford V. Lawson

Individuals

John Haynes Holmes, Community Church New York
Horace R. Cayton, Parkway Community House
Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman 22nd District New York
Oswald Garrison Villard
Frank Kingdon
Ruth Bryan Rhode, Formerly Minister to Sweden
Carl Van Doren
Willard S. Townsend
Henry Lee Moon
George L-P Weaver
H.A. Wieschhoff

African Organizations

National Council of Nigeria representing 140 organizations, 110 towns in British West Africa, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Acting President

Non-European Unity Committee, Union of South Africa, Z.R. Mahabane, Chairman

Pan-African Federation, Manchester, England affiliated with 12 organizations of Negroes in Europe and Africa, T.K. Makonen, Secretary

His Excellency, Ras Has Immru of the Imperial Ethiopian Legation, has expressed "his sympathy for your efforts in the interest and welfare of the African people and to wish you success."

4/18/47

Form E

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS IN AFRICA AND WEST INDIES [Pan-Africa?] [1945?]

WEST AFRICA

Hon. Edward Small, Trades Union Congress, Bathurst, Gambia, West Africa
Councillor Jamba Jahumpa, Gambia Youth League, 67, Hagen Street, Bathurst, Gambia
Barrister Tabuka Matza, Secretary, West African National Congress, Freetown, Sierra Leone
The Secretary, West African Youth League, 7, Trelwaney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone
The Secretary, Trades Union Congress; 7, Trelawney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone
Councillor Allotsay Hammond, Secretary, Aborigines Rights Protection Society, Cape Coast; Gold Coast
The Secretary, Ashanti Confederated Council, Kumasi, Ashanti, Gold Coast,
Dr. J.B. Danquah, Secretary, Gold Coast Youth Conference, Accra, Gold Coast
The Secretary, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, B.O.Box 573, Lagos, Nigeria
The Secretary, Youth Movement, c/o "Daily Service", Lagos, Nigeria
John Birmingham, Cameroons Native Council, 20, Ajasar Street, Lagos, Nigeria

EAST AFRICA

The Secretary, African Union, P.O. Box 1009, Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa
(This organisation is in contact with the parallel organisation in Tanganyika and you could send along the document in duplicate and ask them to send one on)

SOUTH EAST AFRICA

L.Z. Zumba, President, Nyasaland National Congress, Blantyre, Nyasaland, East Africa

SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. A.B. Xuma, President, African National Congress, 104, End Street, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa
Dr. Edward Roux, P.O.B. 1589, Cape Town, Union of South Africa
The Joint Secretaries, S. Jayiya & E. Ramsdale, Non-European Unity Committee, P.O.Box 3475, Cape Town, Union of South Africa
Chief Tshekedi, Khama, Bechuanaland, South Africa

42/8F/31

WEST INDIES

Quintin O'Connor, Federated Workers Trade Union; 61, Charlotte Street, Port-of-Spain Trinidad
Ralph Mentor, Oilfields Workers Union, 16, Coffee Street, San Fernando; Trinidad
Lennox Pierre, Secretary, Trinidad Youth Council, 1, Cavanagh Street, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad
Hon. Albert Gomes, President, United Front Council, c/o 61, Charlottee Street, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad
Dr. David Pitt, President, West Indian National Party , San Fernando, Trinidad
Ken Hill, Jamaica Trade Union Council; 129, Tower Street, Kingston, Jamaica
Richard Hart, Assistant Secretary, Caribbean Labour Conference, 129, Tower Street, Kingston, Jamaica
Hon. W. Alexander Bustamante, Jamaica Labour Party, Kingston, Jamaica
Norman Manley, President, Peoples National Party, Kingston; Jamaica
Hugh Springer, President, Barbados Progressive League and Union; Bridgetown, Barbados
Samuel James, Secretary, Antigua Trade Union; St Johns, Antigua
Joseph N. France, Secretary, St.Kitts-Nevis Trade Union, Basseterre, St. Kitts
Hon. T. Albert Marryshaw, Grenada Working Men's Association, St. Georges, Grenada
Hon. Hubert Crichlow, British Guiana Labour League, Georgetown, British Guiana
F.C. Archer, New Negro Development Association, Georgetown, British Guiana.

[Pan-Africa?]
[1945?]

ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Hotel Astor N.Y. 19.

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Congress of American Women

Council for Pan American Democracy 23 W. 26 St

~~National Lawyers Guild~~

Phillip Murray, C.I.O. United Mine Workers Bldg. Wash. D.C.

American Council on Race Relations

Americans United For World Organization (~~Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune~~) Government Mrs J. Borden Harriman 1860 B'way

42/85/25

ORGANIZATIONS ABROAD

Dr. A. B. Xuma, African National Congress, Sofiatown, Transvaal, U. of South Africa

Isaac T. A. Wallace-Johnson, African Standard, West African Youth League, 7 Trelawney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone, Africa.

S. P. Stevens, Secy.-Pres., West African Intercolonial Trade Union Federation, c/o African Standard, 7 Trelawney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Nnamdi Azikiwe, West African Pilot, National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, 34 Commercial Avenue, Yaba Estate, Lagos, Nigeria.

F. N. Nkrumah, West African National Secretariat, 94 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1, England.

Dr. Harold A. Moody, League of Colored Peoples, 19 Old Queen St., Westminster S.W.1, England.

Dr. E. Dietrich, President, African Peoples Organization, c/o The African Standard, 7 Trelawney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

J. B. Marks, Pres., Council of Non-European Trade Unions, Johannesburg, S.Africa.

Prof. D. D. Jabavu, Non-European Unity Movement, All African Convention, Fort Hare, Alice C.P., Union of South Africa.

L. Z. Mumba, Leader of Nyasaland African Congress, Nyasaland, Africa.

Y. Samkange, Pres., Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress, Salzbury, Southern Rhodesia

James I. Gichuru, Pres., Kenya African Study Union, P.O. Box 1009, Nairobi, Kenya, Africa.

Elibu Mathu, African member of Legislative Council, Kenya, Africa.

Charles Mzingeli, Chairman, African Branch, S. R. Labor Party, Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia.

[Pan-African Federation]

AN OPEN LETTER
TO THE
PRIME MINISTER

40/88/15

. From .

The Pan-African Federation

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester, 1.
September, 1945.

Dear Prime Minister,

At its last meeting the Pan-African Federation, the unifying body of the following organisations of African peoples and peoples of African descent—

International African Service Bureau.
Negro Welfare Centres.
Negro Association.
Kikuyu Central Association, Kenya.
African Progressive Association, London.
Coloured Workers' Association, London.
Sierra Leone Section African Youth League.
Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.
Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.
United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.
African Union, Glasgow University.
Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.
West African Students Union, of Great Britain and Ireland

decided that this was an opportune moment to address this open letter to you as Head of the Government of the People of Great Britain, laying before you certain constructive suggestions on the Colonies and the problems of colonial people generally.

First, however, we wish to welcome Labour's great victory, for which we, as Colonials, have hoped and worked alongside Britain's workers. It makes possible the inauguration of the century of the common man. Courage, vision, planning and fearless work can turn this possibility into reality. The dark-skinned workers, no less than the pale-skinned, want freedom from war, want and fear. The victory of the common man here is the victory of the common man in Africa, Asia and other colonial lands.

To consolidate this great victory, however, courage is needed. The courage to face squarely the fact that Imperialism is one of the major causes of war. The courage to admit that any high-sounding blue-prints that beg the question of man's territorial and political dominations by other men, whether their skins are white, yellow, or black, is only staving off the day when the evils of war with their ghastly new scientific twists will again be unleashed on humanity. It is the challenge of our time that you, Comrade Attlee, and your Government, should give the Socialist answer to the Tory Imperialism of Mr. Churchill's "What we have we hold." What will your answer be?

To condemn the Imperialism of Germany, Japan and Italy while condoning that of Britain would be more than dishonest, it would be a betrayal of the sacrifices and sufferings and the toil and sweat of the common people of this country. All Imperialism is evil.

The Pan-African Federation, which is a responsible body representing vast sections of African and Colonial thought, demands for the colonial peoples the immediate right to self-determination. It would be an effective step in the process of banishing wars.

On day-to-day issues we suggest:—

(1) That the Kenya Land Ordinance and the Sierra Leone Municipal Ordinance be held over, as the people request, that they might have the opportunity to state their viewpoint.

(2) That the flogging of African troops, as punishment, be ended immediately.

(3) That the various educational reforms embodied in the West Indian and West African reports on higher education be put into operation and speeded up.

(4) That the Royal Commission Report on the West Indies, suppressed since 1940, be published immediately.

(5) That the Sedition, Deportation and Undesirable Literature Ordinances be repealed; as well as the Assessors' Ordinance, and that the Colonial Criminal Code be brought into line with the Criminal Code in Great Britain.

(6) That discrimination because of race, colour or creed in Britain be made a punishable offence.

(7) That the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of colour, race or creed, be made an established practice in the Colonial Civil Service.

(8) That Labour reaffirms its determination to keep race-ridden South Africa out of the Protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland), and that Labour pursues a vigorous policy to end the colour bar in the Colonies.

Finally, we suggest that the Colonial Office calls a conference of representative African and other Colonial leaders elected by the people of the various colonies and discusses with them the problems of the common peoples of their lands and the solutions to those problems. That would indeed be heralding in the period of co-operation, of partnership, as against domination. It would be a giant stride towards the century of the common man.

Yours fraternally,

for the Executive Committee,

PETER M. MILLIARD.

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J. E. TAYLOR, M.A. (Cantab.)

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E. A. COWAN.

HEAD OFFICE:—
58, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER, 1
ENGLAND

[Pan-African federation]
(1945?)

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN SERVICE BUREAU

(AFFILIATED TO THE PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION)

HEAD OFFICE:

~~58, OXFORD ROAD,~~
~~MANCHESTER.~~

LONDON BUREAU:

22, CRANLEIGH HOUSE,
CRANLEIGH STREET,
LONDON, N.W.1.

42/9/46

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE

PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION

22 CRANLEIGH HOUSE

CRANLEIGH STREET

LONDON - N.W.I.

ENGLAND.

9 March 1945

20-4-27

My dear Madam:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation and statement for a Colonial Conference in New York. We would, of course, be delighted if you could attend but I feel that perhaps your engagements may prevent this. However, there is one service which possibly you could render us and that is to indicate what Indians resident in America today should be invited so that the various Indian points of view and provinces would be adequately represented. We have written Mr. Kumar Goshal, Reverend Ramkrishna Shahu Modak and Mr. Anup Singh.

I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit
c/o Mr. Richard Walsh
John Day and Company
40 East 49th Street
New York City

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY INC. *PUBLISHERS*

ARISE FOR IT IS DAY.

40 EAST 49th STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 26, 1945

20-4-24

Mr. W. E. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Re: Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter and enclosed statement regarding a colonial conference in New York. I am sure that such a conference would have my entire sympathy, and I would consider it a priviledge if I could serve this cause in any way. But I do not think it will be possible for me to attend, as my programme is a little uncertain and sometimes I may have to leave New York at a moment's notice.

I would suggest that you should extend an invitation to Mr. Shridharani at the Ansonia Hotel who, I believe, might be of some help.

With best wishes for the success of the conference,

Yours sincerely,

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

RESERVE

42-18-9

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO A MEETING

FOR

MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

INDIA LEADER, SISTER OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AT

SCOTTISH RITE AUDITORIUM

SUTTER AND VAN NESS

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 27, 1945 AT 8:00 P. M.

R. S. V. P.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM
268 MARKET ST., SAN FRANCISCO 11

DOUGLAS 6936

20-14-48

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

14th November 1945

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone: BUCkhurst 2463.

Your Ref. _____

Our Ref. ESP/BW

W.E.B.Du Bois Esq.,
Belfield House,
Greenhill Park,
New Barnet.

Dear Mr.Du Bois,

I should very much like to see you before you go to America, but I have very much to do - really far too much at the moment. If you could come here it would be most suitable, but I know that is very much to ask of you. I am enclosing a prepaid telegram form for you to reply as to whether Friday at 5 o'clock would suit you, and perhaps you would care to appoint somewhere in London that would suit you.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E.Sylvia Pankhurst.

8 March 1945

20-4-22

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing a proposed invitation which we are going to send out for a Colonial Conference and also a statement of the kind of report which we seek. I should very much like your advice as to what representative Indians resident in or near New York should be invited. I want to get, if possible, an over-all picture from various localities and points of view. I should be obliged for any advice you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Bohle Panth
~~418 Central Park West~~ 66 West 69th Street
New York 23, N. Y.

[PANTH]

66 West 69th Street
New York C.5, 23
March 15.'46

Colonial Conference

Dear Dr Du Bois:

Your letter of March 6 was delayed in getting to me at my new address.

The Indian whom I can recommend most heartily is Kumar Ghosal. He tells me that he has already been invited to the conference and plans to attend.

There is another name I can suggest - that of ~~Srinivas~~ Srinivas Tata, a newspaperman, recently from India. He can be reached by mail at 879 Longwood Ave, Bronx, N.Y. - or by 'phone at the temporary office of Amerasia News Service Inc., 154 Nassau Street, New York 7 - Courtland 7-2194. 'Phone messages can be left for him at this number.

Yours Sincerely

Nikola D. Panth.

20-4-38

66 West 69th Street
New York City, 23.
March 26, 1945

Dear Dr Du Bois:

Thank you very much for sending me an invitation to the Colonial Conference.

I am working on a war job with the Western Electric Co., so that it may not be easy for me to get away. However, I am very eager to attend the conference and shall do my best to be there.

It will not be possible for me to draw up a statement on all the points listed. But I shall attempt to draft a short statement relating to studied policy of opposition to industrialization in India imposed by our British Governors, and the need for a planned industrialization of India as envisioned by diverse sections of Indian leadership. Should I succeed in working this out under the limitations of my present situation, you would have a copy of the draft by April Third.

Yours Cordially
Bhola D. Panth

(Bhola D. Panth)

20-4-29

29 March 1945

28-4-80

My dear Mr. Panth:

I hope very much that you can come to the Colonial Conference. Your statement concerning the policy of opposition to industrialization in India will be exactly the kind of thing we should like to have. I shall hope to see you there.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Bhola D. Panth
66 West 69th Street
New York City 23

April 2. '45

Colored Conference

My Dear Dr Du Bois:

I had hoped to mail a short statement to you for the Conference. I deeply regret my inability to do that.

I am reluctant even to make a conditional promise now. At any rate I hope to be present and share in the deliberations.

Yours Sincerely

Rhoda D. Forth

20-4-81

20-4-142

9 March 1945

My dear Mr. Parris:

I am sending you enclosed an invitation and statement concerning a proposed Colonial Conference which we are holding April sixth. I write to ask if you can recommend anyone from any of the French colonies who could take part? We would especially like representatives from Asiatic colonies, French Equatorial and West Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons, Madagascar, Algeria and Tunis and also from the West Indies and Guiana.

Let me know if you can help me. We would, of course, be glad to have you present if you can come.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Guichard Parris
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York City

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY ROOM 826 NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TELEPHONES: CHELSEA 3-1838-39

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DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
JULIUS A. THOMAS
DIRECTOR

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GUICHARD PARRIS

SECRETARY, BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE:
ANN TANNEYHILL

3-41-4-02

March 19, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of March 9th, in which you have asked me to recommend persons from the French colonies now living in the United States to act as representatives in your proposed Colonial Conference of April 6th.

I have approached a number of persons who incidentally are members of the Mutual Society of French Colonials, who have indicated a willingness to serve. However, except in the case of a Martiniquian, I think that they will not have the capacity for preparing the kind of statement which you will require. I have not given up hope since it may be possible to locate someone through the French Press and Information Service.

I regret that I do not have now, more definite information for you but you can be assured of my desire to help. You will hear from me again.

Sincerely yours,

Guichard Parris

Guichard Parris,
Industrial Relations
Field Secretary

GP:mcd

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes.

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P. B. YOUNG

[Pasadena Presbyterian Church]

2000 Ridgeview Avenue
Los Angeles 41, California

February 14, 1945

Mrs. W. E. B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Mr. Du Bois,

Rumors of the possibility of your traveling in the direction of California this spring give us the courage to invite you to address a gathering at the Pasadena Presbyterian Church on the occasion of an interracial dinner-meeting to be

20-10-31

held some time in March. This [2]
dinner is sponsored by the ~~Social~~
Social Education and Action
Division of the Women's Society of
the Pasadena Presbyterian Church,
the second event of this kind
and one which we hope may
set a pattern to be copied by
other communities and
become established for us
as an annual custom.

In March of 1944 our dining-
hall was crowded to capacity
with members of the church
and leading citizens of Pasadena
and environs of the negro and
Caucasian race. A panel
discussion led by Dr. George
M. Day of the Sociology Department
of Occidental College composed
of white and negro members
climaxed an evening of marvelous
fellowship. There has been an
insistent demand for a return
engagement.

This year we hope to carry the program, yet play the same time with the same objective. We can think of nothing finer than to have you & for the address of the evening, using as your subject the Date, your war work, "Color and Democracy."

I am authorized to say that, could you find it possible to further this project, good will, in future ways can be found to forward the journey. Please let us know as soon as possible your decision.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman of the Spring Music Festival Committee

[Pasadena Presbyterian Church]

16 February 1945

20-10-32

My dear Mrs. MacNair:

I regret to say that I do not plan to be in California otherwise I should be very glad to speak in Pasadena.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. J. W. MacNair
2000 Ridgeview Avenue
Los Angeles 41, California

Leo Pasvolsky

Special Assistant to

the Secretary of State

Department of State

20-15-30

[PENNSYLVANIA, UNIV OF]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
4

Committee on African Studies

February 14, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-4-61

Dear Mr. Du Bois:-

In view of the forthcoming conference of the United Nations in San Francisco, it appears perhaps advisable that representatives of the several groups interested in problems of dependent areas should convene in order to draw up some kind of statement with the object of submitting it to the Department of State. Whereas in the past many of these groups have worked independently, the time appears to have come for concerted action so as to enable the Department of State to form an opinion about the attitude of those in this country who are studying the problems of politically dependent areas.

For such a discussion, the plan "The United Nations and Non-Self Governing Peoples," as prepared and circularized by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace may profitably be taken as a basis permitting representatives either to express their adherence to this plan or to register divergent opinions which would be embodied in the document to be submitted to the Department of State.

The Committee on African Studies at this University, in addressing this letter to a few of the interested groups, would like to act only as a clearing house in finding out whether other organizations share its view point regarding the importance of such a meeting. If an early reply should establish such a need, further steps would be taken in order to secure agreement regarding date and place for such an informal conference.

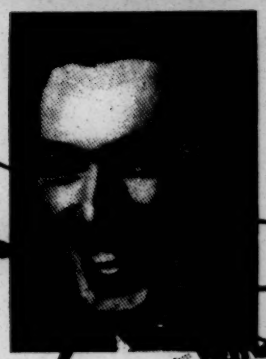
Very truly yours

H. A. Wieschhoff

H. A. Wieschhoff

To:-
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Mr. James T. Shotwell
Council on African Affairs, Mr. Paul Robeson
Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Fisk University, Mr. Thomas E. Jones
Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Dr. Emory Ross
Foreign Policy Association, General Frank Ross McCoy
Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Edward Clark Carter
Phelps Stokes Fund, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Time Inc., Dr. R. L. Buell
Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, Dr. Ralph Barton Perry

[PEOPLE'S VOICE]



Congressman
Adam Clayton Powell Jr.
GREETS YOU!

TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 2-5110
The People's VOICE
210 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK
ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. . . . Editor-in-Chief

20-19-76

JANUARY
30th 1
9
4
5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please be my personal guest on the platform at the Third Anniversary Celebration of THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, on Sunday, February 18th from 3 to 5 P.M. at the Golden Gate Ballroom. We are planning a lively two hours of entertainment during which time I shall make a report on my first six weeks in Congress.

Please reply as soon as possible indicating that you will be with us.

Cordially,

A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

A
C
POWELL, Jr.
M
L

[PEOPLE'S VOICE]

6 February 1945

20-19-77

My dear Congressman Powell:

I regret to say that on February eighteenth, I am speaking in Detroit so that I cannot accept your kind invitation for that day.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Congressman A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
The People's Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

January 19, 1945

Mr. W. D. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I found your important letter of January 8th awaiting me in the office in New York, but my time this week was taken up almost entirely with a conference that we arranged on the subject of the Negro rural minister and with various matters involved in connection with securing a successor to Dr. Jones. I had planned to answer the letter, but finding that I did not have time and as I have been feeling below par for a few days I asked Mr. Huntington to acknowledge it and to say that I would write from Lenox. I am much interested in your plan of assembling in New York a small Colonial conference with representatives of Africans, Colonial powers and religious and philanthropic bodies. I certainly hope that if the plan is carried out, it may result in wise decisions and useful service for Africa still continues to be one of the world's great question marks.

As to Phelps-Stokes Fund's participation, I do not see how we can officially be connected with the meeting and this for reasons which I think you will understand.

(1) We have, in our report on Africa, given I think reasonably clearly and effectively our views. These we are willing to stand by and are doing everything in our power in quiet ways to see that our recommendations are given due consideration. I am constantly bringing one or another of the recommendations of our committee to the attention of influential people, especially in the State Department. I am taking them up now with some of the new appointees, believing it highly important that men like Mr. Grew, Mr. Dunn and others should know that there is a considerable body of intelligent public opinion in this country, both white and colored, that is most anxious to see the problems of Africa and of the Negro race in general given a fair hearing at the peace conference and fair representation in connection with the work of the proposed United Nations, both during and after the war. I think that in the long run if we are an educational foundation and not a propaganda organization, this is the best plan for us to adopt. This is why we have not identified ourselves with several other movements in the interest of Africa.

(2) We tried at one time, as you know, to have the nucleus of our old Committee on Africa and Peace Aims, which was originally organized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, develop a movement for the study of African problems, bearing somewhat the same relation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund as the old Committee had done. With some reluctance, I yielded to the earnest request of friends like Mr. Embree and Mr. Herskovitz to call a Washington conference which appointed an excellent committee but which was never able to find a chairman to develop the plan. Had I had the health and strength, I would have been glad to yield to the request which was repeatedly made that I should take the chairmanship of this movement. This, however, was quite out of the question. We spent quite a little money, probably, I should think, a thousand dollars in organizing this conference and helping Mr. Embree and Mr. Hers-

Kovitz and others interested in trying to get it set up but without success.

(3) We have been devoting more rather than less time to Africa at the Phelps-Stokes Fund in recent years, but with our very small staff and limited endowment simply cannot do more. Our three major activities in connection with Africa at present are:

(a) Developing the Booker Washington Institute at Kakata in Liberia. This is developing in a most promising way, thanks largely to the fine support of the new President in Liberia and to the unsolicited help of the inter-cultural committee of the State Department. It may interest you to know that we have received about $20,000. from our government to develop the institute. The work involves an enormous amount of detail in connection with purchasing machinery and equipment in this country and dealing with the State Department, the Liberian government and our people on the field.

20-4-105

(b) Advancing the study of mass education and community education in West Africa. It is this work which Mr. Jackson Davis, Miss Wong and Mr. Campbell of Tuskogee are now doing all in their power to study and advance in Africa. We have secured foundation grants of about $20,000. for this purpose.

(c) Promoting the distribution and study of our African report. As, I think I told you over the telephone recently, although we hear little of the report in this country, it is still doing, I think, fairly effectively its educational work.

Of course, there are all sorts of movements in Africa in which we continue to take a very deep interest, especially the work of the Institute of Inter-Racial Relations in Johannesburg.

(4) We have recently taken on a new activity, namely an attempt to improve the status of the Negro rural minister. We have some excellent men, both white and colored, helping us in this and there is expectation of considerable financial aid from one of the foundations. This takes up a large part of Dr. Jones' time.

I have written quite frankly because your plan is an important one and we want to help informally in such ways as are within our power, but these I fear will be slight. Any information that we have is, of course, at your disposal and I am asking Dr. Jones to send you a list of such persons as might be most helpful to attend such conference. Dr. Ross is always a tower of strength with reference to personalities. Two or three that I think of as especially worth while are Mr. Mumford of the British Information Service, who is, as you know, an authority on the French position in Africa, Mr. Walter Walker, the Liberian Consul General and some of the native Africans referred to on page IX of the preface to our African Report.

One feature in your proposal seems to me to deserve further thought, namely the plan of holding the meeting in February. I am wondering whether this will give you time to get all the necessary material together.

Should your plans develop and a small grant, really only a token subscription from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, would be helpful, do not hesitate to

(over)

let me know and I shall be glad to take the matter up with our executive committee when we meet sometime in February.

With kindest personal regards, and regretting that we are not in a position to take part officially in supporting your project, but wishing you every success, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alison Reeve Stokes

APS:BS

20-4-106

23 January 1945

My dear Mr. Stokes:

Thank you for your kind letter of January nineteenth. There is one thing which I think your office might be able to do without too much trouble: could you undertake to furnish me with a short list of persons born in colonies and resident in the United States today. I should prefer to have persons who had been in the colonies recently or persons who had given the social situation in their colony careful study and kept in touch through correspondence. Such a list of six to a dozen persons would be of great help.

I have written Dr. Ross and am writing him again.

I shall acquaint you with any further progress which we make.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox
Massachusetts

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

January 23, 1945

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-19-55

Dear Dr. DuBois:

When Dr. Stokes was here last week he hoped to reply to your important letter of January 8th, but he was here for such a short time and his time was so taken up with meetings and appointments that he had very little time for letters. He therefore decided to take your letter back with him to Lenox for reply.

I am sorry that I have been delayed in writing to you until now. In the meantime you have probably heard from Dr. Stokes.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Stokes

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NEW ENGLAND ADDRESS
Lenox, Massachusetts.
EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

January 24, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.-3

20-4-197

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. Stokes, in his letter of January 19th to you, requests me to send you suggestions of persons who would be helpful in the conference which you are planning to arrange to consider Colonial Policies. I note that he has already suggested Dr. Emory Ross and Dr. W. B. Mumford. Dr. Mumford's address is the United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York; Dr. Ross is the Executive Secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference, 156 Fifth Avenue. In addition to these names I submit the following suggestions:

1. British Information Committee
   50 Rockefeller Plaza
   New York 20, New York

This organization should be able to list the British officials who are concerned in Colonial Policies.

2. Council on African Affairs
   23 West 26th Street
   New York 10, N. Y.

As you doubtless know, Mr. Yergan and Mr. Hunton have quite a complete list of persons in and around New York who are interested in Africa.

3. Dr. L. D. Reddick
   Shomburg Collection
   New York Public Library
   104 West 136th Street
   New York 30, N. Y.

Dr. Reddick has a considerable list of persons who are concerned in the African problem

Dr. Emory Ross can supply the names of organizations and individuals who have been considering African condition and problems.

With every good wish,

Very sincerely yours,

Thomas Jesse Jones

TJJ
RLH

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January 26, 1945

20-4-107

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of January 23rd which I am also forwarding to Dr. Jones. Unfortunately my physician has made me cut down on my work for a few weeks so that I am afraid that I will not be an over effective correspondent, although I am better than I was ten days ago.

Since writing you, Dr. Jones tells me of a most important visit that he has just had to the State Department. We are always looking ahead on Liberian matters, but to carry out some of the cooperative plans with the government involves an enormous amount of work, especially with our very small staff.

As to your question regarding a short list of persons "born in colonies and resident in the United States today", I am not quire sure how broadly you interpret the word "colonies". Of course, South Africa is not a colony, but if you wish to include it, the South African Minister in Washington could help you. The person who could probably help most would be Dr. Stephen Duggan or Dr. Edgar J. Fisher at the Institute of International Education.× I doubt whether Dr. Jones will have any list of the character named, but I am sending him your letter and if he does he will communicate with you. The French High Commission might also help, so might Dr. W. B. Mumford, who can be addressed at the British Information Service. It is possible that the Ambassador from Portugal and the Ambassador from Belgiam might make some suggestions. These are only a few thoughts. There is a distinguished Dutch scholar from South Africa at Cornell University, but I have forgotten his name.

I greatly admire your energy and capacity to work on so effectively at your age.

Very sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS:BS
Copy to Dr. Jones

× You may tell them if you wish that you are writing at my suggestion. I was long connected with these Boards.

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PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

26 January 1945

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

MAY I QUOTE FROM YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER THIRTEENTH TO STETINIUS IN PRINTED ARTICLE OR IS IT CONFIDENTIAL.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-19-69

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

March 29, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
60 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have your invitation to the Colonial Conference to be held at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library on April 6, 1945 from ten a. m. to one p. m. and from two to five p. m. I expect to be in New York that day, and although I have a long-time engagement to attend a meeting of the Board of the American University Union in Europe for lunch and in the early afternoon, I shall hope to be with you from ten to twelve. This will give me the feel of your conference and possibly enable me to make one or two suggestions. I am sorry that I cannot stay through, but this may have some advantages for, as you know, I am always hesitant to sign resolutions drawn up as a result of a brief conference where different points of view are represented on extremely complicated and intricate matters. I think it is fine that you are still working so whole-heartedly for Africa.

Very sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

aps:mc

80-4-08

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

March 29, 1945

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

20-19-64

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have this morning heard from Miss Phelps, of the H. W. Wilson Company, that the Negro Encyclopedia volume is now ready. A copy of the book is being mailed to you today at 69 Fifth Avenue with the compliments of the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Stokes

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Department of Anthropology

April 16, 1945.

To the Members of the Africa Conference Committee:

Gentlemen:

In the responses to my earlier communication, sentiment was expressed both in favor of requesting that the funds left over from the work of our Committee be made available for fellowship aid to African students, and also that these funds be returned to the donors. Since the vote was close, I take it that this is a mandate to me to ask the treasurer to return the balance on hand to the Phelps-Stokes and Rosenwald Funds, which will be done.

It was helpful to have had your several comments on the matter of proposals of the African Institute of London. The suggestions made by Professor Forde were thoroughly discussed at the meeting of the Committee on African Anthropology of the National Research Council, where a formula of "cooperation" rather than either "integration" or "association" was evolved, largely because of the fact, demonstrated by our experience, that there are so few persons in this country interested in Africa who could be organized into a group large enough to function effectively either as a branch of the existing London organization or as an independent group. The Committee, however, offered itself as an agency through which the Institute could operate in this country as concerns research into the scientific problems of African anthropology, offered to do everything in its power to extend membership in the Institute in the United States and, finally, to present a panel to the Institute from which an American member of the editorial board could be chosen.

In closing this letter, may I express to you all my appreciation for the help that has been given me in what has proved to be a difficult and time-consuming task. As I said in my earlier letter, I am convinced that there has been a clear gain by the very fact of our having existed; while for me personally the project has not only made for pleasant personal associations, but has been a real educational experience.

Very sincerely yours,

Melville J. Herskovits

20-2

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored
People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Cy for Dr. DuBois [STOKES]

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April 19, 1945

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2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

Mr. Walter White
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

I am delighted to see from the Press Service of the N. A. A. C. P. that you and Dr. DuBois have been appointed consultants by the State Department in connection with the San Francisco Conference. I have long believed and have urged the State Department to see that the colored people of this country should be represented in some way on the staff of the Conference.

20-19-62

I was sorry, however, to see your statement in the same number of the Press Service which says in reference to colonies that "the rights of native peoples to share in the benefits of raw materials and their own labor are completely unthought of, except by the natives, themselves." This I do not believe to be a fair or accurate statement. I agree with you that colonies should not permanently exist, and agree that much more should be done, especially through education and through participation in the government, to help fit all colonial peoples for ultimate self-government, but to say that the British Government, for instance, does not give any thought whatever to the rights of native people to share in the benefits of their own labor seems to me to be the type of exaggeration which does the cause that we both have at heart much harm.

I notice, furthermore, in the same issue of the Press Service the Resolutions adopted at Dr. DuBois' interesting Conference which I attended and which was, I believe, worth while. Again I do not think it at all fair to say—at least without some explanation—that "colonialism has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease." The speaker from India at the Conference referred to the fact that poverty in India was so great that the average wage was only $18 a year, and attributed this entirely to imperialism. His economic facts may well be right and the poverty of the people is appalling, but such statements as those made by him cannot be justified in these respects without some reference to the tragic condition of the people prior to colonial or dependency status. I believe as much as you do that India must work out its independence and that it will be better for India and Great Britain and the world when it becomes self-governing, but the process is terribly difficult and cannot be brought about in a day. My guess is that the colonial policy of Great Britain and France has not actually been the main cause of poverty, illiteracy and disease but rather that these countries have not done half that they should do to eliminate them.

Personally I believe that our treatment of the Philippines has been along the right lines. We definitely stated that we would not hold them for a long period as colonies, that we would fit them as promptly as possible for complete self-government, and that with this end in view we would stress two things--education and constantly increasing participation of the people in determining their own affairs. I wonder if the Philippine example cannot be more effectively used.

I am certainly glad that you and Dr. DuBois, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter, are going to San Francisco, and believe that you can accomplish much good if you steadfastly adhere to your goal but do not try to have the complete independence of all colonies, irrespective of their stage of development, brought about over night. If this were done in many areas it would, I am confident, be a very great disservice for the native people themselves. It seems to me a case where we must definitely set our objective of ultimate freedom and recognize the need of speeding up the process, but not try to get ahead of the supply of well educated native leadership. Otherwise we shall fail and experience a reaction. This is why education, and ever more education, including both school work and practice in government, seems to me the great desideratum.

20-19-63

Very sincerely yours,

APS
RLH

Copy to Dr. DuBois

P. S. In reading over this letter it seems to me well to add two things. Of course I am well aware that the policy of imperialism is to encourage exploitation, and believe with you that such exploitation should cease. I believe, however, that there are legitimate opportunities for the investment of foreign capital in existing colonies but that such investments should be rigidly controlled, and that everything possible should be done to encourage native industry, and that the welfare of the native people should always be the prime consideration.

As to India, I think we should bear in mind the Cripps proposals which were highly significant, for under them it is perfectly possible for India itself to choose whether it wishes to carry on its independence entirely by itself or within the ~~Commonwealth of the~~ British Commonwealth of Nations. I think that the latter would have some advantages and believe that there is evidence in recent years of a mounting public opinion in England which would demand that colonial and dependent people should be increasingly fitted for the day when dependent status will cease. Some Tories will fight this hard but there are recent evidences of a very much more liberal and progressive policy. This is also true in France where the great work of Monsieur Eboue has brought significant results.

APS
RLH

[PHELPS-STOKES FUND]

20 June 1945

20-19-61

My dear Mr. Roy:

I hope you have not forgotten the appropriation of one hundred dollars which the Phelps Stokes Fund made to my work. It was, I believe, to be paid sometime this spring.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. A. Roy
Phelps Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York City

July 12, 1945

20-19-59

My dear Dr. Stokes:

I know you will be interested in a letter which I have just received from Mr. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies.

I am sending you a copy enclosed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
2408 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest
Washington, D. C.

[ENCLOSURE]

COPY

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
Member of the
International Union of Academies

Executive Offices
1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

July 10, 1945

20-19-60

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just received the preparatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro.

I want to congratulate you upon this exceedingly fine piece of work. I think nothing could be more useful in interesting scholars in the enterprise, and the book itself is of much intrinsic value. I hope it will be sent around to the principal learned journals in the fields of sociology, anthropology, history, etc., for they should be encouraged to review it.

Hearty congratulations to you and to Dr. Johnson!

Most sincerely yours,

WALDO G. LELAND,
Director

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

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August 3, 1945

20-23-14

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

You will be pleased to know that we have only fifty-four copies of the Negro Encyclopedia--Preparatory Volume still on hand. Consequently we are planning to order a second edition, probably of one thousand copies.

I have talked with both Dr. DuBois and Dr. Reddick and they have agreed to cooperate fully in sending in any small errors which they may have detected in the first edition. If you could let me have a list of these, or any other suggestions by the end of this month it would be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS
RLH

Copies to Dr. DuBois
and Dr. Reddick

October 6, 1945

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Phelps [redacted] Fund
101 Park [redacted]
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Stokes:

Here is some correspondence which may interest you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd
Enc.

20 - 19

Ltr from W. E. B. Du Bois
a.D.L.

[CANSON PHELPS STOKES]

October 6, 1945

Lord Halifax
British Ambassador to the United States
Washington, D. C.

20-8-52

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

At the close of a meeting which I had yesterday with Dr. William E. B. DuBois, he told me that he was hoping to secure the necessary visa from the British Government to permit him to attend the Pan African Congress in London the latter part of October. He said that the matter had been taken up with you and that he was very hopeful that there might be a favorable decision.

I am merely writing to say that I believe it would be decidedly worth while from the standpoint of the British Government if this visa could be granted Dr. DuBois, for he is, I believe, pretty generally recognised today to be the most distinguished living Negro, probably better known to the leaders in Africa and this country than anyone else, because of his books and his deep interest in the advancement of the colored people.

I am well aware that at times Dr. DuBois has been critical, in some cases I think unduly critical, of colonial policy in Africa both insofar as Great Britain and other nations are concerned, but I have found in recent years that he has been increasingly fair-minded about such matters, and believe that he was a constructive force at San Francisco where he was present as one of the advisers authorized by our Government. He has warmly supported the United Nations Plan, although recognizing its shortcomings in certain respects. He was a most helpful member of the Committee on Africa, the War and Peace Aims sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which published The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint, and in bringing about its published recommendations, which have on the whole been highly praised in England, this country, and even South Africa. The fact that Dr. DuBois has recently been elected a member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters, the first Negro to be chosen for this highly representative national body, is evidence of the general respect in which he is now held. He was the first colored man to receive the doctorate of Philosophy from Harvard, and the book which he prepared for his thesis at that time on The Suppression of the American Slave Trade has remained a standard for over fifty years. Some of his other published work such as Africa Then and Now has received white commendation.

Dr. DuBois was the leading factor in establishing, some years ago, the Pan African Congress, and if it were known that he wished to attend but could not secure permission from the Government it might have some unfortunate repercussions. Under all the circumstances, therefore, I hope that the British Government may see fit to enable him to have the necessary visa.

I am, with great respect and delightful recollections of meeting you a couple of years ago at dinner at the home of our mutual friend, Mr. Coleman Jennings,

Sincerely yours,

APS/RLH

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

October 11, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

20-19-57

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter which I have received from Major Lockhart, the Private Secretary of Lord Halifax. I hope you are successful in your efforts and that my letter will do some good.

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Enc.

[ENCLOSURE]

COPY

British Embassy,

Washington 8, D.C.

9th October 1945.

20-19-58

Dear Mr. Stokes,

Lord Halifax has asked me to thank you for your letter of October 6th and to tell you that he had already had a letter from Dr. William E. B.DuBois and is seeing what can be done to facilitate his journey to London.

Yours sincerely,

Major J.G. Lockhart
Private Secretary

Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes,
President,
Phelps-Stokes Fund,
101 Park Avenue,
New York 17, N.Y.

[PHELPS-STOKES]

For the Newspapers of
Friday, November 23, 1945

From: Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

FOUNDATION ELECTS OFFICERS

Phelps-Stokes Fund names Southerner President and Negro Director

The Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, at their regular annual meeting Wednesday afternoon elected a new President and a new Director.

As President to succeed Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, who retires at the close of the present fiscal year (October 31, 1946), they have unanimously chosen Dr. Jackson Davis. Dr. Davis, who has been connected with the General Education Board for a quarter of a century, is by birth a Virginian, and a graduate and member of the Board of Visitors of William and Mary College, which conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, a degree which he also holds from the University of Richmond. He is Associate Director of the General Education Board.

Dr. Davis has had a broad experience in connection with education, especially in the Southern States, having been a Superintendent of Schools in Virginia, and connected with the Virginia State Board of Education. For over fifteen years he was the General Field Agent of the General Education Board in connection with its educational work in the South. In addition to his service on many boards in this country in the field of education, Dr. Davis has been deeply interested in Africa, being President of the Board of Trustees of the Booker Washington Institute in Liberia, President of the New York State Colonization Society, and Carnegie Visitor to Africa in 1935. He has recently served as Chairman of a Commission that made a study of native education in West Africa and is at present editing its report. He is now Vice President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and has

served as a trustee since 1939.

At the same meeting the Board elected Dr. Channing H. Tobias, at present Senior Secretary of the Department of Interracial Services of the Y.M.C.A., as Director to succeed Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, who retires May 1st after over thirty years of service. Dr. Tobias is acknowledged to be one of the most respected colored leaders in the United States. He is a graduate of Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, and took a Divinity Degree from Drew University. He has the Doctorate of Divinity from Gammon Theological Seminary, and the Doctorate of Laws from Morehouse College in Atlanta. After serving for six years as a Professor at Paine College, he became a Secretary of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. in 1905, and since that time has been connected with this organization. He is a member of many national boards, including the Committee on Race Relations and the Commission on the Church and Minority groups of the Federal Council of Churches, and a Trustee of Howard University and Hampton Institute. He has been a Trustee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund since 1939 and has served during the war as a member of two small and highly important committees of the national government--the National Advisory Committee on Selective Service and the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation. Dr. Tobias has been a member of important Interracial and Fair Practice Committees appointed by the State and Municipal Governments, and has served as Consultant of the General Education Board on matters affecting the Negro. He has been a delegate to various international meetings, including the World Conference of Y.M.C.A.s at Mysore, India, where he was Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations. He has received the Harmon Award and is recognized as an outstanding speaker on matters of race relations.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was founded in 1911 by Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes. Its field of work under its New York incorporation is mainly that of Negro education and race relations in this country and in Africa, and Negro housing in New York City. Among its activities have been the publishing for the U. S. Government of the two volume report on Negro Education in the U.S.A., 1916; the preparation of the reports on Education in Africa, 1922 for British and American Missionary Societies, and a

similar report on Education in East Africa, 1925, prepared at the request of the British Colonial Office and various Missionary Societies. These reports were all prepared by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the retiring Educational Director. It also organized the "Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims", which published the well known report on The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint; the "Committee on Negro Americans in Defense Industries", and other organizations.

The Fund has been much interested in housing and originally proposed and aided the establishment of the Citizens Housing Council, which has become so important a factor in New York City. It also published under the editorship of the late Professor James Ford of Harvard University the study of New York housing conditions known as Slums and Housing. It is now especially concerned with advancing projects in the interest of improving the training of Negro rural ministers, in promoting mutually sympathetic race relations through education, and in the work of advancing education in Liberia.

In announcing the election of the two officers, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, President of the Board and an officer since its establishment in 1911, said: I am extremely happy that two such outstanding citizens and educators as Dr. Jackson Davis, a Southern white man by birth, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a Southern Negro by birth, should be chosen for the two most important offices in connection with the Phelps-Stokes Fund. I am proud and thankful that Dr. Davis is to be my successor, and it seems particularly significant that Dr. Tobias should have been elected on the basis of the decision of the Board to name the best equipped candidate irrespective of race. The selection of Dr. Tobias does not mean that the Phelps-Stokes Fund is adopting the policy of having a Negro as Director, but that at this particular time and for the work immediately ahead he seemed to be the best qualified person available. He is the Board's first and unanimous choice to take up the work so ably carried on for a third of a century in the United States and Africa by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. It is an interesting fact that the appointment of Dr. Tobias as Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund adds another 'first' in the field of Negro progress

as it is believed that he is the first Negro American who has been elected the head of a representative national, educational or philanthropic organization other than those organizations which are composed mainly or exclusively of Negroes."

21-6

Telephones: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

DO NOT TYPE

November 27, 1945

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Anson Phelps Stokes

21-6-122

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The office will welcome you and Miss Diggs any time you come to look over the revised Negro Encyclopedia material. You may use my desk for a day or two, and ask Dr. Jones, Mr. Roy, Miss Huntington or Mrs. Newman for anything that you wish.

I am enclosing copy of the release regarding Dr. Tobias. It was a pleasure to know how heartily you supported this move.

When you are in the office would you ask Miss Huntington to show you a letter which I have written to Mrs. Morrell? Some of the facts in it might possibly be of value to you.

I shall be down again a week from Saturday, December 8th.

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS
PLH

[PHELPS-STOKES FUND]

Phelps-Stokes Fund

Nov. 28, 1945

20-19-65

Memorandum for Dr. DuBois and Miss Diggs
Telephoned by Dr. Stokes ffom Lenox - 11/28/45

1. Dr. DuBois and Miss Diggs are expected in the P.S.Fund Office on Friday, November 30, 1945, and may wish to use his office on Saturday, December 1st.

   If use of the office on Saturday is desired, we shall furnish Dr. DuBois with a key as the office will not be open that day unless Dr. Jones comes in.

2. Attached hereto is a file folder containing material which Dr. DuBois may wish to see - particularly the letter from Dr. Rayford W. Logan on the matter of corrections made by him in the Encyclopedia volume.

3. Dr. Stokes explained that it was not desirable to make corrections which would require changing the page numbers, but that it may be desirable and possibly necessary to arrange to add a few pages at the end of the volume.

Copy to Miss Huntington
Mrs. Newman

L.A.Roy

See back of file drawer C-1 to C-104 for corrected volume and folder.
L.A.R.

[Phi Beta Sigma]

20-21-79

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(14)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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N317 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14

W E B DUBOIS=

1945 APR 14 PM 5 15

CONSULTANT NATL ASN FOR ADV COL PEOPLE CARE R WHITE OR WILKINS DELIVER 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

:YOUR TELEGRAM APRIL 13TH TO PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY DR RA BILLINGS 167 WEST 145 ST NYK IS UNDELIVERED. UNKNOWN ABOVE ADDRESS=

:WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO SERVICE BUREAU WORTH 2 7300

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Phi Delta Kappa]

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY
OF NEW YORK CITY

MUNICIPAL BUILDING, ROOM 705, BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK
TRiangle 5-7100, Ext. 290

20-24-62

Committee
CHARLES E. HUGHES, JR., *Chairman*

DOROTHY J. BELLANCA
EDMUND BORGIA BUTLER
[redacted]
DR. HENRY SLOANE COFFIN
JUSTICE CHARLES S. COLDEN
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RT. REV. MSGR. RAYMOND J. CAMPION

DR. DAN W. DODSON,
Executive Director

EDITH M. ALEXANDER
BERNARD LANDER
SCHUYLER N. WARREN
Associate Directors

January 17, 1945.

Lecture

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Rho Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa is an honorary men's fraternity in the School of Education, New York University.

They have had an array of speakers through the years dealing with any topic that is of concern to educators. We presented Dr. E. Franklin Frazier last summer who spoke on "The Integration of Negroes in American Society".

I wonder if I could possibly persuade you to speak for us on Saturday, February 17th at 2:30 p.m. in Room 56 of the Students' Building on Washington Square East on "The Relation of American Negroes to World Affairs". It seems to me that the theme would be most timely and your study of colonies and that sort of thing would fit in admirably.

Unfortunately, there is no honorarium for this service but there should be between forty and fifty men who need terribly to be informed.

Would you please give me your answer on the enclosed postal card?

Sincerely,

Dan W Dodson

Dan W. Dodson,
Executive Director

dwd/m
enclosure

Sorry but

[PHI DELTA KAPPA]

DIRECTORATE

SUPREME BASILEUS:
GERTRUDE A. ROBINSON
NEW YORK, N. Y.

1ST ANTI-BASILEUS:
RUBY W. GROOMS
BALTIMORE, MD.

2ND ANTI-BASILEUS:
LARNIE JOHNSON WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

3RD ANTI-BASILEUS:
THELMA B. PARKER
DETROIT, MICH.

SUPREME GRAMMATEUS:
MARION H. BLUITT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

DIRECTORATE

SUPREME TAMIOUCHOS:
BERTHA V. WAPLES
WOODBURY, N. J.

SUPREME TAMIAS:
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HELEN E. HARDEN
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NATIONAL PUBLICITY DIRECTOR:
LILLIAN A. GOINGS
CAMDEN, N. J.

EXECUTIVE ADVISOR (HONORARY BASILEUS):
ONEIDA COCKRELL
CHICAGO, ILL.

"TO FOSTER A SPIRIT OF SISTERHOOD AMONG TEACHERS AND TO PROMOTE THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION"

20-18-1

1264 Hamlin Street, N. E.
Washington, 17, D. C.
May 6, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Consultant to the American Delegation
United Nations Conference
San Francisco, California

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing herewith a set of resolutions passed by the National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa which we would like presented to whatever authorities to which you have access at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

You may take whatever action and give whatever publicity to these conclusions as you see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Marion H. Bluitt

Mrs. Marion H. Bluitt
Supreme Grammateus

Copy of resolutions sent to:
Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune
Mr. Walter White

DIRECTORATE

SUPREME BASILEUS:
GERTRUDE A. ROBINSON
NEW YORK, N. Y.

1ST ANTI-BASILEUS:
RUBY W. GROOMS
BALTIMORE, MD.

2ND ANTI-BASILEUS:
LARNIE JOHNSON WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

3RD ANTI-BASILEUS:
THELMA B. PARKER
DETROIT, MICH.

SUPREME GRAMMATEUS:
MARION H. BLUITT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa

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CAMDEN, N. J.

EXECUTIVE ADVISOR (HONORARY BASILEUS):
ONEIDA COCKRELL
CHICAGO, ILL.

"TO FOSTER A SPIRIT OF SISTERHOOD AMONG TEACHERS AND TO PROMOTE THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION"

RESOLUTION

To: UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

May 6, 1945

20-18

INASMUCH as, the people of the World, of every color, race or creed, want a chance to live decently, securely and in peace; and

INASMUCH as, the winning of this peoples' peace depends on the extermination of prejudice because of race, creed or color, the abolition of unemployment and poverty and the end of the exploitation of colonial peoples and minority groups; and,

INASMUCH as, the well being and security of one people depends upon the well being and security of all peoples; and,

INASMUCH as , united planning and action of anti-facist nations and particularly the United States , the Soviet Union and Britain have made victory against facism imminent;

WE BELIEVE that the peace we want can be won only with similar united planning and action and the determination to win;further

WE BELIEVE that a plan for international unity, cooperation and democracy for which our great leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, labored and sacrificed his life is the type of organization that will serve in the great task of winning the peoples' peace; now, therefore

WE UNITE with other democratic forces in the United States in supporting the San Francisco Conference and in asking that the United Nations organize for peace and work toward that goal; further , that

WE GO ON RECORD in support of the recommendations to provide for an INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION which will set up the machinery providing for the education of all people - majorities and minorities - regardless of race, creed, color or national origin; further, that

WE URGE the calling of a special conference on EDUCATION similar to this one at San Francisco at which standards for this Office of Education can be set up so that the education for democracy of all peoples may be emphasized.

- - - - - - -

This is to Certify that the above Resolution was passed at a special meeting of the Executive Council of the National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa held May 5, 1945 at the City of Washington, D. C. and has been endorsed bt the entire national organization.

Attest:

Marion H. Blunt

Secretary
1264 Hamlin St.,N.E.
Washington, 17, D. C.

20-18

STATION, DIDCOT G.W.R. 2½ MILES.
POST & TELEGRAPH, EAST HAGBOURNE.
TELEPHONE, DIDCOT 108.

HAGBOURNE GRANGE,
BERKSHIRE.

Sunday, 21 OCT. 1945.

20-15-82

My dear Dr DuBOIS,

I only learned today that you are in England. Even so, I am not sure of your address. I shall therefore at once send this to the Congress Office in M'chester. If you are coming, as I hope, to LONDON, will you please let me know, to 46. Pall Mall, S.W.I., and at least give me the pleasure of lunching with me. I am due in Berlin at the end of the month.

There are, meanwhile, many matters which I should like to have an opportunity of discussing with you. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

T. Philipps

Tracy PHILIPPS.

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(A)

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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20-25-4

WUQ13 18= BOSTON MASS JAN 31 1213P

W E DUBOIS,
NATIONAL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

SINCE MY LETTER HAS ALREADY BEEN PUBLISHED YOU ARE AT LIBERTY TO USE IT IF YOU SO DESIER=

WILLIAM PHILLIPS. 1246P..

B:46 PM JAN 31 1945
DDeB (CTE)

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WILLIAM PICKENS
WAR SAVINGS STAFF
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 28, 1945

20-14-44

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
and
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Special Research Director
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Walter and Dr. DuBois:

Scanning the preparatory volume of the "Encyclopedia of the Negro" of which Dr. DuBois and Dr. Guy B. Johnson are editors, and knowing a little also of Dr. DuBois' present work for the Association, I am reporting that Mrs. Daniel H. Murray, 234 "S" Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., has a most interesting collection of historic and biographical facts about the Negro race and colored people which it has been my privilege to see. The facts were gathered by her husband who was for a long time in the Congressional Library.

Maybe the Association would want to acquire these files for Dr. DuBois' work for the Association or maybe Dr. DuBois and Dr. Johnson would want to get them for further work on their Encyclopedia.

Very truly yours,

William Pickens

20-14-45

July 9, 1945

My dear Mr. Pickens:

I have tried in vain several times to see that Daniel Murray's collection was properly placed. At one time the Phelps Stokes Fund was quite willing to buy it but Mrs. Murray has placed an utterly unreasonable price upon the collection, and in my opinion nothing can be done.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. William Pickens
War Savings Staff
United States Treasury Department
Washington 25, D. C.

WILLIAM PICKENS
WAR SAVINGS STAFF
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 13, 1945

20-14-46

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Director of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your note of July 9. I felt sure all along that you must have known about Daniel Murray's collection and must have taken some interest in it in the past. Receiving your note just now, I called up Mrs. Murray and stated that I had heard that the Phelps Stokes Fund wanted to buy the collection but that the price was too high. She stated something which I simply pass on to you: that some of them lost interest in buying the collection because such people as Alexander Hamilton are listed in it.

She remarked that someone named "Jock" had called and left a note, saying that he was from New York and that he would again call. I am not certain that I know such a person; if you or your secretary know who Jock is, kindly let me know and I will telephone the information to Mrs. Murray.

Unfortunately, I am to be in New York from Saturday night until Tuesday or Wednesday of next week, and I have just noticed in a communication from Howard University that you are to speak there on Monday night. I certainly wish I had known earlier and could have planned to stay here and hear your lecture.

With continued best wishes for your good work and your health, I am

Very truly yours,

Wm Pickens

William Pickens

5 June 1945

20-24-18

My dear Mr. Austin:

I want to thank you very much for the splendid audience you furnished me Sunday afternoon. I very much enjoyed its intelligence.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend J. C. Austin
Pilgrim Temple Baptist Church
Chicago, Illinois

20 April 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please duplicate my order of March 15 for a $7.50 package of sliced and cut turkey and mail it to

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland?

Enclosed is my check for $7.50.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Pinesbridge Farms
RFD 1
Ossining, New York

22 January 1945

My dear Madam:

I regret to say that I am no longer at Atlanta University but an executive officer in the NAACP in New York. I do not know of anything I can do to be of service to you. In the matter of writing no one can really help. You simply write and submit your articles to publishers. They are on the outlook for talent.

I am interested as to what you say about your grandfather and the cotton gin. Have you further data upon the subject? Can you give any exact account and can you refer to any written or printed matter or testimony of persons. This would be really of great importance and I trust you will write me on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Bessie Alma Pinson
P. O. Box 785
Sumter, South Carolina

P.O. Box 785
Sumter, S. C
Jan. 28, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
New York City, N.Y.

Request for information

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Your letter was received and I wish to thank you for the same; for it was an honor I'm sure to be priviledged to hear from one of such renown.

I would have been rather agreeably surprised tho, if you had expressed sympathy for me in my past struggles + aspirations and had expressed even a grain of interest in the living, instead of the dead— William Ellison; Tho I appreciate your curiosity to see in print what I intimated to you about my grand Dad.

I asked you to please suggest a Publisher to me for a volumen of verse I have ready for the Press for Morale + Mission, but you suggested that I send articles to papers. Sorry I got no more encouragement from you, but such is life!

Over Please.

22-20-29

With the assurance now that there shall always be too much timidity in my make up to ever dare to meet you, I shall say this in closing: It is the little pat on the back and the: "I understand," which help to make our History what it is and can make it more representative of the fine folk we Negroes are — despite the color of our faces. I have about one drop of Negro blood in my veins, but I wish I had more of that which flows in the veins of "Unsung American Negroes."

With best wishes to you always Dr. DuBois, I am

Respectfully yours

Bessie Alma Pinson (Mrs. I.D.)

H.C. Piper Stm 1/c
127 N.C. Batt.
F.P.O.

Social Mens - 1945

Dear Cousin Dr. Dubois,

I know you will be surprised to hear from me. Emma my sister has often written to you from Gt. Barrington Mass. She is in Washington D.C. now working in civil Service.

My Farther John H.B. Piper is still in Gt. Barr. enjoying good health, and here I am in the Hawaiian Islands.

I have been in the Service now sixteen months.

I remember reading in the paper that you were in Cuba studying interracial problems.

Your books are very interesting and are admired by many.

I haven't very much to say only its the same old routine every day. We are getting along nicely four race.

I hope this short letter finds you in good health.

Wishing you a merry Xmas and a happy New Year.

I remain
your cousin
Herbert Crawford
Piper.

20-15-55

my brother has 6 boys in the Service.

17 January 1945

10-15-56

My dear Herbert:

I was glad to have your letter of December 31, and to know that you are serving in the navy. It has been sometime since I have seen your father and I am glad to know he is in good health. I was in Haiti in September lecturing and had a pleasant visit. I am now writing articles and books on colonial problems.

I hope you will have good luck and return safely to your family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Herbert Crawford Piper, stm 1/2
127 N. C. Bat.
FPO
San Francisco, California

[PM]

21-6-101

September 17, 1945

Mr. John P. Lewis
Managing Editor
PM
164 Duane Street
New York 13, New York

My dear Sir:

A Pan African Congress has been called to meet in London, October 15th to 21st. The convening committee was organized by African Negro delegates to the Trade Unions Conference which met in London last winter. The original plan was to have the meeting in Paris after the projected Trade Unions Conference. Difficulties of travel and probably other considerations led the committee finally to call the conference in London.

The idea of "Pan Africa" was initiated after the first World War when I got together a small Pan African Congress in Paris during the Peace Conference at Versailles. Later, larger conferences were held in Europe in 1921 and 1923 and one in New York in 1927. At all these conferences, a majority of the delegates were persons of African descent living outside Africa in Europe, America and the West Indies; but there were always a number of Africans. If the present Congress is successful, there will probably be a larger number of Africans than ever before and the motive power will be from Africa itself, although colored folk in England and the West Indies will play a considerable part.

I am not at all sure that, even with the present Labor Government, England is going to allow an effective Pan African Congress and if such a Congress should assemble in London I am afraid that notice and comment upon it may be quietly suppressed.

In the previous Congresses, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been the moving spirit through my agency. The Association is not the main instigator of this Congress but it has asked me to attend it and if there are favorable results to try to organize a more inclusive and representative Confress for 1946 or 1947. I shall probably have difficulty in getting passage to London and especially in returning and I may have difficulty about visas although I have written to Harold Laski and Creech-Jones whom I know.

21-6-102

I am venturing to write you to ask if, in case I go, you would like to have one or more articles about the Congress, provided of course it turns out to be a real worthwhile meeting. Previous Congresses have represented professional men and the intelligentsia; this Congress promises to represent also organized African labor. If it is successful, it may be an epoch making meeting and movement; on the other hand, it may be just a flop.

I should be very glad to hear from you and to have your ideas on the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[PM DAILY]

PM Daily
FIVE CENTS

164 DUANE STREET NEW YORK 13, N. Y. WALKER 5-2600

PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPER PM INC.

September 20, 1945

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Director, N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I certainly would like to see some articles from you on the Pan African Congress, if and when you get there.

If you call me here on Tuesday or Wednesday, after 3 P.M., we can discuss it over the telephone.

Yours sincerely,

R. A. Yaffe

Richard A. Yaffe
FOREIGN EDITOR

ry:rn

20-13-05

Abrahams
98 King Henry's Road
London N.W.3.

G. A. Langnas
41, Braunton Street. London S.W.3.
c/o Reuters, 85, Fleet Street, London E.C.4.
CENTRAL 6060 European Desk.

Wm Abrahams
Clark
Sw Mar Lewis
Postmen
Mrs Parker
Postmen
Mrs
Trans Schools
Asylum

[c. MARCH 1945]

2814 Swiss Ave
Dallas, 1, Texas

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Harcourt Brace & Co.
New York City

Dear Mr. Du-Bois:

Please, will you send me a book or a copy on Black Reconstruction (Historical presentation of the Black Man's attempt to reconstruct American Democracy

Please let me hear from you immediately as I would like to use the Subject as a theme - in March.

Thanking you in advance

Mrs) Elsie Pogue

20-17-1

- over -

Mrs) Elsie Pogue
2814 Swiss
Dallas, Texas

13 March 1945

My dear Madam:

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION is out of print. You can, however, find it in any first class public library. It was published by Harcourt, Brace and Company in 1935.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-17-2

Mrs. Elsee Pogue
2814 Swanson
Dallas 10, Texas

[Political Action Comm.]

July 20, 1945

20-7-23

My dear Mr. Bond:

I sent you a night letter last Sunday night, outlining the terms on which I could speak for you July 27th, namely, a fee of $150.00, traveling expenses from Washington, D. C. to Cleveland and Cleveland to New York, and pullman accommodations or airplane from Washington to Cleveland.

I have not heard from you and I presume that the terms are more than you can afford. I can well understand that. On the other hand, if you still are considering my coming you must let me know here by letter or wire on or before Monday, July 23rd. I leave on the 24th for Greensboro and it will be difficult to get in touch with me after that.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Clarence L. Bond
6003 Thackeray Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

[Political Action Committee]

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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65-1-02-59

HA26 NL PD=CLEVELAND OHIO 22 1945 JUL 23 AM 3 26

DR W B DUBOIS,CARENATIONAL ASSOC FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE 69 FIFTH AVE NYK=

BECAUSE OF THE IMPOSSIBILITY TO ARRANGE TRANSPORTATION WE WERE FORCED TO CANCEL MEETING MR RAYMOND DENNIS WIRED YOU THE OTHER NIGHT EXPLAINING CAUSE WE WERE UNABLE TO SECURE EVEN A PROMISE OF RESERVATION FOR YOU OR MRS BETHUNE WE HOPE TO GIVE SOMETHING LATER WHEN YOU WILL BE IN NEW YORK AND ABLE TO MAKE YOUR RESERVATION=

CLARENCE L BOND.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Political Action Committee]

6003 Hackney Ave
Cleveland, Ohio
Aug 16, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dear Sir:

We are planning on having the meeting I contacted you for last month on Sunday Oct. 28.

This will give us ample time to take care of all arrangements.

If you will be available and we are hoping that you will be able to appear, kindly let us know.

Also if the fee of $100 and travelling expenses which you mentioned in your letter, will be satisfactory you can accept this as a confirmation from the group of PAC, and we will await your word on the possibility of your appearance.

Respectfully,

Clarence A. Bond

20-7-25

[Political Action Comm.]

20-7-26

August 23, 1945

My dear Mr. Bond:

I shall be glad to speak for you October 28th in accordance with your letter of August 16th, the fee to be $150.00 and travelling expenses from New York and return.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Clarence S. Bond
6003 Thackery Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

[Political Action Comm.]

6003 Thackery Ave
Cleveland, Ohio
Aug. 22, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois.

Dear Sir:

We will be expecting you as our speaker on Sunday Oct. 28, 1945. The financial details are acceptable, and if you will send us a figure for your travelling expenses, we will wire same to you.

We are going to press immediately announcing your coming, and will begin our publicity program also

The meeting will be held at Friendship Baptist Church E. 55th & Central Ave. 4 P.M. Sunday of the above date.

Respectfully,

James L. Bond

20-7-23

[Political Action Comm.]

28-7-24

September 14, 1945

Mr. Clarence L. Bond
6003 Thackery Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Bond:

One difficulty has arisen concerning the date of October 28th. I am liable to go to London for a meeting from the 15th to the 21st of October. I am not sure about getting back as transportation is difficult. It would be taking chances to be sure to be here on the 28th. Could you put the date off until November 11th, 18th or 25th?

Of course, it is bearly possible that I shall not go but it is likely that I will.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[Political Action Comm.]

20-7-35

October 10, 1945

Mr. Clarence L. Bond
6003 Thackery Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Bond:

I wrote you before of the possibility of my going to England. I am flying next Saturday to London for the Pan African Congress. I expect to return sometime during the week of the 21st of October but it is possible that I may be delayed in getting passage.

If I can get here in time, I shall certainly fulfill my engagement to speak for you. If not, I would be glad if you will postpone it for a week.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[Political Action Comm.]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

(351)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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20-7-22

HA6 39 3 EXTRA=CLEVELAND OHIO OCT 12 1158P

1945 OCT 13 AM 12 30

WEB DUBOIS=

69 5TH AVE NYK=

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CHANGE THE SCHEDULED DATE OF OUR MEETING THE UNCERTAINTY OF YOUR ABILITY TO ATTEND MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT WE ENGAGE SOME OTHER SPEAKER MANY THANKS FOR YOUR COURTESY AND INTEREST SINCERELY YOURS=

CLARENCE BONDS 6003 THACKERAY AVENUE.

Letter 1945

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Dear Dr Du Bois - [1945]

My wife-Margaret-James
& I hope to see you &
Mr Bruce Porter.
Supper at our home - on
May 21 - Monday - at your
Choice of the hour - 5 to 7)
Dr & Mrs Sherman will

Telephone LLS. Always Need
9 Bells! All Goes Well
With Your Work Here. F
LAI - Your Dress Suit Will
Something of Your Lapses

Sincerely Yours
3234 Pacific Ave Bank Pacific

20-7-22

20-16-8

May 16, 1945

Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Porter
3234 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Porter:

I should be so glad to have supper with you on May 21st at six o'clock if that will be suitable.

I am telephoning Dr. Thurman.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel

VASSAR COLLEGE
POUGHKEEPSIE · NEW YORK
Department of History
9 Feb. 1945

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Editor, PHYLON
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

20-19-20

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have two requests to make of you. John Day Co. is going to publish a volume of my verse under the title of "No Rain from these Clouds" and has requested me to ask an assignment of copyright for such poems as originally appeared in any periodical from such publications, in order that the volume may appear as copyrighted under my name. I wish to include "Lament for Wild Cat," which originally appeared in PHYLON, and so request the assignment of copyright as suggested above. The usual acknowledgments will, of course, be given.

The other concerns the article on Abraham which appeared in PHYLON in 1941. Since its appearance I have, through research in the Nat'l Archives, in newspapers, and in obscure pamphlets, and through fieldwork in Seminole Co., Okla., acquired a great deal of additional material concerning his early life and his later life in the Indian Territory, which renders my initial sketch inadequate and, at some points, so incomplete as to make it seem distorted. I think I mentioned to you some time ago my idea of bringing the sketch up to date, but since then so much more material has come into my possession that now only a new sketch, including the material in the original and the new material as well, seems adequate. I had some doubt in my mind that, considering your space-limitations, you would wish to have this material duplicated in order that the new material might be added and intended to enquire of you whether it might not be better, with your permission, to submit such a revision to such a publication as Dr. Woodson's JOURNAL, which has more space available. A few days ago, however, I had a letter from the editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly, enclosing copies of still additional material on Abraham, and requesting that I write an article on him for the Quarterly. As you probably know, the Florida Historical Quarterly has never been noted for its interest in Negro history, and it seemed to me that this presented a good opportunity for familiarizing a new group of readers with some of the possibilities in this field. Since, however, I had formerly expressed to you an intention of bringing Abraham up to date in the columns of your publication, I did not wish to do so in another without getting a clearance from you. I should like, however, under the circumstances, to have your permission to employ pertinent passages from my PHYLON sketch of Abraham in an article for the Fla. Hist. Quarterly, with, of course, a preliminary foot-note acknowledging the priority of the PHYLON article and the permission to utilize it.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth W. Porter

15 February 1945

20-19-21

My dear Mr. Porter:

Your letter of February ninth has reached me here. I am no longer connected with Atlanta University or with PHYLON. I was retired without notice and then various efforts were made to conciliate me by allowances, etc.

The present editor is Ira De A. Reid. I hope your interesting matter will find publication.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Professor Kenneth W. Porter
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York

Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
19 Feb. '45

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I had heard, of course, that you were retiring from Atlanta University, but I had also heard it rumored, or suggested, that you would retain your position as editor of PHYLON; I consequently addressed my current communication to you personally. I regret to hear of the circumstances of your retirement but am sure that in your present capacity, indicated by your letter-head, your work will be even more valuable.

I am not sure, in view of the circumstances, that I shall address any communication to Dr. Reid in the matter of my projected article on Abraham. The material used in my earlier article is, of course, in the public domain and, since I intend to re-organize it extensively I hardly think that any copyright difficulties will be involved. My principal interest was in clearing the matter with you personally.

Thank you for your information as to the identity of the present editor, as I shall wish to write him in regard to the poem-copyright.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth W. Porter

********** 20 West 40th Street

30 November 1945

20-15-81

My dear Margaret:

I arrived from London, Monday, November 26, and Mrs. Du Bois came up from Baltimore, Tuesday. She is at Montefiore Hospital
Gunhill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
The Bronx

and would be glad to see you and Anna and any members of the family at any time that you can all. The visiting hours are afternoons, one to three-thirty and seven to nine in the evenings.

Mrs. Du Bois wanted especially that I should thank you and Anna for the beautiful flowers which you sent Thanksgiving.

I am quite well and had a pleasant trip. My regards to your Mother, sister and yourself.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Margaret Wellman Porter
497 Willoughby
Brooklyn, New York

2046-5

May 22, 1945

Mr. Langdon Post
1262 Lombard St.
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Post:

I am sending you by parcel post the book by ZIFF which you so kindly loaned me.

I am leaving Saturday and am afraid I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you again. May I tell you how much I have enjoyed knowing you.

Please give my best regards to Mrs. Burns.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
MEMBER-ELECT
22D DISTRICT NEW YORK

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

January 18, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

61-4-92

My dear Friend:

By all means let us have a Colonial Conference. All of the West Indian groups should be invited, including those of the left as well as the right.

I suggest you contact Mr. Osborne of the West Indian Council. Prince Orizu and his group should be extended an invitation as well as the Council on African Affairs, Dr. Max Yergan. The French Colonials, concerning which Mr. Guichard Parris in the National Urban League Office can give information, ought to be represented.

The Reverend Mr. David Licorish of 132 West 138th Street will be happy to represent me in planning the conference.

Best personal wishes.

Yours for a People's Victory-
at home and abroad,

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

ACP:pbn

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
22D DISTRICT NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
INVALID PENSIONS
LABOR
INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

March 26th,
1945.

20-6-6

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois,
Department of Special Research,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Friend Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your invitation to attend the Colonial Conference at the N.Y.Public Library, 135th Street Branch on April 6th. I will attend the afternoon session.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A. C. Powell Jr.

h.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
THE PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 W. 125TH ST., N. Y. C.

APRIL
Seventh
1
9
4
5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

20-4-1

My dear Friend:

It is with deep regret that I could not attend the Colonial Conference due to sudden illness which was the result of overwork more than anything else. I know it was a success and if possible, would like to be apprised of the results and also place myself at your service to do anything that I can in Washington.

Very truly yours,

A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

A. Clayton Powell, Jr. per m.l.

A
C
POWELL, Jr.
M
L

115 E. 67th, .St.
Apt.8-B.
New York, city.
March 13, 1945.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Professor
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia.

20-20-67

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am a graduate student at New York University. I am study- toward my "Masters" in Elementary Education. I have a term paper due in my History of Education class on the first of April. My topic is, "Booker T. Washington's Antagonists Black and White", or those leaders in education who differed violently with Washington's philosophy.

I realize that I am asking a great deal of you, but I would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to send me any information on those who opposed Washington's theory and their reasons for opposing it. I would appreciate your reaction to his philosophy of education.

I wish to thank you again for the information.

Yours truly

Savannah Powell.

(Miss) Savannah Powell.

23 March 1945

20-20-64

My dear Madam:

You will find something on your subject in my book Dusk of Dawn, pages 71 to 82.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Savannah Powell
115 East 67th Street
Apartment 8-B
New York City

[PRAMOJ]

THE ROYAL THAI LEGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

20-4-192

Madame Seni Pramoj regrets that she is unable to accept the invitation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to attend the Colonial Conference on April 6th 1945.

April 2nd, 1945.

CONTINENTAL FEATURES AND NEWS SERVICE

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. . . . . Telephone MUrray Hill 2-6924 -- 2668

L. H. STANTON
President

HAROLD PREECE
Southern Representative

Home Address,
Box 3035,
South Austin Station,
Austin, Texas,
April 18, 1945.

APR 20 1945

Mr. Roy Wilkins,
National Association for Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

20-4-204

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I would greatly appreciate it if you would send me by air mail a report of your colonial conference, held on April 6, in the Harlem Public Library. I wish to publicize your findings through my syndicated column, "The Negro in Latin America."

Please send this material to me at my address in Texas given above. I am particularly interested in the part played in the conference by Puerto Rican and other Latin American delegates. If you have any pictures of Latin American delegates who were present, please lend them to me and they will be returned to you promptly by our New York office.

With cordial good wishes,

Harold Preece

Harold Preece

20 April 1945

20-4-205

My dear Sir:

Your letter of April eighteenth addressed to Mr. Roy Wilkins has been referred to me. Please find enclosed a list of the speakers at the Colonial Conference, a list of the persons attending the Conference, the names of the members of the committee on resolutions and a copy of the resolutions.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Harold Preece
Box 3035
South Austin Station
Austin, Texas

[PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH]

9 March 1945

My dear Sir:

Enclosed is a proposed invitation and statement for a Colonial Conference. Mr. Irvin W. Underhill has referred us to you to see if you could give us the names of any natives of Togoland, Cameroons, Gold Coast, Belgian Congo or Portuguese West Africa resident now in the United States. We can easily get native representatives from Nigeria and the Gold Coast but no so easily from other places. I would be very much obliged if you could help us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. K. Anderson
Presbyterian Board
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

55-4-02

[PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH]

CABLE ADDRESS "INCULCATE, NEW YORK"

TELEPHONE WATKINS 9-2000

THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

OFFICE OF SECRETARY

March 16th, 1945

20-4-56

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, 3, New York.

Dear Mr. DuBois:-

Thank you for your letter of March 9th, in which you enclose a proposed invitation and statement for a Colonial Conference.

I am sorry to say that I know of no Africans in this country from any of the areas which you mentioned in your letter. Our only work is in French Cameroun, and we have no one from that area in the United States at the present time.

Very sincerely yours,

L. K. Anderson

LKA:RR

No. C- 43121 Mrs. B. Ella Bass

BALTIMORE 9-30 1943

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

Provident Hospital

RECEIVED OF Mrs Nina L. Rubens

September 28 - Oct. 5

ROOM / WARD B FROM TO AT $ PER DAY $ 42.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM		
LABORATORY FEE		
ANESTHETIC		
X-RAYS		
MEDICINES		
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE		
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE		
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES		
TOTAL	$	42.00

Check for 42.00
on Acct.
Paid by Mrs Yolande Williams
Thanks

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

J. A. Dashiells / 45 CASHIER

FORM NO. P. H. 30

20-18

[PROVIDENT HOSPITAL]

No. C-43307

BALTIMORE 10-15 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Nina Dubois
2302 Montebello Terrace

12-19

ROOM
WARD _____ FROM _____ TO _____ AT $ _____ PER DAY $ 42.00

20-12

Our a/c

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE	
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL TOTAL $ 42.00

FORM NO. P. H. 30

J. G. Dashiell a/p CASHIER

42
56
56
1540

No. C-43398

BALTIMORE 10-22 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Mrs Nina DuBois

ROOM
WARD FROM 10/19 TO 10/25 AT $ 6.00 PER DAY $ 42.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE	
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

Grant Funds

20-12

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

TOTAL $ 42.00

FORM NO. P. H. 30

J. M. Mitchell CASHIER

No. C-43496

BALTIMORE 10/30/ 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Mrs. Nina G. Dubois

2302 Montebello Terrace

ROOM WARD 1m FROM 10-26 TO 11/1 AT $ 6.00 PER DAY $ 42.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
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MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL TOTAL $ 42.00

FORM NO. P. H. 30

J. G. Dashiell CASHIER

20-18

No. C-43599

BALTIMORE 11-6 — 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Mrs. Nina Du Bois

ROOM
WARD FROM 11/2 TO 11/8 AT $ 6.00 PER DAY $ 42.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE	
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

Thanks

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL TOTAL $ 42.00

J. Washington CASHIER

FORM NO. P. H. 30

11-20

No. C-43699

BALTIMORE 11 - 13 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Mrs. Nina Dubois

ROOM
WARD FROM 11/9 TO 11/15 AT $ 6.00 PER DAY $ 42.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE	
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

20-18

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

TOTAL $ 42.00

FORM NO. P. H. 30

J. D. Haskell CASHIER

No. C-43925

BALTIMORE 11-27 1945

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL

RECEIVED OF Nina Dubois

2302 Montebello Terrace

ROOM WARD ____ FROM 16 TO 26 AT $ 6.00 PER DAY $ 66.00

USE OF OPERATING ROOM	
LABORATORY FEE	
ANESTHETIC	
X-RAYS	
MEDICINES	
SALARY, SPECIAL NURSE	
MEALS, SPECIAL NURSE	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	

20-18

an a/c

RECEIVED PAYMENT PROVIDENT HOSPITAL TOTAL $ 66.00

FORM NO. P. H. 30

J. G. Dashiell a. p. CASHIER

DREXEL 6140

THE PULLMAN PORTERS UNION C. U. A. AFFILIATED
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
543 EAST 47TH STREET SUIT 13
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF
SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 17, 1945

Mr. W. E. DuBois,
C/O N.A.A.C.P.,
69 - 5th Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

20-21-64

Dear Sir:

Referring to your telegram of April 14th in regards to the San Francisco gathering, we beg to state as follows:

The Pullman Porters Union, of which I am National Secretary-Treasurer, on account of their past and present experience, "we believe resolve and suggest that all minority groups and Nations should have a vote and voice in and at all meetings concerning or pertaining to their welfare and existence".

The above quotation was made and adopted in a meeting of the Executives of The Pullman Porters Union formerly named, The Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association.

Yours for Negro progress and success,

JRR/hl

National Secretary-Treasurer

C E Kendrick
President

19 February 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please pick up a package at
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.
This package has been left in the care of the Superintendent, Milton Hinckson, and is to be delivered to:

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Railway Express Agency
219 East 42nd Street
New York City

20-12

RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY
INCORPORATED

(Printed in U.S.A.)

ORIGINAL (Form 5075)
UNIFORM EXPRESS RECEIPT

NON-NEGOTIABLE **No. 120-337** **COLLECT**

New York, N. Y. Date 4/24/45 19

Received from W. Du Bois

Address 409 Edgecomb, Ave

Subject to the Classifications and Tariffs in Effect on Date of Issue

Article 1 Pkg Weight

Consigned to E. F. Frazier.

At Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Number Street City State

Value herein declared by Shipper to be $100.00 Dollars

Which the Company agrees to carry upon the terms and conditions printed on the back hereof, to which the shipper agrees, and as evidence hereof, accepts this receipt.

For the Company

C. O. D.

C.O.D. Service Charge

5-18

FROM **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

(5075)

RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY

Date 4/24/45

No. Pieces	Weight	Class or I. C. C. No.
1		

C. O. D.

C.O.D. Service Charge

Declared Value 100-

NOTE

The Company will not pay over $50, in case of loss, or 50 cents per pound, actual weight, for any shipment in excess of 100 pounds, unless a greater value is declared and charges for such greater value paid.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

1. The provisions of this receipt shall inure to the benefit of and be binding upon the consignor, the consignee and all carriers handling this shipment and shall apply to any reconsignment, or return thereof.

2. In consideration of the rate charged for carrying said property, which is dependent upon the value thereof and is based upon an agreed valuation of not exceeding fifty dollars for any shipment of 100 pounds or less and not exceeding fifty cents per pound, actual weight, for any shipment in excess of 100 pounds, unless a greater value is declared at the time of shipment, the shipper agrees that the company shall not be liable in any event for more than fifty dollars for any shipment of 100 pounds or less, or for more than fifty cents per pound, actual weight, for any shipment weighing more than 100 pounds, unless a greater value is stated herein. Unless a greater value is declared and stated herein the shipper agrees that the value of the shipment is as last above set out and that the liability of the company shall in no event exceed such value.

3. Unless caused by its own negligence or that of its agents, the company shall not be liable for—

a Difference in weight or quantity caused by shrinkage, leakage, or evaporation.
b The death, injury or escape of live freight.
c Loss of money, bullion, bonds, coupons, jewelry, precious stones, valuable papers, or other matter of extraordinary value, unless such articles are enumerated in the receipt.

4. Unless caused in whole or in part by its own negligence or that of its agents, the company shall not be liable for loss, damage or delay caused by—

a The act or default of the shipper or owner.
b The nature of the property, or defect or inherent vice therein.
c Improper or insufficient packing, securing, or addressing.
d The Act of God, public enemies, authority of law, quarantine, riots, strikes, perils of navigation, the hazards or dangers incident to a state of war, or occurrence in customs warehouse.
e The examination by, or partial delivery to the consignee of C. O. D. shipments.
f Delivery under instructions of consignor or consignee at stations where there is no agent of the company after such shipments have been left at such stations.

5. Packages containing fragile articles or articles consisting wholly or in part of glass must be so marked and be packed so as to insure safe transportation by express with ordinary care.

6. When consigned to a place at which the express company has no office, shipments must be marked with the name of the express station at which delivery will be accepted or be marked with forwarding directions if to go beyond the express company's line by a carrier other than an express company. If not so marked shipments will be refused.

7. As conditions precedent to recovery claims must be made in writing to the originating or delivering carrier within nine months after delivery of the property or, in case of failure to make delivery, then within nine months and fifteen days after date of shipment; and suits shall be instituted only within two years and one day after the date when notice in writing is given by the carrier to the claimant that the carrier has disallowed the claim or any part or parts thereof.

8. If any C. O. D. is not paid within thirty days after notice of non-delivery has been mailed to the shipper the company may at its option return the property to the consignor.

9. Free delivery will not be made at points where the company maintains no delivery service; at points where delivery service is maintained free delivery will not be made at addresses beyond the established and published delivery limits.

Special Additional Provisions as to Shipments Forwarded by Vessel from the United States to Places in Foreign Countries.

10. If the destination specified in this receipt is in a foreign country, the property covered hereby shall, as to transit over ocean routes and by their foreign connections to such destination, be subject to all the terms and conditions of the receipts or bills of lading of ocean carriers as accepted by the company for the shipment, and of foreign carriers participating in the transportation, and as to such transit is accepted for transportation and delivery subject to the acts, ladings, laws, regulations, and customs of oversea and foreign carriers, custodians, and governments, their employees and agents.

11. The company shall not be liable for any loss, damage, or delay to said shipments over ocean routes and their foreign connections, the destination of which is in a foreign country, occurring outside the boundaries of the United States, which may be occasioned by any such acts, ladings, laws, regulations, or Customs. Claims for loss, damage or delay must be made in writing to the carrier at the port of export or to the carrier issuing this receipt within nine months after delivery of the property at said port or in case of failure to make such delivery then within nine months and fifteen days after date of shipment; and claims so made against said delivering or issuing carrier shall be deemed to have been made against any carrier which may be liable hereunder. Suits shall be instituted only within two years and one day after the date when notice in writing is given by the carrier to the claimant that the carrier has disallowed the claim or any part or parts thereof. Where claims are not so made, and/or suits are not instituted thereon in accordance with the foregoing provisions, the carrier shall not be liable.

12. It is hereby agreed that the property destined to such foreign countries, and assessable with foreign governmental or customs duties, taxes or charges, may be stopped in transit at foreign ports, frontiers or depositories, and there held pending examination, assessments and payments, and such duties and charges, when advanced by the company shall become a lien on the property.

RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY

INCORPORATED

NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT

CUSTOMS DIVISION—OFFICE DIVISION

10TH AVE., 32ND TO 33RD ST.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 6-7900

NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

JOHN KERN, JR.,
AGENT

March 16,1945

OUR REFERENCE NO. D-2412

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3,N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Dr.W.E.B. Du Bois, New York City From: F.J. Cazalas, New Orleans,La. WB 4198 2-7-45
2 cases 82 lbs.Vl.$18.00 I.T. 4660 New Orleans

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 6,1945 in which you state that you have received the case of rum but you have not received the carved mahogany.

After consulting our records we beg to advise you that the carved mahogany has since been delivered to you.

You make mention of the two bottles of rum broken when the shipment was delivered to you and you would like to know that compensation is due you for the two bottles of rum.

For your information we are referring your claim to our Claim Dept. Mr.F.Thomas, Claim Agent, 219 East 42nd St. New York City who will make the necessary investigation and you will no doubt hear from him direct.

Yours truly

Agent.
CUSTOMS DIVISION

2 April 1945

Gentlemen: Attention: Miss Doris Klein

This is to confirm the order which I left with you today for two maps mounted: one Goode Pol. Australia and the Philippines; one Goode Pol. Carribbean lands, both to have standard mounting. These are to be delivered Thursday at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, Fourth Floor. The bill to be made out to the Association.

We are not exempt from the sales tax.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Rand McNally Map Store
Rockfeller Center
7 West 50th Street
New York 20

America's Leading Labor School

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

FOUNDED 1906
SEVEN EAST FIFTEENTH STREET
NEW YORK

ALgonquin 4-3094

246

June 25, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69-5th Ave.
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The enclosed program, under the general title POLITICS AND THE PEACE, is an attempt to evaluate vital international and domestic issues on the basis of the free give and take of public discussion characteristic of the Rand School.

I have asked a number of distinguished men and women to participate in these round table discussions and among those who have accepted thus far are Professor Irving Fisher, Dr. Nathaniel Peffer, Dr. David J. Dallin, A. Philip Randolph, Dr. William Withers, John D. Connors and Leon Birkhead.

I am inviting you to take part in the fifth Symposium on the topic ASIA - FOOTBALL OF POWER POLITICS, Wednesday evening, October 31st at 8:30. The facts relating to Asia are not too clear to the American people and the role of power politics in Oriental lands is a subject concerning which more ought to be known for the peace of the world. I am certain you can make a valuable contribution to this discussion and I need hardly tell you how anxious we are to have you here.

Your colleagues will be Dr. Maurice William, Nathaniel Peffer and Pearl Buck, each to make a twenty minute presentation.

The series of Symposiums is for the most part non-political and non-sectarian and those who are invited are free to voice their beliefs and opinions as they see fit.

The enclosed bulletins will give you an idea of the scope of our work within the last year and a half.

May I urge you to accept and please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Theodore Schapiro

Theodore Schapiro
Executive Director

TS:LS

81-7-02

July 3, 1945

20-7-19

Mr. Theodore Schapiro
Executive Director
Rand School of Social Science
7 East 50 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schapiro: 8:30

I shall be glad to take part in the round table discussion on October 31st, mentioned in your letter of June 25th.

Of course it is barely possible that some imperative duty may keep me away but if so I shall try to give you due notice. I do not know of any such contingency at present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

America's Leading Labor School

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

FOUNDED 1906

SEVEN EAST FIFTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

ALgonquin 4-3094

246

28-1-20

July 16, 1945

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for
the advancement of Colored
People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have your letter of July 3rd confirming your participation in the round table discussion on ASIA - Football of Power Politics to be held Wednesday evening, October 31st at 8:30.

I will keep in touch with you concerning further developments.

In the meantime, let me thank you for your acceptance.

Sincerely,

Theo. Schapiro

Theodore Schapiro
Executive Director

RAND SCHOOL

7 E. 15 ST. N. Y. C.

NEW YORK, N.Y. JUL 25 7-PM. 1945

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69-5th Ave.
New York 3, N.Y.

July 24, 1945 [RAND]

THIS JUST A REMINDER

PROGRAM: POLITICS AND THE PEACE
SUBJECT: ASIA - Football of Power Politics
DATE: Wednesday evening at 8:30, October 31st
SESSIONS: One

NAME Dr. W.E.B. Dubois

TITLE Director of Special Research, NAACP

This information will appear in our publicity. If there are any corrections please advise me at once.

SYLVIA RUBENSTEIN
Secretary to Mr. Schapiro

[RAND]

POLITICS AND THE PEACE

8 ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS
BEGINNING WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd

(1)	OCTOBER 3rd	WORLD PEACE-America's Role
(2)	OCTOBER 10th	ZIONISM - and the Future of the Jews
(3)	OCTOBER 24th	RUSSIA'S HEGEMONY in Eastern Europe and the Balkans
(4)	OCTOBER 31st	ASIA - Football of Power Politics
(5)	NOVEMBER 14th	SIXTY MILLION JOBS - A Factor in World Peace
(6)	NOVEMBER 28th	FORCED LABOR IN EUROPE - A Threat to Free Labor in America
(7)	DECEMBER 5th	CARTELS AND IMPERIALISM - what they mean to the Wage Earner
(8)	DECEMBER 12th	THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE - Labor's Program for Industrial Stability

80-7

********** 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

12-7-21

My dear Sir:

I have just returned from attendance at the Pan African Congress in London which was held October 15 to 21. I had expected to return in time to take part in your round table discussion on October 31, but was unable to get passage until November 25. I am sorry to have disappointed you and I hope that my secretary here gave you due notice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Theodore Schapiro
Rand School of Social Science
Seven East Fifteenth Street
New York City

[A. PHILIP RANDOLPH]

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.
217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080 - 1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262
440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

20-4-155

March 23, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Permit me in the absence of Mr. Randolph to thank you for the invitation to attend the Colonial Conference to be held April 6th. I am sure because of Mr. Randolph's interest in the colonial peoples he would be pleased to attend but unfortunately he will be in Dallas, Texas at that time. I am forwarding your invitation to him.

Sincerely yours,

Hazel Alves

Hazel Alves
Secretary

af:oe
23076

20-14-38

May 7, 1945

Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Ray
209 East Fifth Street
Duluth, 5, Minnesota

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Ray:

The presence of Ethel here helping me reminds me of you both and of the pleasant visit which I had in your home.

I hope you are both well and that I shall see you sometime again.

Ethel looks in good health and seems to have an excellent appetite.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Consultant for N.A.A.C.P.
to American Delegation

20-20-13

U.S. NAVAL TRAINING AND DISTRIBUTION CENTER
CAMP PEARY
Williamsburg Virginia

11 Sept. 1945

Dr. W. E. B DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

About six weeks ago I wrote you what may have been an unpleasantly long letter, stating some of my reactions to the recent article by Governor Arnall in Collier's, and enclosing other papers including a letter of mine to The Jewish Criterion which I had requested be returned me.

I realize it is possible you may not yet have seen my letter, which has not been returned to me as undeliverable, and that, even if you have had it, your time is more usefully occupied than to reply . I am, in fact, much more desirous of seeing published an article such as I suggested than in having any reply directly.

Just in case you have wondered about the writer, I am a 37-year old former Pittsburgh lawyer who has been at this camp since induction into the Seabees in October 1943. When I edited the student newspaper at the University of Pittsburgh in 1927-28, I had the good fortune to know (though not intimately) and to publish, in the paper's literary columns, some poetry of Bertram Woodruff, whom I have read again recently in Phylon.

I should like the few papers I had requested be returned.

Respectfully,

Herman Recht

Herman Recht Y3c
Ship's Co., Trans. C.

20-20-14

October 5, 1945

Mr. Herman Recht 23c
Ship's Co., Trans. O.
U.S. Naval Training & Distribution Center
Camp Peary
Williamsburg, Virginia

My dear Mr. Recht:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letters of July 31st and September 11th but I am trying to get to the Pan African Congress in London this month and have been very busy.

I am returning your letter of July 31st and beg to say that I have no great faith in Governor Arnall.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd
Enc.

8 January 1945

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I am exploring the advisability of assembling in New York, next month a small colonial conference on the following lines:

1. representatives of each colony living now in or near New York; these persons to be natives of the colonies and preferably resident in them fairly recently. These representatives to prepare for the conference:
   a. a short statement of present colonial conditions
   b. a statement of colonial demands now and in the post-war period, seeking so far as possible to outline all important bodies of opinion, and if possible to present documentary material.

2. representatives of the chief colonial powers, if possible with authorization from their governments, presenting such plans as their governments are considering or have adopted for present and post-war colonial procedure.

3. representatives of religious and philanthropic bodies with programs of post-war colonial policy and action.

I am wondering if in this way we could not get a conference based on a maximum of facts rather than mere opinion, and out of which a picture of colonial plans and conditions might come.

What do you think of this plan? Have you any suggestions? Can you give me names of any colonial representatives whom you would suggest inviting? What organizations which you represent would probably be willing to take part in this conference and help me in planning it?

I shall be glad to have your reaction and advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
The Schomburg Collection
135th Street Public Library
New York City, New York

20-4-122

23 January 1945

20-4-125

My dear Mr. Reddick:

You were kind enough to tell me that you would send me a list of persons who might be invited to a colonial conference or consulted about one. They should be, as I have said, persons who have been recently in the colony or if they have not been there recently, persons who have a great deal of information from study and correspondence.

Sometime in the next few weeks, Miss Diggs is coming up to the library to look for information through your collection and to consult with you.

I enjoyed the audience which you gave me very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
135th Street Public Library
Schomburg Collection
New York City

28 March 1945

20-4-122

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I tried to get you today on the telephone but you were not in. We have scheduled a meeting of the committee on the Colonial Conference in your office on Saturday, March thirty-first, at eleven o'clock.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

2 April 1945

20-4-129

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I trust you will remember that you were to make some arrangements about luncheon at the YMCA and secure the services of a stenotypist at our expense.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET

New York, 30 New York
April 5, 1945

20-4-130

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is a rough memo of some of the points which I believe ought to be considered in our discussion Friday. Their formulation is tentative and, of course, a majority of the delegates at the conference may not accept some of these principles. We shall see.

I believe that we should have two sets of resolutions: first, those dealing with the colonial question in general and secondly, those dealing with specific colonial areas.

In GENERAL:

1. That the interests and welfare of the colonial peoples themselves should be the first concern of any discussions, statements or plans of action involving colonies. Britain, the world's leading colonial power, has always affirmed "the paramountcy of the interests of the natives".

7 Continued

2. That any commissions — government, international or privately initiated or supported — which shall concern themselves with colonies and colonial peoples shall have real representation of the native people on these bodies. On all commissions that American citizens serve, part of that representation shall be by American Negroes.

8

3. That all declarations concerning war and peace aims of the United Nations (or any equivalent organization for world security) shall include

declarations treating the interests of colonial peoples in the same fashion as are treated the interests of non-colonial peoples.

4. That the same regulations concerning the right to bear arms be applied to native and non-native residents of colonial areas.

5. That all colonial areas be subject to the United Nations' declarations on freedom of speech and freedom of press.

6. That freedom of mobility within the colonial area as well as to and from the colonial area shall not be denied native inhabitants.

7. That there shall be no transfer of colonial territories without consulting the peoples who inhabit these territories.

8. That the minimum labor standards of the International Labor Office shall be applied to all colonial and semi-colonial areas.

9. That any declarations on the part of imperialistic powers as to their intention to quit colonial areas to have meaning must be accompanied by a time schedule.

10. That the colonial peoples shall have the right to freely associate themselves in civic, social, political and labor unions and to affiliate with bona fide international organizations to which similar unions in independent nations have access.

11. That the goal of independence and complete self-government is approached more by international security and international responsibility than by unilateral national control.

12. That provision be made for direct representation of colonial peoples in the United Nations or equivalent world security organization.

13. That all plans for education, social services and intellectual cooperation of the United Nations include the colonial peoples along with all others.

14. That all plans of the United Nations for rehabilitation, the extension

of credit and the promotion of public works, cooperative industry and commerce and the development of agriculture include the colonial peoples along with all others.

SPECIFIC:

1. That the United Nations investigate "Boer Fascism" in the Union of South Africa.
2. That present plans for "colonial regionalism" be exposed as a cloak for the design of expanding the domination of the Union of South Africa over larger areas.
3. That the United Nations be urged to oppose the annexation by the Union of South Africa of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and other native territories.
4. That the colonies of present or former enemy nations shall not be returned to those states but actually liberated.
5. That economic and/or political federation for mutual benefit be permitted the peoples of the Caribbean area.
6. That the interest and welfare of the aboriginal people of Australia be brought within the purview of plans for world peace.

20-4-132

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

L. D. Reddick
C U R A T O R

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

LDR:RRT

The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, June 14, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

N.A.A.C.P.

69 Fifth Ave.

New York, N.Y.

20-2-46

Dear Dr. DuBois,

According to our agreement, I am to help you collect the documents on the demands of the colonial peoples and you are to let me have an essay entitled "The Negro and World Peace."

I have collected quite a few things that I will bring down to you very soon. In the meantime, could you let me have your essay within the next three weeks?

You will know better than anybody else as to just what should be included in it. However, I think that the readers of A WORLD VIEW OF THE NEGRO QUESTION would wish to know about the colonial question as it embraces Negroid peoples and the stake that American Negroes, along with others, have in the solution of this problem. Personally, I hope that you will, after giving the basic data, go into a discussion of the meaning of the San Francisco decisions on this question. If you can, please, say a little about your Pan-Africa congresses.

At any rate, do whatever you think best, remembering always that this book, unlike a magazine article or newspaper piece, will be read for several years to come, we hope.

Sincerely yours,

L.D. Reddick

LDR:PB

Dr. L.D. Reddick, Curator

July 3, 1945

20-2-44

Mr. L. D. Reddick
135th Street Public Library
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Reddick:

I have finally gotten back to my desk after many wanderings.

I should like to confer with you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

Reddick's Work [Reddick] [1945?]

Tentative arrangement of chapters for publication of Request to write article

A WORLD VIEW OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

DEFINITIONS

Chapter I Why We Need a World View of the Negro Question, by L. D. Reddick
II The Conception of the Negro in the Public Mind, by L. D. Reddick
III Physical Characteristics of the Negro, by M. F. Ashley-Montagu
IV Intelligence of the Negro, by Otto Klineberg

AFRICA

Chapter V African Cultures Prior to the European Intrusion, by L. D. Reddick
VI What West Africa Wants, by A. A. N. Orizu
VII Land and Labor in East Africa, by Ernest Kalibala
VIII Crisis in South Africa, by Max Yergan
IX Christian Missions and African Welfare, by Emory Ross
X Education in Africa, by Thomas Jesse Jones & Jackson Davis
XI The Diffusion of African Folklore, by Mary Gould Davis

WEST INDIES AND LATIN AMERICA

20-24

Chapter XII African Cultural Survivals in the New World, by Melville J. Herskovits
XIII The Negro in Spanish America, by Rayford W. Logan
XIV Race Relations in Brazil and the U. S. Compared, by E. Franklin Frazier
XV Problems and Prospects in the Caribbean, by Eric Williams
XVI The Negro Writer in the West Indies and Latin America, by Langston Hughes

UNITED STATES

Chapter XVII The Economic Position of the Negro in the U. S., by William Doan, Jr.
XVIII The Negro in Organized Labor, by Herbert R. Northrup
XIX The Negro in Politics in the United States, by William Hastie
XX Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, by Horace Mann Bond
XXI The Negro Writer in the U. S., by Sterling Brown
XXII Religion and Race Relations, by George E. Haynes

WORLD PATTERNS

Chapter XXIII Patterns of Negro Segregation, by Charles S. Johnson
XXIV A World View of Negro Art, by Alain Locke
XXV The Peoples of China and India and the Negro Question, by Lin Yutang and Kumar Goshal
XXVI Report from the War Fronts, by Roi Ottley, Ollie Harrington, Ruth Wilson and Enoch P. Waters
XXVII The Negro and the Peacemaking, by W. E. B. DuBois
XXVIII Conclusions and Prospects
Bibliography
Index

20-2-45

1 September 1945

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I have written to Mr. Stokes recommending the employment of Mr. Dill. Miss Diggs and I will be glad to collaborate with you in collecting documents showing the colonial demands for freedom in the twentieth century.

On thinking the matter over I do not believe it will be feasible to make a very satisfactory geographical division. Suppose we do this: each of us make a list of such documents known to us with copies of as many as possible. There will be, of course some duplication but we can report frequently so as not to do unnecessary copying. Then perhaps about November first we can get together for discussion and further work.

If this is satisfactory to you, I shall from time to time between now and November send you memoranda indicating statements which I have run across.

I shall be glad to send you as early in September as possible a charter on colonies and peace which you wish for your forthcoming book.

Finally, can you advise me where a young colored girl who is branch librarian now and has her B. S. in library science from Simmons College, Boston, could while working as librarian in New York City take evening classes so as to secure her master's degree? I shall be glad for your advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

(Reddick)

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, December 14, 1945

20-13-69

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your essay on "Colonies and Peace" which came Saturday. Many thanks, indeed, for the best analysis I have seen anywhere of the real cause of the failure at San Francisco and the part this nation is now playing in supporting the colonial system which, otherwise, would surely collapse in many places.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director of Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

[Reformed Zion Union... Church]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

(31)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N305 DH DM=NEWYORK NY 14 1945 APR 14 PM 5 24

W E B DU BOIS=

NAACP DLR 409 EDGECOMB AVE=

YOUR TELEGRAM APR 13TH TOREFORMED ZION UNION APOSTOLIC CHURCH REV MILLER SOUTHILL VIR IS UNDELIVERED. NO SUCH CHURCH THERE=

WESTERN UNION TELE CO SERVICE BUREAU WORTH 2 7300.

18-12-08

[Ricordi and Co.]

21 March 1945

20-25-16

Gentlemen:

In a book, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE which Harcourt, Brace and Company are about to publish, I wish to use in the last chapter a phrase from Harry Burleigh's "Go Down Moses". It consists simply of a few bars of music from the chorus which go with the words "Go Down Moses". May I and the publishers have your permission.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. Ricordi and Company
12 West 45th Street
New York City

********** 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

20-15-77

My dear Mr. Ridley:

I have arrived safely in New York and am writing to thank you for your kind hospitality at Liberty Club in London. You and Mr. Rodgers made my stay both pleasant and profitable. I trust when you are in New York, you will look me up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

(over)

Mr. Peter Ridley
American Red Cross in Great Britain
APO 413, c/o Postmaster
New York City

CITY COURT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL PARK
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CHAMBERS OF
FRANCIS E. RIVERS
JUSTICE

January 25,1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

20-4-177

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The delay in answering your letter of January 8, 1945, is due mainly to the difficulty of getting stenographic help at this court after the court work ends at four o'clock in the afternoon. I recessed court earlier today because of concern about answering correspondence, of which your letter was one of the most important.

I think that the small colonial conference which your letter refers to may be the only group concerned seriously and actively with bringing to the attention of the appropriate bodies these pressing problems.

I am not possessed of the names of any colonial representatives fitting the description which you give, but expect to talk soon with a friend who is more versed in such matters and who might be able to suggest some very satisfactory names.

I am one of the directors of the East and West Association and it may be interested in participating in the planning and conduct of such a conference.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Rivers

One of the nice things about The Yuletide are the pleasant memories of those with whom we have been associated during the passing years.

It is with this thought in mind that we wish You and Yours A Happy New Year.

Carita V. Roane

REAL ESTATE

107-31 PRINCETON STREET JAMAICA 4, NEW YORK

20-15

17 January 1945

20-15-54

My dear Carita:

I was glad to have a greeting from you and know your present whereabouts. I caught a glimpse of you once lately and hope to again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Carita V. Roane
107-31 Princeton Street
Jamaica 4, New York

[ROBACK]

TROWBRIDGE 0147

DR. A. A. ROBACK
8 PRESCOTT STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

July 4, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:- I am editing a Festschrift in honor of Albert Schweitzer, although the material is in the hands of the printers, there is still time for you to send us an expression or article in this connection. Since the Negroes should be represented on this occasion. Anything from 1000 - 5000 words would be welcome. It need not be a scholarly article.

From the folder (page 2) you will see the calibre of the contributors. My co-editors are President Brade of Colby College and Prof. Barton of Harvard.

Sincerely yours
A. A. Roback

20-17-7

[ROBACK]

July 21, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

Your willingness to contribute a 2500 statement on the meaning of Albert Schweitzer's work to the natives in Africa is greatly appreciated. Since Prof. Skillings is covering the facts of Schweitzer's humanitarian work, I take it that you like write as the Spokesman of the natives. There would have been a void without someone representing these people paying homage to the man in such a Festschrift.

I hope you can let us have the essay in a week or ten days. As I should like to place it in the first part of the volume. The composition is almost completed. Why I didn't think of you some time ago is difficult to understand.

Incidentally, I often wondered how the French Du Bois came to be the patronymic in your family, and since I met Dr. de Reid in Atlanta the combination of French and Scotch has ever more of a puzzle to me.

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

20-17-4

You may not know it, but yiddish literature contains hundreds of poems dealing with the Negro and scores of short stories. They might be figured in a bibliography

July 20, 1945

My dear Dr. Roback:

Answering your letter of July 4th, I, of course, know in general of Albert Schweitzer and have his book, "On the Edge of the Primeval Forest".

Anything that I might write would be my estimate at second hand of the value of the important enterprise which he undertook in Africa. If you would like a short statement of, say 2500 words on that subject, I should be glad to furnish it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. A. A. Roback
8 Prescott Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

August 2, 1945

My dear Dr. Roback:

Enclosed is the article which I promised. I am afraid it may overlap some of your other articles, and while it is not exactly an expression of the native point of view, it possibly will fill the need that you have. If it does not, do not hesitate to return it.

With regard to my name, you will find an explanation of it in Chapter V of my DUSK OF DAWN, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1940.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Dr. A. A. Roback
8 Prescott Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Aug. 5, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your exposition. In spite of the somewhat challenging tone, I am going to use it, taking the liberty, however, of making one or two slight changes: "slender" instead of "puny" hands of Alb. Schweitzer, and a softening of the reference to Leopold II. One of my co-editors, George Sarton, happens to be a Belgian. He merely smiled at the reference, but did not object to your attitude. But was Leopold any worse than Lg Carnegie or Frick so for exploitation jobs? And did he not stop downright slavery? And should we belittle everyone who has mistresses?

I hope you will not mind my changing the wording to as I read "that exploiting monarch, living in revelry in Brussels".

Let me specially thank you for your promptness. Some day I hope to discuss The White-Black question with you when I am in New York. Otherwise I need further enlightenment on one or two crucial issues. Of course I shall read your book first.

Sincerely yours

Arnold Brecht

46-6-300

20-14-36

August 10, 1945

My dear Dr. Roback:

This will acknowledge your letter dated August 5th which reached us during Dr. DuBois' absence from the city.

I shall bring your communication to his attention immediately upon his return to his desk which will be about August 20th.

Very sincerely yours,

Ethel Ray Nance

Dr. A. A. Roback
8 Prescott St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

20-20-67

5729 N. Harmer Street
Philadelphia 31, Pa.
January 5, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Recently, I learned that you are Director of Special Research of the NAACP. This organization has interested me, as it has probably done other young Negroes.

By the summer, August 1945, I will have completed the requirements necessary for a MS in English Education. Would you be able to advise me if there is any place for a young woman of 24 years with a MS in English Education on the staff of the NAACP.

I am a southerner, with three years of teaching experience in small souther schools. My undergraduate work was completed at Wilberforce University in Ohio.

Thank you for any information you may offer me.

Very truly yours,
(Miss) Flora G. Roberts

17 January 1945

89-102-02

My dear Madam:

The Department of Special Research of the NAACP of which I am director has no immediate plans for expanding its work.

Your training seems to point toward teaching rather than research which is a special field. If I were you, I would write to the heads of various Negro colleges and offer my services. There is need of teachers just now.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Florea G. Roberts
5729 West Harmer Street
Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania

LESTER ROBERTS
1900 WASHINGTON STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

JUNE 29, 1945.

DEAR DR. DU BOIS:

20-24-51

I WONDER IF I MAY IMPOSE UPON YOUR GOOD NATURE AND ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS!

CAN YOU TELL ME HOW MANY COPIES OF THE FIRST EDITION OF "THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE 1896" WERE PUBLISHED, WHO PUBLISHED IT AND WAS THERE MORE THAN ONE EDITION PUBLISHED?

I BELIEVE THIS WAS YOUR FIRST BOOK TO BE PUBLISHED IF THERE WAS ANY THING BEFORE THIS IN BOOK OR PAMPHLET FORM WOULD YOU BE GOOD ENOUGH TO TELL ME WHAT IT WAS WITH THE INFORMATION AS OUTLINED ABOVE.

I WILL APPRECIATE YOUR TROUBLE IN THIS MATTER AND ENCLOSE A STAMP FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE IN ANSWERING.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

Lester Roberts

July 11, 1945

20-24-50

My dear Mr. Roberts:

You would have to get in contact with the publishing department of Harvard University, or possibly Ginn & Company, who were their agents at the time, to find the number of copies of my book, The Suppression of the Slave Trade, that were published. I never knew.

This was my first book to be published but before that I had published a pamphlet, The Conservation of Races, issued by the American Negro Academy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Lester Roberts
1900 Washington Street
San Francisco 9, California

LESTER ROBERTS
1900 WASHINGTON STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

July 17, 1945.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your kindness to a stranger and a pesty one at that.

I am working on a book about books and a study of first books will be a large part of it, so may I pester you once more.

When was the pamphlet The Conservation of Races published and was there more than one edition published. Does the American Negro Academy still have any, if so would you be good enough to let me know where I can write to them, as I would like to buy one.

I will appreciate your further kindness in this matter and may I enclose a stamp for your use.

Most sincerely yours,

Lester Roberts

20-24-52

August 1, 1945

20-24-53

My dear Mr. Roberts:

The pamphlet on "Conservation of Races" appeared in only one edition. The American Negro Academy has not been active for many years.

I do not know where you could get a copy. I have only one myself.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Lester Roberts
1900 Washington Street
San Francisco 9, California

Social News

6019 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois
August 13, 1945

Dear Dr DuBois;

It is rather difficult for me to fully realize the fact, but after two years of it I am a civilian again. I was discharged from the Army just ten days ago.

As anyone who knows me would probably conclude, I didn't like being in the service. Nevertheless, during the last twelve months I enjoyed some rather interesting experiences as a psychiatric case worker.

September tenth will find me back teaching at Dillard again just as before entering the service.

Less than an hour ago I finished reading Color and Democracy. The

20-15-69

entire book was most stimulating. I noticed, too that many of the facts regarding colonia later were new and improved over and against those worked up for Black Folks Then and Now. This discovery of new materials pleased me very much, for it upholds my conviction concerning your research and publications: e.g. you are one of the very few who ponder constant and generalizations but repeatedly refine the validity of your concepts and theories.

Although I am going South very soon, I hope that it will not be so very long before I have the opportunity a seeing you. I still have in mind doing the bibliography on your works which I talked and corresponded with you about before going into the army.

With best wishes, I remain

your friend,

Bernard F. Robinson

20-15-70

August 23, 1945

20-15-71

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I was delighted to hear from you and to know that you safely escaped from hell.

I should be glad to see you any time you are near New York.

Thank you for your kind words concerning my book. My best regards to you and Mrs. Robinson.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Bernard F. Robinson
6019 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

(ROBINSON)

Church of The Master

PRESBYTERIAN

REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
MINISTER

86 MORNINGSIDE AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
UNIVERSITY 4-7363

July 20th
1 9 4 5

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It has recently come to my attention, through the indulgence of some African student friends of mine, that Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, publisher and leader in West African life has been threatened with banishment because it is believed he is actively connected with a general strike of workers in Nigeria, which has been in existence for one month.

20-22-15

If this report is true, I feel it has serious import for those of us who feel freedom of expression is one of the basic rights of humans.

It is possible that you have heard of this. It is possible that you have additional information. It is important that some effective measure of protest be made by progressive peoples in order that the forces of oppression be discouraged from continuous transgressions of human freedom.

It is for this reason that I invite you to meet with me at the Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street (Second Floor) at 3:00 P.M., Wednesday, July 25th.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. James H. Robinson,
Pastor

R.JHR/eh

October 8, 1945

20-22-16

Rev. James H. Robinson
Church of the Master
86 Morningside Avenue
New York 27, New York

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I was out of town when your letter of July 20th came and since my return, I have been trying to arrange to go to a Pan African Congress in London where the question of Nigeria will be taken up. I shall be glad to transmit any information to you which I may get if I go.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

(over)

JAMES L. RODGERS, Esq.

AMERICAN RED CROSS IN GREAT BRITAIN

APO 413, % P.M.
New York City

929 French St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

20-15

Mr. Peter Ridley
Amer. Red Cross, M G B.
APO 413, C/o Postmaster,
New York City.

20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

My dear Mr. Rodgers:

I have arrived safely in New York and I hasten to thank you again for your very kind hospitality while I was in London. My stay was made pleasant and profitable by the privilege of using your clubhouse. Whenever you are in New York, I hope you will lock me up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

James L. Rodgers, Esq.
American Red Cross in Great Britain
APO 413, c/o P. M.
New York City

4 January 1945

My dear Mr. Rose:

Will you please give my car a thorough tryout and see if the battery and generator are working properly? If not, let me know. Also you have a spare tire for repair. Please see that it is attended to.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sam Rose
1415 Etting Street
Baltimore, Maryland

21 March 1945

My dear Mr. Rose:

I am arriving in Baltimore at the Mt. Royal station Saturday, March twenty-fourth, at 1:12 p. m. Can you meet me with my car? Please, as soon as you receive this tune the car up and take it on a trial run. Be sure that the generator, engine, etc. are working and that the tires are filled with twenty-nine pounds of air and that there is plenty of oil. Also have me a bill ready for anything I owe you for storage etc. I will bring my new New York license.

I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sam Rose
1415 Etting Street
Baltimore, Maryland

L1-20

27 March 1945

Dear Mr. Rose:

I paid you last time with a check dated August 31, 1944. I have no way of telling whether that included the August storage or not. I am assuming that it did and am enclosing a check for $70.40. If you find from your books that I am wrong, let me know and I will send the balance.

I have decided to sell my car. I have asked my lawyer, Gregory Hawkins, to talk with you about it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. S. Rose
1415 Etting Street
Baltimore, Maryland

29 March 1945

Dear Mr. Rose:

I have corresponded with Gregory Hawkins about the car. I will sell the car to you for five hundred and fifty dollars cash, which is the OPA ceiling price with radio and heater, and you are at liberty to handle it thereafter as you please. I am sending Mr. Hawkins the license receipt.

I wish you would take out of the car and save for me any blankets and the two aluminum trays. Take off the registration plate and give it to Yolande to keep for me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sam Rose
1415 Etting Street
Baltimore

20-17

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
Incorporated
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 22 EAST 38 STREET, NEW YORK 16
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-5740 *Cable Address: Forpolas*

March 30, 1945

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

20-4-195

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Colonial Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I deeply regret that the pressure of other obligations makes it impossible for me to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence K. Rosinger

Lawrence K. Rosinger
Research Associate

LKR:S

23 January 1945

My dear Mr. Ross:

I wrote you January eighth but have had no reply. It is quite possible that you have been out of the city or too busy.

I am venturing to write again with a specfic request: could you furnish me with the names and addresses of persons resident in the United States, and if possible in or near New York, who are natives of colonies and have either lived in their colony recently or have made special study of colonial conditions and kept in correspondence? Possibly also there are some persons who have worked in colonies as missionaries or social workers who could speak with some authority. I hope you can send me the names of a dozen or score of such persons. I should like to get in touch with them and get their ideas as to the feasibility of a small colonial conference here in New York this spring.

In addition to this I and my assistant are undertaking to make a collection of significant state papers or manifestoes of colonial peoples or groups concerning their rights and wishes. I should be very glad of any assistance in this respect that you can give me.

I trust to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Emory Ross
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

22-4-1414

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

156 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
CHELSEA 2-3230

CABLE CODE: MISSIONS
CABLE ADDRESS: "FORMISCON, N.Y."

20-4-145

March 23, 1945

Dr.W.E.B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

An invitation to attend a Colonial Conference to be held April 6, 1945, has come to Dr. Emory Ross today.

Dr. Ross is atpresent in Britain and we do not expect him to have returned to this country by the 6th of April.

He will be sorry to have missed this conference, I am sure.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Clara L. Bentley
Secretary to Dr. Ross

b

Port-au-Prince, le 23 Juin 1945

Honorable Dr DuBois ,

Lors du Congrès de Philosophie organisé en cette ville, par lessoins intelligents de mon jeune et très interessant ami, le Docteur Camille Lhérisson, je n'étais pas présent à la Capitale, et j'avais beaucoup regretté,-puisque vous aviez visité Port-au-Prince à cette époque,- de n'avoir pas eu l'opportunité tant désirée par moi de faire votre connaissance; j'espère que ce sera pour une autre fois.

Votre attitude si mesurée et si pleine de correction et vos interventions si pleines de sagesse dans les controverses qui interessent l'évolution de vos congénères ,m'incitent , Honorable Dr DuBois , à vous faire cette lettre qui aura certainement votre sérieuse attention.

J'ai écrit un roman de moeurs paysannes créoles , dans lequel les personnages ,-quoique noirs,- sont arrivés dans le milieu haitien à se faire une bonne place dans la vie ; ce qui surprendra peutêtre le poëte Langston Hugues qui, dans son délicieux roman, fait évoluer ses personnages dans une atmosphère de soumission aux nécéssités nées des conventions en usage dans un milieu où ils ne peuvent rien espérer .

J'ai été amené à parler des conséquences de la Guerre qui vient de finir heureusement, et j'ai mis en garde contre un optimisme exagéré , ceux qui, se basant sur une motion présentée par notre Délégation à la Conférence de San-Francisco pourraient croire que le problême de la Discrimination raciale peut être résolu par un simple voeu émis et approuvé par la majorité des Peuples qui en subissent les conséquences néfastes. J'y ai dit que la Discrimination racialen'est pas un élan spontané du coeur ou de l'esprit; elle est la conséquence d'une haine plus que séculaire que le monde blanc porte en soi, et que l'éducation chrétienne peut seule arriver à extirper....

J'ai été amené encore à parler du fétichisme dans les campagnes! Problême lourd de conséquences pour l'avenir des noirs? Mais les cérémonies decannibalisme auxquelles on fait allusion bien souvent dans les ouvrages d'outre-mer, n'existent pas en Haiti , comme on le verra au cours de mon roman.

Les personnages évoluent dans le milieu haitien, et les moeurs citadines aussi bien que campagnardes y sont montrées avec impartialité. Et je suis sûr que les noirs américains qui désirent connaitre le Pays, liront avec intéret ces récits vivants.

Le texte du roman est en francais, et si vous voulez que je vous l'envoie, pour être traduit, j'éprouverai une grande satisfaction d'apprendre qu'une Librairie (maison d'édition- amie des noirs) aura accepté à en assurer la diffusion dans le monde de nos congénères.

Et je serai heureux si beaucoup d'eux le lisant ,pouvaient nourrir l'espoir de venir en Haiti où le genre hospitalier de l'Haitien les aurait retenus dans une atmosphère de franche cordialité, qui les aurait guéris de l'obsession de vivre dansun milieu où la malédiction de Cham pèse toujours sur eux...

Voilà pourquoi je compte beaucoup sur vous Honorable Dr DuBois, pour en assurer la diffusion .

20-20-3

Si un écrivain de chez-vous voulait accepter , en admettant que cette besogne vous dérangerait personnellement dasn vos occupations multiples, de lancer l'ouvrage , c'est avec plaisir et satisfaction que j'accepterais une pareille initiative.

Espérant que vous apprécierez avec sympathie cette démarche d'un de vos congénères qui désire fortement développer les liens culturels et spirituels entre deux milieux si injustement décriés, je vous offre, Honorable Dr DuBois, grand ami d'Haiti,
l'assurance de mon admiration avec laquelle je me souscris ,

Yoursvery truly.

Pétion ReY

50 Avenue Boyer 50
Turjeau
Port-au-Prince (Haiti)

N.B. Veuillez m'indiquer par quelle voie -absolument sure- je peux vous faire parvenir le manuscrit...

20-20-4

July 11, 1945

My dear Mr. Roy:

I wish I could do something to help in the evaluation of eventual publication of your book, but the only thing that I could possibly do would be to hand it on to some responsible publisher and let him judge as to whether he would like to undertake it. Under those circumstances it would be a good deal better for you to approach your publisher directly, and no introduction is necessary except the work itself. There would be difficulties about translation which would increase the cost, and there would come the whole matter of the faithfulness of the translation and the English style.

My only advice then is for you to write to some American publisher and ask him to judge your work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Petion Roy
50 Avenue Boyer 50
Turjeau
Port-au-Prince
Haiti

[Crunnels]

Houston Tex
July 18-45

20-20-6

W. E. B. Dubois
sir
I am attending
Wiley U. — 9 month Semester
this summer I am taking
a course in accounting.
My Problem — Life in a negro
Problem.
You are my patent
of Career. I am asking you
for full details of a negro
Problem. such as:
1. Why is the Negro Problem
of Democracy so Hard to solve
2. Will there ever be freedom
for negro-any place in United
States.
3. Where do the negro stand
in San Francisco Conference.

2.

4. Should Peace?
5. Explain fully details
of Life of Negro of to Day,

20-20-7

your as about Late to
hear from you. Enclose the
Pensuship of college student
My summer session is from
Lasalle U. — Chicago
Give me a view also
of Lasalle University to
Clear
your information were
a great help to me in
my Life Career. Above
Give me the notes
on the Problem of Dubois

3

work
so Thanks.
I want to Be Hearing
from you at all times
Mother and dad send Love
Visit you next Summer
If it is possible
mother teacher school
Love of Dad is Doctor. I am
junior. And proud of Life
Career. As yours
Write Often your full
information
your
Thomas H. Crunnels Jr.
1008 Live Oak St
Houston Tex

20-20-8

P.S. I would love to visit
you. and spend my time
Studying and at the University

July 11, 1945

20-20-9

My dear Mr. Runnels:

Some of the questions which you ask in your letter of June 18th you will find answered in my last book, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY published by the Harcourt, Brace Company.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Thomas H. Runnels, Jr.
1008 Live Oak Street
Houston, Texas

[St. Frances Academy]

THE EIGHTH GRADE CLASS

SAINT FRANCES ACADEMY

C O M M E N C E M E N T E X E R C I S E S

Sunday afternoon

June 10, 1945

20-5

PROGRAM

Processional.....Graduates
The Workers.....Band

SALUTATORY.....Rita Shields

Chorus.....Graduates
Sweet Spring Time

We Love Our School.....Evangeline Davage

Class Motto.....Anna Frances Lee
Learn to Live and Live to Learn

Class Colors.....Muriel Cummings
Blue and Gold

Piano Solo.....Rita Shields
Pizzicati by Delibes

Class Flower.....Ann Howard
The Rose

Class Poem.....Lucille Richardson

Forward March.....Band

Tribute to Father.....Mercedes Fuertas

Tribute to Parents....Mazelle Fauntleroy

Tribute to School and Faculty.....
.....Dorothy Hebron

VALEDICTORY.....DuBois Williams

Presentation of Diplomas.....
Reverend Father Lenahan S.S.J.

Award for General Excellence in the
Grammar School...DuBois Williams

Remarks....Reverend Father Lenahan S.S.J.

Chorus.....Graduates
FAREWELL

[St. James AME Church]

181 Oakwood Pl.
Orange, N.J.
June 18, 1945

20-13-33

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

The St James Circle, an auxiliary of St. James A. M. E. church, High and Court streets, Newark, N.J. would like to present you on Sunday afternoon, July 8. The St James Circle is attempting to set up a daily day nursery

in its church building because of the increased number of married war workers in the densely populated third ward of Newark.

A sum in the amount of fifty dollars has been appropriated for the purpose of ascertaining a speaker.

Your absence in San Francisco prevented us from contacting you earlier.

Yours very sincerely,

Mable Anthony

(Mrs) Arthur Anthony

[Saint James AME Church]

20 June 1945

20-13-31

My dear Madam:

I shall be glad to speak in Orange, July eighth. The fee to be fifty dollars in addition to transportation to and from the railway or subway. Please let me know on what subject you wish me to speak.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Arthur Anthony
181 Oakwood Place
Orange, New Jersey

[St James AME Church] 181 Oakwood Pl.
Orange, N.J.
June 21, 1945

20-13-32

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thanks very much for your acceptance letter of June 20.

The place for the meeting will be at St. James A.M.E. church, High and Court streets, Newark, N.J. The meeting will begin at 3:30 P.M.

We would like you to speak on "The United Nations' Conference And How It Affects The Negro."

For your convenience,
there are taxis available
at the Pennsylvania station.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Arthur Anthony

[St James AME Church]

July 3, 1945

20-13-20

Mrs. Arthur Anthony
181 Oakwood Place
Orange, New Jersey

My dear Madam:

I am preparing to speak at the St. James A.M.E. Church, High and Court Streets, Newark, New Jersey, at 3:30 P.M., Sunday afternoon, July 8th.

You say that taxis will be available at the Pennsylvania Station. I should be better satisfied if you would send someone to the station to meet me and be sure that there is a taxi there that can take me. It is unwise to take chances at this time.

Also will you please let me know which is the best train for me to take out of the Pennsylvania Station?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en

President
ANDREW J. CUNNINGHAM

Secretary
WYLLIA MARIE ALLEN

Assistant Secretary
MILDRED SMITH

Treasurer
MOSES NEWSOME

TELEPHONE CEDAR 3562

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

Executive Director
JOSEPH GOMEZ

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April, 1927

8401 Cedar Avenue

Cleveland, Ohio

January 29th, 1945

20-24-71

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Thank you for accepting our invitation to speak at the St. James Church Literary Forum Sunday February 11, 1945 at four p.m.

We shall be looking forward with interest to seeing you on the above date.

Yours very truly,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

Andrew J. Cunningham, President

AJC/caw

14 February 1945

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

May I thank you very much for the splendid audience which you gave me at the Sunday meeting. I appreciated the opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

ST. JAMES PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
ST. NICHOLAS AVENUE AT 141ST STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.
AUdubon 3-5050

SHELBY ROOKS
MINISTER

January 11, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-24-94

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This final word in anticipation of your coming as our guest at the monthly forum on January 21, at eight o'clock.

You will share the program with Dr. Luman J. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Committee for a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches.

The general theme of the evening will be "The Stake of the Darker Races in the Coming Peace." I thought the discussion might be divided between you and Dr. Shafer on some such basis as this: Dr. Shafer could give a general exposition of the proposals already made and in process of being shaped. This would be background information for your rather more analytical, detailed judgement in terms of the legitimate aspirations of the Darker Peoples of the world.

I hope this division of the theme will be agreeable to you. Questions from the floor will follow the two addresses. We look forward to your coming with genuine interest and appreciation.

Respectfully yours

Shelby Rooks

Shelby Rooks
Pastor

17 January 1945

My dear Mr. Rooks:

I have your letter of January 11, and will be with you Sunday, January twenty-first, at eight o'clock. I shall be glad to share the program with Dr. Shafer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend Shelby Rooks
St. James Presbyterian Church
St. Nicholas Avenue at 141st Street
New York City

[c. JAN. 1945]

[St. James Presbyterian Church]

20-24-96

My dear Doctor DuBois -

I scarcely need to tell you that we here at St. James are most grateful for your willingness to come and share with us your insight into a grave and pressing question.

Please forgive this personal check. The pastor here, through the kindness of a friend of the Church, has a discretional fund from which your small fee is drawn. We are aware that this is too little for what you are doing for us.

Gratefully,

Shelby Rooks

[ST. MARGARET'S ...]

THE RT. REV. HENRY WISE HOBSON, D. D.
BISHOP

THE REV. G. P. SYMONS, D. D.
CANON

St. Margaret's Episcopal Church

Norwood Avenue at Mound Street
DAYTON, OHIO

THE REV. J. N. SAMUELS-BELBODER, LL. D.
VICAR

20-16-103

505 So. Euclid Ave.
Dayton, Ohio
June 12, 1945

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69-5th Ave.
New York N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois—

Since the passing of our Vicar, June 5th, we are preparing a Brochure of his life and interests.

Will you write a few lines concerning him for this pamphlet for us?

Your very earliest possible reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours
(Mrs.) Ella A. Taylor
Pres. St. Cecilia Guild

[ST. MARGARET'S...]
Belboder

30-151-04

July 3, 1945

Mrs. Ella A. Taylor
President
St. Cecilia Guild
St. Margaret's Episcopal Church
Norwood Avenue at Mound Street
Dayton, Ohio

My dear Mrs. Taylor:

I have been absent from my desk for a long time and did not hear of the death of Father Belboder until a few days ago.

I am enclosing a few lines concerning him which I hope will not be too late.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:en
Enc.

[ENCLOSURE]

20-15-105

When I first came to live in New York in 1910 I very soon became acquainted with J. N. Samuels-Belboder. He was a young student then but interested in my work on the Crisis and called on me to ask how he could help. From that time until we get together in a Maine camp last year we have been close and sympathetic friends. I have often staid at his home and he has always known of my work and plans. I had for him the highest respect and appreciation. He kept his ideals high. He was instinctively a gentleman. He read the best literature and kept abreast of the important news of the world.

His loss will be felt deeply, not only by many personally but by the forward-looking forces of both the colored and white world.

W. E. B. DuBois

26 January 1945

20-2-32

My dear Miss Sample:

Would you like to come in to our office and work for a week under my assistant, Miss Diggs, in order to see just how useful you may be to us? I should be willing to pay you a token sum of ten dollars for that week's work and after that we can determine whether you can be of use and what arrangements for payment we can make.

Please take this up with Miss Diggs by telephone. Our telephone is - Algonquin 4-3550.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Miriam Sample
426 Columbia Street
Brooklyn 31, New York

SAMUEL HUSTON COLLEGE
AUSTIN, TEXAS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

18 February 1945

Lectures

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Your contribution to the Samuel Huston College Artist Series last year aided considerably in the demands which have necessitated our expansion of the project. This year we are holding the series in the six largest cities in Texas and are working our artists on an itinerary which includes Dallas, Ft. Worth, Houston, Waco, San Antonio and Austin.

20-10-12

One of our features is a "Town Hall Lecture" on AMERICA FACES THE FUTURE. We have an opportunity of getting Dr. Homer P. Rainey, former president of the University of Texas, to appear on this panel and are seeking to get the best mind available from our group. We, therefore, urgently ask you to consider filling the following dates for us as a co-worker with Dr. Rainey in presenting the subject above; San Antonio, March 9; Austin, March 11; Houston, March 14; Waco, March 16; Ft. Worth, March 18 and Dallas, March 22. We would pay you $600.00 plus your expenses for this service.

At an hour like this when so many liberal minded whites are so eager for techniques, this affords the N.A.A.C.P. and the entire race one of the most challenging opportunities, and I sincerely hope you will make adjustments to favor us. The third participant will be a Jewish speaker.

Please wire me immediately your reaction, or you may telephone me collect at 8-7033 in Austin. It is urgent that I have an answer immediately as I would not want to close negotiations with Dr. Rainey until we have secured a strong Negro leader. Any consideration of this will be a personal favor and will aid considerably in the job of cultural growth which we are striving for here in the South.

Most sincerely yours,

Karl E. Downs

Karl E. Downs
President

KED/b

Tuskegee, March 11
Alabama State
14

c
o
p
y

SAMUEL HUSTON COLLEGE
Austin, Texas
Office of the President

18 February 1945 via Air Mail Special

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

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20-10

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Most sincerely yours,

(signed) Karl E. Downs
President

Copies sent to Chicago and Detroit. Your only lecture commitments for March are: March 11 - Indianapolis and a tentative one with Alabama State. With all good wishes

Nell

20 February 1945
10:30 a.m.

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

26 February 1945

8-01-22

President Karl Downs
Samuel Huston College
Austin, Texas

SHALL ARRIVE IN SAN ANTONIO MARCH EIGHTH IF RESERVATIONS CAN BE HAD.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

5 March 1945

20-10-20

President Karl E. Downs
Samuel Huston College
Austin, Texas

DEEPLY REGRET THAT NEW DUTIES MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO LEAVE MY OFFICE DURING MARCH stop LETTER FOLLOWS.

W. E. B. Du Bois

N.A.A.C.P.

charge to Edgewood 4-9837

5 March 1945

My dear President Downs:

I send you this morning a telegram as follows: DEEPLY REGRET THAT NEW DUTIES MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO LEAVE MY OFFICE DURING MARCH stop LETTER FOLLOWS.

20-10-21

I am very sorry to disappoint you. I have wavered several times in my decision but finally a meeting of the preliminary committee for our Colonial Conference took place Saturday and decided unanimously that the conference should be held not later than April sixth. This will make my absence from the office during March quite impossible. Possibly if I could have assured the committee that President Rainey was certain to take part, the Colonial Conference might have been postponed, but I doubt it. With the San Francisco meeting on the twenty-fifth, we need time to meet and publicize our action.

It is barely possible that I might be able to come to Texas in April, but probably that would be rather late for your meetings.

I appreciate your kindness in inviting me to take part in this very important series of meetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Karl E. Downs
Samuel Huston College
Austin, Texas

Mr. W. W. Crocker

President of the San Francisco Museum of Art, requests the pleasure of your company at a reception honoring the artists exhibiting in the Ninth Watercolor Annual of the San Francisco Art Association on Monday afternoon the twenty-first of May from six until eight o'clock at the temporary location of the Museum, 441 Post Street.

20-16

Please reply to
Mrs. B. Heiser
1 Montgomery Street
San Francisco 4

Cor. S
1945

20-6-31

GABE SANDERS
50 LORNE STREET
DORCHESTER 24, MASS.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I want to thank you for your very generous contribution to my proposed book "When Franklin D. Roosevelt Died."

When I receive definite information about publication of this material, I shall pass that information on to you.

Yours very sincerely,

Gabe Sanders

20-18-14

April 30, 1945
W. E. B. Du Bois, Consultant
American Delegation, U.N.C.I.O.
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco 1, California

Mr. Paul Sann
The New York Post
San Francisco, California

My dear Mr. Sann:

Some one, I think it might have been you, borrowed my pen at the Press Club Saturday night. If youhappen to have it will you kindly return it to me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Palace Hotel
SAN FRANCISCO, 19

20-18-17

May 4, 1945

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

Permit me to enter a plea of not guilty. I used my pen at the Press Club and signed ahead of you; then you signed and I had the impression that Walter White signed after you. Have you asked him? Or the club?

At that, if I turned up that night with your pen, I think I would have kept it as a memento of an evening with one of the men worth knowing in our time.

I do hope you find it.

Paul Sann

500 S. Main Street
Great Barrington, Mass.
February 12, 45

Mr William E. Du Bois
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlantic University
Atlantic, Georgia

20-12-7

Dear Sir:

I asked the Tax office for your address. They gave me Atlantic, but I thought perhaps it should be Atlanta, so put both on and hope this letter will reach you.

I wonder if you would be interested in selling the plot of ground which you have on the road going toward South Egremont.

The house has gone completely so that now it looks as if only the chimney was all right.

I want to put up a small bungalow, when it is possible to get materials and when they are not top price, as now. Meantime I am looking for a small plot of ground.

I would appreciate hearing from you, and if you will consider selling, the price, size of plot etc. Is there a well on the place or can it be connected to the town water line?

Thanking you for your kind attention.

Very truly yours

(Mrs) E. H. Sauer

27 February 1945

20-12-8

My dear Madam:

The estate concerning which you write is not for sale. It belonged to my grandfather and has been in the family a hundred years or more.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. E. H. Sauer
500 South Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

637 North Wilcox Avenue
Los Angeles 4, California
May 18, 1945

20-22-20

Dr. William E. B. du Bois
Head, Sociology Department
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. du Bois:

Recently I have finished the manuscript of a biography of Ira Aldridge, upon which I have been working for many months. To state the matter succinctly -- I should value your advice upon what publishers might be interested in such a book.

Through use of microfilm and photostats, and also by using rare items, I believe I have gleaned every significant notice concerning Aldridge published in English, French, German, Swedish and Russian. For the first time the considerable data collected by S. Durylin relating to Aldridge's experiences in Russia are translated into English. There are six reproductions of portraits or sketches of the great artist.

After seeing Mr. Paul Robeson in the name role of Othello in recent months, I was more than ever convinced that there should be a market for a life of the man who one hundred years before climbed the ladder to world recognition playing this same role, as well as many others. Perhaps you know that Robeson had voice lessons in London under Amanda Ira Aldridge, daughter of the actor.

In this study I have pointed out that Aldridge did not turn his back upon his own people when he rose to fame, for in 1864 one of his Russian biographers wrote that "From the time of the renewed fight for the liberty of the colored people, the famous tragedian has given half of his income -- namely, from all the net proceeds of the performances he gave -- to the treasury established for the purpose of freeing the bondman." As Aldridge was in Russia in 1861, when the serfs were liberated, there is an admirable opportunity to tie in the situation in Russia with that of the Negro in America. My manuscript should make a small book of about 150 pages.

Owing to your wide contacts as editor of the Phylon Quarterly Review and as author of numerous books on the Negro, I have been emboldened to ask the consideration of a busy man. I think the public deserves to know more about the Colored Chevalier.

Yours very truly,

Jack S. Schell

Jack S. Schell

24 May 1945

My dear Mr. Schell:

Answering your letter of May eighteenth, please permit me to say that Dr. Du Bois is now in San Francisco as Consultant to the American Delegation and will not be in New York until about June fifteenth. Your letter will be brought to his attention as soon as he returns to his desk.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Jack S. Schell
637 North Wilcox Avenue
Los Angeles 4, California

July 11, 1945

Mr. Jack S. Schell
637 North Wilcox Avenue
Los Angeles 4, California

20-22-21

My dear Mr. Schell:

I think a biography of Ira Aldridge is needed and would appeal to many readers.

I do not know, however, just what publisher should be approached. You could learn that from the book sellers in Los Angeles without difficulty.

I hope you may get it on the market.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

21 March 1945

Gentlemen:

In a book, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE which Harcourt, Brace and Company are about to publish for me, I want to use at the end of chapter four a phrase from the music of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. It is a few bars covering the words "freude, schoene Goetter-funkeln Tochter aus Elysium". May we have permission to use this?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. Schirmer Incorporated
3 East 43rd Street
New York City

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THEODORE SCHROEDER

SUMMER ADDRESS
PHONE: STAMFORD 3-2579
ROUTE 1, BOX 136
COSCOB, CONN., U.S.A.

October 2nd 1945

20-25-12

Professor William E.B.DuBois
Atlanta Uniwersity,
Atlanta Georgia.

My dear Dr.DuBois:

I have just read your fine book Color and Democracy, and wish to thank you for having written it.

I remember you somewhat from the days in the old Civic Club in New York. Recently I sent you some reprints of magazine articles, some of which might interest you or be useful in the University Library. If they do not have my books on freedom of Speech and press, I will be very glad to send the library copies of them with my compliments.

I await your pleasure, and remain,

Most cordially yours,

Theo Schroeder

TS:C

20-25-13

October 10, 1945

Mr. Theodore Schroeder
Route 1
Box 136
Cosoob, Conn.

My dear Mr. Schroeder:

I am sure the library of Atlanta University will appreciate any books or articles which you may send them. I am no longer there but with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Very sincerely yours,

D:jd

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Albert Schweitzer
Lambaréné. Moyen
Equatorial Afrique

Dr. le Professeur W. E. Du Bois. Atlanta University
Georgie.

Cher Professeur Du Bois

Je viens vous exprimer ma reconnaissance, de ce que vous ayez eu l'amabilité de répondre à l'appel de la Société et de vous être mis à l'œuvre dans lequel elle se proposait d'exposer ma pensée et mon œuvre. Votre magistrale contribution fut intéressante non seulement pour d'autres mais aussi pour moi même, en montrant comment mon entreprise de Lambaréné se présentait jugée dans l'ensemble du grand problème historique et social des rapports entre blancs et noirs. Moi-même je me rendais compte de bien longtemps que mon œuvre ne correspondait qu'à une des questions du grand problème. Je me suis volontairement limité à cette activité première, parceque je crois qu'il est plus dans ma nature et dans mes dons d'agir dans un certain cadre que de chercher à orienter mon attitude de la vue d'ensemble d'un vaste problème. - Ici, aux places, pendant ces longues années j'ai alors eu l'occasion d'étudier le problème des rapports entre blancs et noirs dans tous ses détails pour une situation donnée dans une contrée déterminée. Le cas particulier ici c'est que cette contrée était le théâtre de guerres continuelles entre les tribus et que l'occupation européenne a mis fin à ce déplorable état de choses. Des nègres des pays m'ont bien des fois dit, que cette entrée de "pax romana" a été ressentie par tous comme un grand bienfait. Un bienfait a été aussi pour les populations d'ici de ne plus être livrés à la volonté de chefs cruels et de fétiches exerçant un pouvoir terrible sur les chefs et la population. A la place où est la mienne on disait je vous écris habitait un roi de race "Galoa" qui tous les soirs faisait mourir une femme pour étudier quelle sorte de mise à mort était la plus cruelle et par le fait lui procurait de nouveaux sujets de satisfaction. .

Le problème du travail des noirs pour les blancs est extrêmement compliqué quand on le voit de très près. C'est bien difficile de se faire une

81-6-18

opinion nette. Ici je connais beaucoup de blancs qui sont très bons pour les indigènes et qui ont à cœur d'être équitable avec eux et qui s'occupent de leur bien être. - Comme je voudrais où nous pourrions causer ici ensemble de tous ces problèmes auxquels moi j'apporterais ma connaissance des détails pour une autre détermination et vous la connaissance de l'ensemble des problèmes. - En ce moment où dans notre colonie on libère de plus en plus les indigènes de la tutelle des blancs le problème devient passionnant. Qu'adviendra-t-il de cette émancipation prématurée? Quelle autorité remplacera celle qui de plus en plus s'affaisse? Le résultat premier sera que les populations deviendront demeureront plus dépendantes des chefs indigènes et de groupements indigènes qui prendront le pouvoir en mains. Quel sera le résultat final de cette évolution? Un jour aboutira-t-elle au développement moral des indigènes et au développement d'une organisation sociale amenant une progrès? ... C'est un chapitre d'histoire que nous vivons ici dans ses grands et petits faits .... Et nous ne voyons pas l'inévitable que l'évolution prépare. Nous sommes entraînés dans les événements.. Voici que je me laisse aller de vous parler de la situation telle que je la vois ici. Je vous devais avoir un peu plus de loisirs et de fraîcheur d'esprit pour vous faire (étant moi-même usagé) une véritable analyse de la marche des idées et des événements. Mais je suis entièrement pris par la tâche à faire à l'hospital. Mes forces, les miennes et celles de mes collaborateurs, ne suffisent pas à la tâche. - Veuillez, je vous prie, me pardonner de ne pas vous écrire en anglais. Il est tellement plus facile pour moi de le faire en français. Mes pensées de notre prochain

21-6-28

Avec mes bons vœux pour votre départ et votre séjour en Europe

Lambarene', French Equatorial
Africa-12-5-45.

Albert Schweitzer

Professor W.E.DuBois
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Professor DuBois:

21-6-126

I wish to express my appreciation to you for your kindness in responding to the request of Dr.Robach and for you contribution to the book in which he proposed to analyse my thinking and my work.

You have made a contribution intensely interesting not only for others but particularly for myself, in showing how my treatment of Lambare'ne' presented itself, judged in the great and historic problem, as a whole, of the relationship of blacks and whites.

As far as I am concerned, I realized right along , that my work should deal only with one of the questions of the great problem. I purposely limited myself to this plan because I believe that it is more suitable to my nature (and in keeping with my talants) to follow a certain pattern than to seek to orient myself-or attitude-to a whole picture of a vaste problem.

Here, on the spot, for many years, I have had the opportunity to study the problem of relationship between the whites and blacks in all its details for a given situation or precise setting. The particular case here is that this country was the theatre of continuous war between the tribes and that European occupation put an end to this deplorable situation or state of affairs.

Some old residents told me that this sort of "pax Romana" (The significance of this expression is that the Europeans conducted themselves like masters) was felt by all as a great benefit. It was beneficial also for the population here to no longer be subjugated to the will of the cruel chiefs and to fetichisms exercising a terrible power over the chiefs of of the population.

At the place where the house is from which I am writing to you, there lived a king of the race "Galos" who every night caused a woman to be put to death in order to determine the most cruel form of death and thus provide himself with the maximum feeling of satisfaction.

The problem of the blacks working for the whites is exceedingly complex when seen at close range. It is very difficult for one to form a clear or definite opinion. Here I know many whites who are very good to the natives and who have it at heart to be fair with them and who concern themselves with their wellbeing.

How happy I should be were it possible for us to discuss together here all these problems to which I would contribute my knowledge of details for a known or definite location and you the knowledge of the problem as a whole.

At this moment, when in our colony the natives are ,more and more, being liberated from the tutulage of the whites, the problem becomes passionately absorbing. What will happen from this rapid emancipation? What authority will replace that which more and more is disappearing? The first result will be that the populations will again become more dependent upon native chiefs and native groups who will take the power in their hands. What will be the final result of this evolution? What will it contribute to the moral development of the natives and to the development of an organization leading to progress?

21-6-127

It is a chapter of history that we are living here in these large and small events. And, we do not see the orientation which the evolution will take. We are seized or caught in the train of circumstances. So, I allow myself to tell you of the situation just as I see it here. I should like to have a little more leisure and a keener vision that I might make for my own use a true analysis of the evolution of ideas and march of events. But , I am entirely taken up by my work at the hospital. My strength and that of my co-workers does not suffice for the task.

Pardon me, I pray you, for not having written to you in English. It is so much easier to write in French.
Thank you again for your great kindness. With my best wishes I am

Sincerely yours,

Albert Schweitzer.

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1945 Check-List of Recent Important Books

* Titles preceded by * are virtually out of print.

☐ The Creative Unconscious— Hanns Sachs 2.75

☐ A Dictionary of International Slurs — A. A. Roback . . 6.25
Words, phrases, and proverbs in English and 20 other languages, all translated, together with an essay of 104 pages on Ethnic Prejudice.
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☐ Life, I Salute You! — Boris Kader
A moving picture of episodes in Russia and Germany which led to suicides, and the various methods adopted to stem the evil, told with verve and pathos by a jurist active in many circles 3.00

☐ Ethics as Legislation — H. Arkin
A system of ethics based on the view that legislators should be trained especially for framing all rules of personal conduct 2.50

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Sept. 15, 1945.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:—

Payment for information

This subject has never been popular in America, but early in the 20's I decided to find out about our history, if any, terminating in 1936.

But, first. Gen. Hugh Johnson said in part—"You can always tell a Harvard man or any other college. You can't tell him much. So I added, any thing. Here goes.

Up until 1936, I had read every thing I could find written by our group pertaining to our history, & not one mentioned the Agrarian Act. The most important words affecting our group, except economics.

That starts with America and men who shaped the destiny of our group also. Lincoln who was the

20-20-17

only man who had the chance to give us a man's chance and he was too clannish to do so.

Had he said he did not favor citizenship for Jews as he said Negroes on Sept. 18, 1858, the world would place him in the same category as Hitler. And rightfully so.

After every Social Revolution, (the first was in 2360 B.C.,) in Egypt, the Agrarian Act has been applied to rebels, except America with that souther white man in the White House. I mean Abe Lincoln.

Just a few days ago, there appeared in the daily papers that great estates in Europe were to be broken up and divided among the peasants. The Agrarian Act, although it was not called that.

We were denied it's benefit.

20-20-18

To my mind you are the one and only Scholar we have who can answer the Bilbos effectively. So I shall supply you with some information no Negro has had, the guts (intestinal fortitude) to ~~use~~ if he knew.

The oldest man made thing in the world (the Sphinx) was made from the likeness of a black king. The latest and most important development in the realm of inventions is the teletype; by a Grand Rapids, Mich. Negro boot black who had his patent in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1920, trying to sell stock so our group would have some other employment besides shining shoes.

I work for the Western Union and it breaks my heart to see only white men repairing them.

20-20-19

I should like for you to begin a thesis built around citizenship. Dress - Deportment - and ability to pay for the privilege, anywhere.

We have excelled in every field that pertains to civilization. The Olympics were invented by our group. The 81st being held before the Greeks were allowed to observe them. Being held at intervals of 4 years.

Count Volney in his Ruins of Empires (on African soil) said in part - To our despised Negro servants we owe all the arts + sciences + even the art of speech.

A French woman (Brousires) I think, tells us how all the black Pharoahs were born and bred from astrology, for thousands of years. And also tells us of the first factory in the world, 6 miles long by 3 miles wide.

20-20-20

The most beautiful woman in all recorded history was black. She was if I remember (I left my notes in Milwaukee) was the wife of Akhenaton, who flourished from 1375-58 B.C. And gave us what we know now as Christianity.

He was the Grandfather of Moses and the father-in-law of King Tut. He had 7 daughters and no sons. He built one of the most beautiful cities that has been handed down to man.

King Menes united Egypt (south & north) and gave us the White House, and other examples to copy.

Cleopatra, was the daughter of Ptolemy 13th; who was a great astronomer and architect. An African. The calender was adopted in 4241 B.C. Julius Ceasar was no Anglo-Saxon.

Euclid was an African.

12-20-21

When we think of God and the Catholic Church, we must think of St. Augustine; a native African.

When we think of Gladstone, we must think of Sir Samuel Lewis, a native African. The codes we now use (I mean the alphabetical) we think of Toussaint L'Overture who devised them in 1801- he also came here to help establish American independence in 1777- ranking with La Fayette, in the final outcome.

Great fortunes were founded upon the genius of black men- McCormick for one- McCoy in oil lubrication caused great fortunes in machines (Engines) and the oil industry. A Negro suggested- bottle it. (Coca Cola)

In Cleveland, Ohio, a Negro invented an engine to run on or with air. So let us be on our way to answer those loose

20-20-22

mouth scoundrels who would cheapen our bid for manhood.

On a seperate sheet I shall give you some original conclusions I arrived at from historical research that should enable you to reach some rhetorical and logical heights.

I hope it will be your masterpiece; although I realize with time one becomes weary and almost disgusted with one's life work, from none co-operation. I've had 25 years of it.

Respect.

Clarence A. Scott.

Luck to you.

20-20-23

20-20-24

Historical Facts!

In 5000 years of recorded events the whites have not produced one historical character entirely independent of african thought or influence.

After we define the terms Ancient civilization, we find that no white civilization has yet been discoverd.

3rd Among the so-called savages we find that no people have yet been discovered who did not know enough to make a sustainded living, nor the women too low for the white man to cohabit with.

Finally, if we can keep the white man out of Africa and it's provinces we find that he has nothing to boast of.

Those provinces were: Asia Minor, Babylon, Crete (forerunner of Greece) Rome Persia-Phoenica-Spain et al.

Speak Dr. Speak.

Clarence A. Scott.

9-15-45.

20-20-25

October 5, 1945

Mr. Clarence W. Scott
3535 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Scott:

Most of the historical matters which you mention in your letter of September 5th, you will find touched upon in my "Black Folk Then and Now" published by Hold and "Black Reconstruction" published by Harcourt, Brace & Company.

I appreciate your interest in African history.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

September 15, 1945

20-19-1

Mr. Walter Dill Scott
153 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Scott:

I have your letter of July 25th and shall be glad to prepare the four biographies noted as soon as I can get to it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

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[1945?]

20-10

Dr. J. L. Scruggs

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON

473 JEFFERSON AVE.

BUFFALO. N. Y.

30 January 1945

My dear Dr. and Mrs. Scruggs:

May I thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Buffalo. I enjoyed the visit very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-10-6

Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Scruggs
473 Jefferson Avenue
Buffalo, New York

I. L. Scruggs, M. D.
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON
473 JEFFERSON AVENUE
BUFFALO, N. Y.

Social Mews

February 20, 1945

20-15-04

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
NAACP
69-Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. Scruggs and I received your thoughtful communication and were glad to know that your return trip home was uneventful.

Both of us wish to assure you, that it was a great pleasure to have you as a guest in our home.

Very truly yours,

I. L. Scruggs, M.D. (R.B.)

I. L. Scruggs, M.D.

ILS:rb

20-25-22

20 Chapel Street
Brookline, Mass
June 2. 1945

Dear Will Du Bois: —

I have just finished reading
"Color and Democracy"
Its a splendid book.
I hope it will do a
lot of good —
I would like to have a
copy with your name
written in it for my library.

Yours truly Charles Scudder

July 11, 1945

My dear Dr. Scudder:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 2nd and your kind words concerning my book.

If you will send your copy here I will see that it is safely returned with my autograph.

I hope this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Charles Scudder
20 Chapel Street
Brookline, Massachusetts

20 Chapel St
Brookline
Mass

Dear W. E. B. D.:-

20-20-1D

Many thanks for your note of July 11 1945.
Ask your secretary or some one to mail to me any literature there may be available from the Dept of Special Research of The Nat. Assn. for the Adv. of Col. People.

July 16 1945.

very truly Yours
Charles L Scudder

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HOMER LE ROY SHANTZ
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Feb. 6, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Your letter of Jan. 10 just reached me by way of Washington. Last July I retired from Government service and Mrs. Shantz and I are now living at this address. I'm still much interested in Africa and have now more time to think of its problems.

I fear my letter will reach you too late - but I hope you have gone ahead with the proposed conference. It would seem to me not only desirable but essential if we are to improve the African setup. I am much out of touch however and now have no official connection. I am a mere member of the International African Institute now centered at Seymour House 17 Waterloo Place, London SW1, but that is the only organization I belong to at present that would be

20-4-175

directly interested.

I had hoped to be able to do a bit of hunting and talk the Ethiopians. but never was able to contact any of their american representatives. I had some days with the King and have always admired his breadth of view and outlook.

I am truly sorry that I cannot be of definite help to you in this matter. I would like to attend but that also would be impossible. However it seems like a very essential thing to do and I hope your plans have already materialized.

Sincerely yours

H. L. Plantz

20-4-176

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

21-6-121

Belfield House, Greenhill Park,
New Barnet, London,
November 9, 1945

Mr. George Bernard Shaw,

Sir:

I am an American Negro, and have had some little correspondence with you in the past. Once Mrs. Havelock Ellis was about to take me to call on you, but you were out of town. I am venturing to ask if while I am in London awaiting a chance to return home, I could have a few words with you?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

I am sorry; but the whole American army wants to visit me or has actually crashed my gate and done so. I can entertain no more visitors, plain or colored, for another year at least

Agot Saint-Laurence
14/11/1945

July 20, 1945

My dear President Shepard:

When you come to New York look for me in Room 1338 at 55 West 42nd Street. The telephone is Chickering 4-3997.

Shall be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. James E. Shepard
President
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

20-15-126

Day letter

MRS. LOUIE DAVIS SHIVERY
87 Chestnut St.
Atlanta, S.W., Ga.

May 18, 1945

IT IS POSSIBLE I COULD ARRANGE TO SPEAK AT DR. WRIGHT'S CHURCH JUNE 10 or 17. WOULD THIS SUIT HIM AND YOU? WIRE ME COLLECT SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HOTEL.

W.E.B. DUBOIS

Copy sent May 22nd

20-15-127

May 21, 1945

Mrs. Louie D. Shivery
87 Chestnut St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Shivery:

I sent you a telegram May 18th but have had no word, and I am afraid it is too late to do anything now. I am leaving here the 26th but have several engagements. Will not be in New York until about the 15th of June.

I hope this will find you well.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

21 June 1945

My dear Louie:

Thank you so much for your kindness and hospitality while I was in Atlanta. I ap reciate all that you did. Give my best regards to all friends. My train was two hours late but it was a pleasant trip.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-15

Mrs. L. D. Shivery
87 Chestnut Street Southwest
Atlanta, Georgia

20-15-128

October 5, 1945

Mrs. Louie Davis Shrivery
84 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Louie:

I received your letter of August 15th from Montgomery. I am glad you went there and had a good time. I hope you are not overworked this year.

Poor Mrs. DuBois had a bad fall last July. She recovered and I got her up here this summer for a rest but she went back and plunged into house work again and, as a result, has had a slight cerebral h[redacted]hage. Her recovery is uncertain but she is a little better now. She is in a hospital with a day and night nurse.

I have been hard at work on a book and then lately, I have been trying to get to the Pan African Congress which meets in London this month. I am not sure yet whether I shall go. If Mrs. DuBois continues to improve and I get government consent, I may fly to Europe next week.

With best love

Yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

20-15-129

58, Oxford Road,
Manchester.1.

19th October, 1945.

Mrs. Louis Davies Shivery,

Dear Louis,

I am in London, I flew here by airplane starting last Saturday and arriving in London Sunday afternoon. I am attending the Fifth Pan African Congress which is being held in Manchester and having a very interesting time.

I shall hope to see you when I get back but I do not know just when that will be, on account of the difficulties of transportation. I think I shall return before November 1st.

Yours with love,

K rishnalal Shridharani, Ph.D.
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January 20, 1945.

20-4-201

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of January 8th, which I read only day before yesterday upon my return to the city from a lecture tour. I believe your idea is splendid, and I suggest that you get in touch with the following people:

Dr. Anup Singh
National Committee For India's Freedom
Portland Building
1129 Vermont Ave.
Washington 5, D.C.

Mr. H.K. Rakhit
India League of America
40 ~~Ext~~ East 49th Street
New York City.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Krishnalal Shridharani

Krishnalal Shridharani

[SIGMA PI PHI]

5 January 1945

Dear Dr. Beekman:

I have to lecture January twentieth and twenty-first. I do not think I ought to put in a third talk on the nineteenth. Kindly ask the archons to excuse me this time. I will try to serve them later.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-22-27

Dr. Walter N. Beekman
746 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, New York

(SIGMA PI PHI)

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'
2588 Seventh Avenue
NEW YORK, N. Y.

20-25-26

30 January 1945

Archon W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

My dear Archon DuBois:

At the last meeting of Zeta Boule' the following action was taken:

"Motion - That Archon DuBois having fulfilled constitutional requirements be accepted into membership of Zeta Boule by transfer from Kappa" Carried.

Fraternally yours,

Peter M. Murray
Grammateus

PMM/gb

20-15-114

October 10, 1945

Viscountess Simon
Dowding,
Tadworth,
Surrey,
England

My dear Madam:

I have your request to Mr. Hercules for my address. I am no longer at Atlanta University but here in New York at 69 Fifth Avenue with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I am flying to England Saturday where my address will be C/O Dr. Clarke, 112 Newington Causeway, S.E.1, London. I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

Tel.: Victoria 8181
ext 84

84 Marsham Court
Westminster. S.W.1
October 17th 1945

20-15-116

My dear Mr Dubois

I was very glad to receive your letter yesterday and rang up your up in the evening but could not get any answer.

I would like to see you very much and hope you will come here one day next week. Could you ring me up next Tuesday the 23rd about 9. am. and we can plan about meeting.

Very sincerely yours
Kathleen Simon

P.S.

I hope Mr Walter White is well and still with you.

K. S.

Oct 30 Tues @ 4

31

Nov 1 — Dix Enfant

2 — Abrams

Marian @ 6

8-4-02

My dear Sir:

I have been in correspondence with Dr. Shridharani and others concerning the possibility of a small colonial conference to be held in New York this spring. I would like to get together a small number of representatives of colonies preferably people who were born in the colony and have lived there recently but would also include persons who have made careful study of colonial conditions and kept in touch through correspondence.

Mr. Shridharani has given me your name among others. I am writing to ask if in the case of India and the East you could give me a list of say a dozen names of persons who could be consulted concerning such a conference and who might attend; persons who would represent so far as possible not only different colonies but in the case of a great country like India some of the different and important groups in the colonies.

If you are willing to help me in this matter and give me the information asked for, I shall be under great obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Anup Singh
National Committee for India's Freedom
Portland Building
1129 Vermont Avenue
Washington 5, D. C.

National Committee for India's Freedom

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HONORARY CHAIRMAN

February 9, 1945

20-4-99

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter. I have been very much tied up in connection with a few meetings that I had to organize for Mrs. Pandit, sister of Nehru.

Regarding the list of people who should be invited to the Colonial Conference, I can suggest the following names:

1. Dr. Tarkanath Das
   Hotel Ansonia
   73rd and Broadway
   New York City

2. Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani
   same address as above

3. Dr. Kamala Kosambi
   541 West 113th St.
   New York City

4. Mr. M. Kazim
   222 East 35th St.
   New York City

5. Mr. G. B. Lal
   1 University Place
   New York City

I think about the other colonial areas, Dr. Das may be in a better position than I am to suggest the names of some representatives. Since moving to Washington I have not been able to maintain some of these old contacts.

I am sorry I cannot give more definite information. However, you can count upon my co-operation in any way that I may be useful. Under separate cover I am sending you some literature that we have been putting out .

With best wishes,

Sincerely
Anup Singh

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20-14

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23 March 1945

Photographs

My dear Miss Sipprell:

Will you kindly make one each of numbers one, two and three of the excellent portraits which you took of me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

20-14

Miss Clara E. Sipprell
200 West Sixteenth Street
New York City

[SIR FR 11]

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20-16

4

HOTEL SIR FRANCIS DRAKE · SAN FRANCISCO

[SIR FR]

May 22, 1945

Manager
Sir Francis Drake Hotel
San Francisco, California

Dear Sir:

I am leaving the city on Saturday, May 26th at 4 P.M.

Please have my bill ready at that time.

Also please forward any mail that may come after that date to me at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

20-10

September 14, 1945

Dr. Edwin W. Smith
Seymour House
17 Waterloo Place
London, S.W. 1

My dear Dr. Smith:

I trust you are cognizant of the meeting of the Pan African Congress called for October 15th to 21st in London. The convening committee has headquarters at 22 Cranleigh House, N.W. 1 and George Padmore is the secretary. The committee expects to have a large attendance from British colonies composed mostly of trade union delegates. If the Government does not impose any difficulties of travel, it ought to be an important meeting and I hope that the persons connected with Africa, and especially yourself, are going to be interested and help to make the meeting successful.

I hope to be present if I can get travel facilities from the American government and a visa from Great Britain. If you can bring to bear any influence on the latter point, I shall be obliged.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Smith.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

[Smith]

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2013 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 35, N. Y.

20-4-193

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
NAACP,
69 Fifth Ave.
New York.

My dear Dr. Dubois,

I thank you heartily for the invitation to participate in your conference on colonial peoples. May I request you kindly to accept as my deputy the secretary of our organization, Miss Ruth Reynolds, 2013 Fifth Ave., since I am a tour. If she could kindly be notified by phone LE 4-8865 it would be helpful.

And could you consider inviting Senor Julio Pinto Gandia, Secretary General of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, Box 235, Madison Square Station, New York?

With best wishes for the success of your noble effort,

Sincerely,

J. Holmes Smith.

Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri
January 2, 1945

20-9-14

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Doctor: I am writing this from Chicago but since I have been unable to find a suitable place in which to live I am using the above address for my correspondence. No doubt you received the package I sent just before I left Atlanta. It is my hope that everything was cleared up and put in good shape as you expected.

Since coming to Chicago I have written to Dr. Frazier suggesting my availability to assist him in case of real need. Also, he mentioned using the services of Mr. Edwards, who works with him, in a part-time capacity during my absence. I heartily agreed with his proposal. As yet I have had no word from him but shall post you of developments between us.

By now I imagine you will have heard from the Committee of Control. I shall wait to hear from you regarding their action. Whenever you request them the receipts from petty cash expenditures and the remaining cash funds shall be disposed of as you advise.

Meanwhile, I hope your book is coming along all right and wish I could assist you with it. Remember, I am always glad to be of help in any way possible. Accept a belated Happy New Year for yourself, your family and Miss Diggs. I look forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

/hhs

(1945)

1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois
January 21, 1944

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-13-60

My dear Doctor: I know you must be quite occupied with getting your book ready for publication and for this reason have refrained from writing you. However, I am sure that you would want me to keep in touch with you in the event it becomes necessary to contact me in regard to Conference matters.

By now the Committee of Control should have come to some decision and acted in regard to my compensation. If so, I would appreciate your letting me know their decision and sending me my check--if they have cleared it with you--to the above address. You will notice I have moved from Chicago since last writing you and can be reached at the above address hereafter.

Please excuse me for having to annoy you about this matter, but as I am now in school again my expenses assume greater proportions, since everything is now outgo rather than income. As you may know I returned here budgeting my plans on the final money due me from the Conference, and its delay in being paid is disrupting my living schedule considerably.

The final petty cash fund, with receipts for expenditures, is with me and will you please advise me in regard to sending it to the proper authorities. Thanking you for your courtesy and help, and extending my best wishes to you for continued success in your endeavors, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

/hhs

24 January 1945

20-13-61

My dear Mr. Smythe:

After the meeting of the Presidents in Chicago in October, my authority ceased entirely and all action lay and still lies in the hands of the committee of control and the coordinator at Howard University. I have recommended that they take into consideration your work since October first but this is simply a recommendation. I do not know if they will act upon it or when they will act. I pointed out to them that there were funds enough to pay you something for your work.

Mr. Frazier write me that the funds are in process of transfer but I believe that the process has not yet been finished. I have received reimbursement for what I have spent for petty cash. Any petty cash which you have left ought to be forwarded to Dr. Frazier with receipts.

I trust you will have a pleasant year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois

1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois
February 1, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Doctor: Immediately upon receipt of your letter concerning the compensation due me for my work with the Social Study Project, I got in touch with each member of the Committee of Control. Dr. Clement replied immediately that he had received notice of your recommendation in a letter of December 8 that I was to be paid $150 for my work during October, November and December. However, he had never been authorized to sign the check and thus payment had not been made. But he indicated that upon authorization from either Dr. Bond or Dr. Atwood he would be glad to send me the money which is due.

20-9-16

Today I had a letter from Dr. Atwood who asked that I contact you to write him directly and inform him that you had recommended I be paid the $150. That upon receipt of this letter from you he would be glad to authorize Dr. Clement to make payment. I hope that it will not interfere too much with your work but I would appreciate it greatly if you would be good enough to send such a letter to Dr. Atwood, with a copy to Dr. Bond, stating that you had recommended I be paid the $150 for my services.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your cooperation and help in this matter, and I hope I may be able to serve you again sometime in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

:hhs

6 February 1945

20-9-17

My dear Mr. Smythe:

I have just a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, to Dr. Atwood.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois

1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois
February 19, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

20-9-5

My dear Doctor:

Today I received the check of $150 from President Clement for my work with the Land Grant Study. I wanted you to know of this and to thank you for your help in bringing this matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

I am glad to see that your column is again being presented for public consumption, and this time in a paper, The Chicago Defender, which has a wider circulation than the Amsterdam News. I look forward regularly to reading it.

Again, extending my appreciation for your courtesy and wishing you continued success in your work, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe

:hhs

1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois
July 14, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Doctor: Because you have been so occupied with problems of international magnitude I have not bothered to write, but I want you to know I have followed your moves both before, during and since the San Francisco fiasco, better known as the United Nations Conference. What you did was no more than was expected of W. E. B. Du Bois--you were magnificent, and along with millions of others I send you my congratulations for the work you did as a delegate on behalf of the underprivileged of the world.

20-9-12

Dr. Herskovits gave your latest book, Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace, in the July 16 issue of New Republic, one of the finest reviews I have ever seen him write. As yet, I have not had a chance to go over the volume but plan to purchase it as soon as I have completed my work here, which I hope will not take many more weeks. Again, Mabel and I congratulate you on another job well done and accomplished at a most important time for such a piece of work. I hear you have another opus on the way which is to reach the publishers sometime this fall; we know it will be good.

I saw Miss Diggs in Missouri the day she arrived. The change will do her good but the time spent in New York has spoiled her for any place else, although she is a middle-Illinois product. She seemed to be doing a nice job teaching; I left a day after she arrived so only had a chance, along with my wife, to sort of show her the ropes and talk briefly. I hope you are getting along all right during her absence--she's sort of a right hand to you.

Dr. Frazier and I have been in contact; he mentioned that he had included me in his budget for the coming year. I hope to work with him and carry on the work you started with the Land Grant Conference, but would like for him to tell me what

is to be my status, salary and duties. No doubt he is busy, but since the time is drawing near for me to leave here I would like to know something definite. I realize all of this is no concern of yours, but since you are such an intimate part of the Cooperative Study it behooved me to keep you posted and I thought you would be interested in whatever affected the project.

Perhaps, Mabel and I will get to New York next month; if you have not gone to Maine we hope to see you. Incidentally, we hear you are moving your offices to Times Square; if so, we can secure your address from your present office. Until then, and wishing you nothing but continued success in all you do, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

:s

P.S. Since this is a personal note I knew you would overlook my writing on the back of the page; then too, I am being patriotic in view of the so-called paper shortage!

July 19, 1945

20-9-13

My dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of July 14th. I talked with Mr. Frazier when I was in Washington a couple of weeks ago. He very much wants your assistance and is trying to have you placed as instructor or assistant professor, but there is of course a good deal of red tape in such appointments, and he has not been able to untie it as yet. He is working on it, however.

My advice to you is just to wait patiently until you hear from him. He is also handicapped just now by having no secretary.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Smythe.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Hughe H. Smythe
1014 Emerson Street
Evanston, Illinois

May 17, 1945

20-24-130

Mr. Frank Snowden
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Snowden:

For a year or more I have been planning to call upon you and the family but have usually been so rushed when I came through Washington that I have not yet accomplished it. However, I am going to look you up sometime this spring without failure.

In the meantime I am enclosing a statement about a book which I have contracted to write and I want your help. I want to get a line on the more important references to Negroes and black folk in Greek and Latin literature. I presume this is ap pretty large order but I hope you can help me, or refer me to other persons who can. I have a theory that the Greeks who knew Negroes before Christ thought them quite the equals of any men. I know, of course, some of the familiar quotations but I want extensive references.

My best regards to your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Sir Francis Drake Hotel

Enclosure

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE CLASSICS

May 28, 1945

20-15-125

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Special Research, N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was happy to hear from you and to learn that you were interested in the Negro in Greek and Roman civilization. This is a topic which I have been investigating for the past three or four years. I am at present putting the material into its final shape and shall have it ready for publication within a short time.

The only book which contains even a minimum of references to the Negro is The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization by G. H. Beardsley, which, of course, you know.

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Snowden

Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Chairman
Department of the Classics

FMS/mab

August 23, 1945

My dear Dr. Snowden:

Two things are on my mind:

One: I have not yet heard from my check for the lecture before the Howard Summer School. Possibly it is in the mails.

Two: Where, of where, is that book on the Negro in the Ancient World? I do wish I could have a peep at the manuscript within the next few weeks. Of course, I will give you all credit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. Frank Snowden
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

20-15-124

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

August 30, 1945

20-1-20

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The check, I understand, is on its way.

My study on "The Negro in Classical Italy" is still under consideration. As soon as it has been accepted, I shall be glad for you to have a peep at it. I should hear something soon.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frank M Snowden

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director

FMS/mab

6 September 1945

My dear Mr. Snowden:

Could you not send me a short bibliography of the best references from "The Negro in Classical Italy"?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE CLASSICS

September 13, 1945

20-15-121

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Departmemt of
Special Research, N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

My study on "The Negro in Classical Italy" is experiencing a peculiar fate. On August 1, I received a letter from a journal to which I had submitted it. The letter began:"Your article on 'The Negro in Classical Italy' has been gone over by several readers. It is their opinion that it requires some changes and further work and that, if it is emended somewhat, it will be suitable for publication." The changes were made; however, on August 28 I received another letter which rejected it. In a letter of September 3, I answered the objections. I am awaiting a reply.

In the light of the importance of the article to me, I do not think that it is wise for any parts of the article to be used until the article has been published as a whole.

The article, with the exception of the mention of Beardsley's book, contains nothing but primary material which cannot be used adequately outside the context of the material.

Sincerely yours,
Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Chairman

FMS/vff

---------- 20 West 40th Street

28 November 1945

20-15-122

My dear Mr. Snowden:

I am on the old quest: where is that article on the Negro in classical times? Has it been published? If so, where? It it has not been published I want to refer to it and quote from it in my bo k on the WORLD AND AFRICA which I shall have in the publishers' hands, Viking Press, by February first and it will be printed in the fall. I shall give you every credit.

Meantime, if you would like, I may be able to get it printed as a pamphlet before that time.

Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. My best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Frank Snowden, Jr.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE CLASSICS

December 13, 1945

20-15-123

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

An editor of one of the scholarly journals regarded my article on "The Negro in Classical Italy" so valuable that he asked me to enlarge the article to include some background material on Greece and certain other material. These revisions have taken considerable time. I should have something definite about the publication within a short time. Since my conclusions are so different from the findings of previous investigators, I should prefer for none of them to be used until the article is published in toto.

I wish to thank you for your interest and for your offer to get the study printed as a pamphlet. Since the findings are in my estimation important, I prefer that they be published under the auspices of one of the classical journals.

If things go well, I should be able to get the material to you before your February date line.

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Snowden

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.

FMS/mab

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20 - 19

Subscription

March 2, 1945

To all Members of the Society:

If you do not receive with this letter a membership card, you will know that your dues for 1945 have not yet been paid, and are payable in the amount of one dollar. Payment will be very welcome!

Before this letter is delivered, you should have received an announcement of the Scribner Prize in American History which was initiated by, and is under the auspices of, our Society of American Historians. The shortness of time allowed for the competition was due to the fact that Scribners wish to associate the prize with their 100th anniversary. However, it is hoped that there will be some excellent manuscripts submitted. And the many inquiries which Scribners have received since the first announcement of the prize are gratifying indication of wide interest. Members of the Society have an opportunity to enter manuscripts for this prize, or to bring the prize to the attention of others who may care to submit manuscripts.

In March we expect public announcement of an annual gold medal for a distinguished work in the field of economic history. The announcement will be made at a dinner, in New York, of the Newcomen Society in honor of our Councilor Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia, who will be the speaker. The first medal will be awarded in the spring of 1946. The Newcomen Society, many of whose members are leaders in American industry and finance, is interested in the study of material civilization and wishes to encourage more effective and readable books on this phase of American history. Our Society will cooperate with the Newcomen Society in this enterprise, and the award will be conducted under our auspices.

Meanwhile, the finance committee of our Society is actively working out plans for a campaign during this spring and summer for a fund sufficient to enable the initiation of a popular monthly magazine, tentatively entitled HORIZONS, which would actually appear only after the war has been won. As the program matures you will be kept informed by letters such as this.

Faithfully yours,

RUDOLF A. CLEMEN

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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LOSANGELES CALIF MAR 27 1955

W E B DUBOIS

69 5 AVE NYK

UNDERSTAND YOU WILL ATTEND SANFRANCISCO CONFERENCE IF SO INVITING YOU TO SPEND A FEW DAYS WITH US.

JOHN AND VADA SOMMERVILLE

1258A

20-15-2

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

28 March 1945

20-15-3

My dear Vada:

I am planning to be in San Francisco several weeks but it depends upon the State Department as to whether I get permission to travel or not. Of course, if I come I shall come down to Los Angeles and spend a day or so.

My best regards to yourself and husband.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Vada Somerville
304 East Jefferson Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

13 April 1945

My dear Vada:

I have been selected, as I presume you know, as consultant to the American Delegation.* I shall probably be in San Francisco four weeks beginning April twenty-fifth. I shall need some clerical help and I presume that every typist and stenographer in San Francisco has been drafted. I am writing to ask you if you er through your personal knowledge or through your sorority connection can secure me one or two persons to help me? All that is really necessary is that they should be able to use a typewriter. If, of course, beyond this they knew stenography that would be a help; but that is not necessary.

20-15-6

Won't you go to work and scour California and see what you can do? My address presumably will be:

c/o Mr. Robert Evans
575 Twenty-Fourth Avenue
San Francisco

although I may secure hotel accomodations.

With best love to you and your husband,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Vada Somerville
304 East Jefferson Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

*one of 42 male organizations. but the only negro.

Via air mail

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles Calif.
Apr. 18, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois

Please note the address, we have moved to another home, since you visited us last.

20-15-8

Your letter came to-day. We are very glad that you are really going to attend the Conference. I have secured one girl for you, she is leaving Los Angeles Friday for San Francisco and is quite happy to serve you.

I have written two letters to my friends and Sorority Sisters, in San Francisco, and I think that you need not worry, they are very dependable and will find some one for you.

By the way, I think that I shall

have to join the N. A. A. C. P. again.
I quit several years ago.

Saw Lieut. Oxley to-day, "War Man Power man" he seems to be on his way to San Francisco too

It is now five minutes of 8 and I must get this letter in the mail box by eight o'clock.

With all good wishes from my husband and me

Vada Somerville

20-15-9

[c. APRIL 1945, VADA SOMERVILLE]

20-15-10

Dear Dr. DuBois.

You asked me to secure California and find you stenographic help. So here is another, and if you can use her very well, if not very well, but don't put me in the dog house with my sorores.

yours V. S

20-15-11

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles Calif.
Apr. 21, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
San Francisco Calif.

My dear Dr. DuBois;

I am pleased to introduce to you Miss Jane Bosfield of Los Angeles formally of Washington D.C. She is employed by the Board of Education in this city, and is considered very efficient in her line of work. She is a friend of mine, and I know you will like her.

Very truly yours,
Vada J. Somerville

20-15-13

2104 S. Harvard Blvd
Los Angeles Calif.
Apr. 21, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I am pleased to introduce to you Mrs. Cathryn Dixon, who has left her husband, baby, and job, here in Los Angeles, to serve you, in this most important post. She is my very good friend, and sorror, and I hope you like her. I am sure she is anxious to please you.

Sincerely yours
Vada Somerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Apr. 21, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.
575 - Twenty Fourth Ave.
San Francisco Calif.

20-15-14

Dear Dr. DuBois;

This letter will introduce to you Miss Lucile Chantery, who has been visiting in the west, her home is Detroit Michigan.

When I made the announcement to some of my friends, that you were in need of Clerical help, she was kind enough to offer her services since, she was enroute to San Francisco, and thought that she might like to assist you.

May I recommend her to you

as a very charming young woman
- and if you see fit to accept her
I shall be very pleased.

Very truly yours
Thos J. Somerville

20-15-15

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY
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20-15-16

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Apr. 21, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois;
San Francisco Calif.

My dear Dr. DuBois,

I have secured the services of two very good, women, to assist you while in San Francisco.

Miss Jane Barfield formally of Washington D.C. is a woman of considerable experience. She is employed by the Board of Education here in Los Angeles. Her Principal at Thomas Jefferson High School. very willingly, gave her leave, to serve you at the Conference.

20-15-17

Mrs. Kathryn Dixon is younger and very anxious, for the opportunity of serving. She is also employed by the Board of Education, of Los Angeles. and is a native daughter. She is as scared as I was, when we first entertained you in 1913, so, please don't be too hard on her.

There is a third, person who is going to San Francisco, and wishes to serve you, but I'm afraid to recommend her, because I do not know her well enough, though she wishes me to give her a letter to you. Her name is Lucile Chambers and she is visiting the west, her home is Detroit Michigan, and since you ask for two, I do not wish to over step my bounds and send three but if you need her, very well.

Mr. & Mrs. Evans are very good friends of ours, in fact Mrs. Evans was in my Wedding, and made my Trousseau, I visited them last August. I hope you will be happy and comfortable with them.

My husband wishes to be remembered

Sincerely yours
Vada Somerville

20-15-18

20-15-7

May 5, 1945

Dr. Vaida Somerville
~~2105~~ South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

2104

My dear Dr. Somerville:

I am going to speak in Los Angeles May 13th. I shall come down on the 12th and go back on the 15th. Please find me a place to stop if you have not already invited me to your house.

By the way, Miss Bosfield did a very nice job. I should have liked to have kept her longer but we paid her travel expenses and $35.00.

Mrs. Dixon, on the other hand, did not do very good work in that she came to the office irregularly. I assigned her to Mr. White because I thought she would have a chance to make good with him - perhaps it might lead to something. However, she walked out on some important work which he gave her and didn't finish it until 24 hours or more later than it should have been mailed. I understand she is disgruntled but we paid her $50.00 in spite of the fact she did not do work half time. I hope I haven't gotten you into trouble.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Room 918
Sir Francis Drake Hotel

me to our home again [c. MAY 1945]

Vada Somerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles 7 Calif.

20-15-12

Dear Dr. DuBois.

I received your letter when I arrived home. Sorry Kate did not measure up, but since Jane did we would feel so badly.

I shall be looking for you Saturday on the Daylight which arrives at 6 Sixty in the evening. If you find it necessary to write or wire be sure that my name and address is correct. Your letters to me have been delayed each time because of some gals errors.

Very Truly yours.
Vada Somerville

May 17, 1945

Dr. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

20-15-4

Dear Dr. Vada and Dr. John:

I am still quite insane about your lovely home. It is the most fascinating thing that I have seen for many a year.

I got back to San Francisco all right with a parlor car seat, and my tummy is quite all right again.

I want to thank you so much for your hospitality. I am writing Mrs. DuBois.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

July 20, 1945

My dear Vada:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Mrs. Dixon to Roy Wilkins. Will you kindly write me your reaction?

My best regards to Dr. John.

I have been very busy since returning but am in good health and remember with great pleasure my visit to Los Angeles.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

Enclosure

Dr. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

20-15-5

JOSEPH A . SOMETH

1314 44 STREET

BROOKLYN. NEW YORK

Copi

July 12. 1945.

" A APPEAL . TO ISOLATIONISTS"

TO SAVE THE IN COMMING GENERATION'S. FROM IDEALOGICALY MANUEVERED"WARSS SLAUGHTERS, AS HAS " RAWAGGED". BOTH OUT_ GOING GENERATIONS. WITH US. UNTO 1945.

Hon. Isolatinist True"Patriots"

Hon. Fredriek J. Libby National Prevention of War.

Hon. Mrs. Hobs Griesel.and Mrs O'Ceefe. Womans League". Of Chicago. League Politieal Eduoation".

Hon. W. E. B. Dubois . Representing Colored Peoples of National Adwanoement.Ass.

Hon. Mrs. Anna Lord Strauss . President Womans League Voters

_ Yours Are The"Only". Nationaly Capable to Attain"Peace. Unto 1968. 2068. as unto Far_ Far Thereafter" N O W."

For Whieh Purpuee I hereby Subseribe. One Hundred Dollars. One Dollar herein in elosed Guaranties Payment. as olso My " Servioes Free" to attain above "M I N I I M U M."

Please Good Isolationists from futture wars "Breedings" Come _ Oh Come plese, " Contribute like wiee: to thine National existanee preserwation. " For All Peaee Prospe etus is as Hoples" as our Outgoing 1918.Charther". of a War over _ again . unto this day in 1945. " Consequently Amerioan Destroyd Lives of over ... 100. 000 . Amerioan Casualties of Live as olso Limb. over a 1 .000.000. Wealthe Casualties. in the Hundreds of B I L I O N S ".

Please good people let me join " Y O U R S ". to attain above national preserwation " Minimum" Now". Or Ever? or Presumably ? Never? Come Rather Now". for the foloving reasons ammongst others to come upon a past Fifty years Aryan Wars maeking Fifth Column Deadly Idealogical Method. that I have Vitnesed in old Russia. since 1890. to 1914. that has an abled Germanys Capture of Russia I knew to 1915. their European bretheren to 1917. Nearley". Thanks to that days Wilsonianians. who have Respited"that generatio ns" existanee.

That generations Existanee unto the year of 1945. Episode of Threasherrous Religius Fanatizm Exploytation. Tragedie No.(one)

I. Joseph. the sole living surviving vitnes? has seen. Germanik Romanikal Wars macking go Internationaly by their Idealogieal Offenseive." for Politieal Self agrandizing Murderous " Plunder". since 1918. to 1938. Identieealy. from A_ to _Z) as upon the I'literate Russian former generation . re_ stagged Internationaly to 1938. Than _ Only Than". have Romanik Religius " Doup Deadly Pedlers". Again Junked Idealogieal confu eing Rase Hate Promoution". But went by armed sword. Remember. Internationaly" and have again captured olso this genera_ tion to 1941". N E A R L E Y ". Again a Amerieaan Rooseveltians. have " Respited" this generations Existanee unto?1968? before? or there after?. Episode Seekond generations mentual Powerty Tragedie No. (Two)

I Joseph. Only living surviving Vitnes. has Appealed sinee 1935. unto this day in 1945. Internationaly. to All worl ds top leaderships. of all branches denominations . in the Hun- dreds. Of The United States. up to the Highest. Londons. Legislative. Spiritual. Rulling up to the King Of England. Pope of Rome in 1940. Reggistry Signed Post offiee Reeipt_ signatures of all these years shalt Proove every word herein stated or un stated for lack of spase. Olso Genevas. top lead erships of to May 31th 1936. Highest of Russias President. as its Premier Stalin sinee 1935. olso in 1944. as of unto this day in 1945. Shalt be prooven to your satisfeetion.

I . Humble Citizen. with not posessing a School Gramar Edueation. Have pleaded with Representatives of Wasington. Senators. Cabinet Members. up to San Franeiseo's, Amerieaan Charther framers. in 1943. 1944. olso In. 1945. to abolish. Prohibbit. Idealogieal Offeneives as criminaly performed upon bot outgoing generations Out Rageusley." as olso Deadly. when you Remember over Fifty Milion Military Casualties Military " only not figuring Military and Civilians Murdered by this Religius Deadly rase hate promoution unto Hate In Sanity. that threatens the existanee of Religiusley imbued peoples under the Sun. who poses . life _ as olso " Limb". Religius Exploytative Tragedie of Romanikal Religius fraudsters upon both outgoing generations Criminaly" No.(Two)

Please Know to Remember Isolationists. to National Eventual as olso un Compromised Ruination. Remamber Ya-Living. Survivors from wars intended olso for You".

(A)

That thine Leggislators. Edueators. Spiritual Leaderships of All Indower. who speaek for you. Pray for You. Care for You? Are Emptie Hot Air Bags" of dual personalities.

( ) B)

You ean not find One" within the abowe, to desiere to leagaly eliminate the wars _ Macking Institueion" Remember not One" Legislator or leader presently Alive" Want _ Not to abolish this blody Wars Institueion "Cause" Tragedie of the in Comming Infants this day. who will be Consequently" Murdered by wars, Identieealy, as the Babies born by 1918. Unto Cannon Fodder transformed unto this day in 1945. Identieaiy by Religius Idealogieal Fraudelent offeneive vere manuevere unto Wars slaughter the Youngsters born by 1890. Lured Idealogieaiy unto 1914 to 1917's near eapture by 1917. Since all is Religius fraudelent wars macking exploytation. thine in eomming generation must land unto Arian serfdom . eventualy. as olso un eomromisedly.

That generations Existences unto the year of 1945. Multude of Treasonerous Religius Fanatics Exploytation. Tragedie No.(one)

I, Joseph, the sole living surviving witness? Was seen, Germanik Communist Wars meaning go International by their Ideological Ofmenetve." for Political Self aggrandizing Murderous " Plunder". since 1918. to 1938. Identically, from A_ to _Z) as upon the Literate-Russian former generation , re_ staged International to 1938. Then _ Only Then". Have Communik Religius " Dong Deadly Fedlers". Again dumped Ideological soyia ening Have Have Promonution". But went by armed sword. December. International" and Have again captured also this generation to 1941; " N I A P U R I ". Again a American Nonevelition. Have " Reapited" this generations Existance unto?1968? before? or there after?. Multude Seekond generations mentual Powerty Tragedie No. (Two)

I Joseph. Only living surviving Witness, has Appealed since 1935. unto this day in 1945. International. to All world de top-leadership. or all dremsion Commination, in the Numdreds, Of The United Staten, up to the Highest, Londons. Legislative. Spiritual. Rulling up to the King of England. Pope of Rome in 1940. Registry Signed Post office Receipt_ signatures of all these years shall Proove every word herein stated or un stated for lack of space, Also Geneven, top leadership of to May 31th 1936. Highest of Russias Presidents. as the Premier Stalin since 1935. also in 1944. as of unto this day in 1945. Shall be prooven to your satisfaction.

I , Humble Citizen, with not possessing a School Grammar Education. Have pleaded with Representatives of Washington, Senatore, Cabinet Members, up to Ben Franklin's, American Charther Framers, in 1945, 1944, also in, 1945, to abolish, Prohibit, Ideological Offenolves as Criminaly persecuted upon hot outgoing generations Out Regenaley" as also Deadly. when you Remember over Fifty Million Military Generalties Military " only not figuring Military and Civilians Murdered by this Religius Deadly race Note prosecution unto Hate in Bonitz. that is threatens the existance of Religiusly imbued peoples under the Sun. who posse . life _ as also " Limb". Religius Deceptive Tragedie or Nonmetical Religius Freudulent upon both outgoing generations Criminaly" No.(Two)

Please Know to Remember Isolationists. to National Eventual as also Un Compromised Intenetion, Remember Ye-Living. Survivors from were intended also for You".

(A)

Such thing-Legislatores. Executors. Spiritual Leadership of All Inpower. who openefor you. Pray for You. Care for You? Are Humble Not Air Rays" of Onal personalities.

( ) B)

You can not find One" within the above, to dentore to Legaly eliminate the wars _ Meeting Institution"

Remember not One" Legislator or Leader presently Alive"

Want _ Not to abolish this Bloody Wars Institution "Cause" Tragedie of the in Coming Intent to this day. who will be Consequently Murdered by wars, Identically, as the Babies born by 1918. Unto Common Fodder transformed unto this day in 1945. Identicaly by Religius Ideological Freudolent offenolve were measures unto Wars slaughter the Youngsters born by 1890. Lured Ideologicaly unto ?? 1914 to 1917's moor capture by 1917. Since all is Religius fraudelent wars meaning exploytation. thins in coming Generation must

land unto Arian dorndom . eventualy, as also in contemplation?

(G)

"Isolationists"From Nationaly Erroneusley Ruining Leadership".

Please let me Join Yours" to serve Faitfuly. Unto thine Ever Livity. in a Mentualy " Dead Age "

(D)

Please Chase not after San Franeiseos Leaders. nor any others; who are as the pre 1914. mentalities. who learem Nothing. Remember? Nothing" Care for national Existane olso Nothing", waste not thine time nor energie for all blood Sorrow Tears Spilled are Hoples. Hense Chse after no one. who ean not mentaly help themselves. as With Wilson. went his generations accomplishments. so went Rnoseveltian. Accomplishenment unto Iternity. For San Franeiseo's. leadership ? Purpusley? or Erroneusley ? preserwe the Aryan = Romanis wars = maeking Institueion. that has an abled Aryans Capture of both outgoing generations " N E A R L E Y". Facts shalt _ Proove who is who? . that Ewasion of Autlawing the Wars maeking Cause" of both outgoing wars. must end in the in comming generations destruetion Identieealy. for the Romanikal Trap. stands solid as by the un-aware pre 1890. generation. Identiea ly as of the 1890 1918 . to 1938. Generations. of whieh both wars slaughters sinee 1914. to 1918. as from 1938. War. unto this day is the"ressult". of the Idealogieal Brain Paralizing manueverrings upon both generations Out rageusly"

(E)

Pleas Let me Join Yours True Amerieen Presrwators. I shalt plaee before yours Aryan Fifth Column Game. sinee the 1890's. I shal plaee before yours the Hoplesnes upon national in comming peaee preserwation. by A lNational leadership list . in the Hundreds. who are not interested in national futture peaee. of more than words. for national con suption. who Reffuse to lend Ear . to Eliminate" wars maeking " Cause " of both outgoing Wars".

(NoF)

Please know". that no jurisdietional aotority preventi vley. Exists not even in the highest Court of thine Land. So has informed me, Mr. Chief Justiee Harlan F. Stone. in Deeember 16. 1943.

(H)

Sole Autlowal aotority resides with the President. his Cabinet members. Good ? But,. But. Un fortunnatly.

(GH)

The Above". are surrounded by a F. B. I. Iron Wall. Who solidly preserve this wars bloodi in stitueion. by witholding foreiwley all knowledge from the Above" by All means within their Power. By Prohibieion. upon me by depriving me of my personal eomunieative papers of all these years. of every Washingtons Top leadership. as olso Civil tops. There is nothing I the Humble ean do against Such foree as F. B. I. Consequntly thesee... Are the real preserwators" of National futture wars missfortunes".

K&H)

Please Come _ Oh-Come Please. Examine my Ten Years National fruitles seareh within leaderships. that Reffuse to abolish. the " Cause" of both outgoing Wars.

(J)

Come Good People. to Court. Of Law. in a law abiding land. These Burocrats are representing their Ambieions. hense reffuse to abandon this boloodi wars institueion. ?purpueley? or erroneusley? Ya-Shalt Judge. Yours shalt Judge. these national Ruiners". Respond_ Respond _ Oh-Plese".

(G)

"Isolationists"From Nationaly Promenaley Burning
Leadership".

Please let me join Yours" to serve Faithfully.
Un to thine Ever Lively, in a Monthly " Dead Age "

(D)

Please Share not after San Francisco Leaders.
nor any others, who are as the pre 1914. mentality. who
learen Nothing. Remember? Nothing" Core for national Existens
also Nothing", waste not thine time not energie for all blood
Sorrow Tears Spilled are Hopless. Hence Share after no one.
who can not monthly help themselves, as With Milson. went
His generations accomplishments. as went Roosevelt. Asso
mplishment unto Eternity. For San Francisco's. leadership
? Furpuelay? or Stronemaley ? preserve the Aryan = Hogmania
were - meeting Inestimation. that has an ablad Aryans "picture
of both outgoing generations " N E A R L Y". Peets must
Proove who is who? . that Evasion of Anticiving the "are meeti
ng Cause" of both outgoing were. must end in the in coming
generations destruction Identicaly. for the Communical Trap.
etenda solid as by the un-aware pre 1890. generation. Identica
ly as of the 1890 1918 . to 1938 . Generations. of which both
were alongstere since 1914. to 1918. as from 1938. Wer. unto
this day is the "result", of the Ideological Brain Pertaining
memoveringe upon both generations Out regonaly"

(E)

Please let me join Yours True American Preservators.
I shall place before Yours Aryan Fifth Column Cause. since
the 1890's. I shal place before Yours the Hoplessness upon
national in coming peace preservation. by A National
leadership flat . in the Hundreds. who are not interested in
national Future peace. of more than Words. for national con
mption. who Refuses to lend Her . to "Timinete" were meeting
" Cause " of both outgoing Were".

(Not)

. Please know". that no juriadictional sotority prevenati
vely. Exists not even in the highest Court of thine Land.
So has informed me. Mr. Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. in
December 16. 1942.

(E)

Sole Anticwal sotority resides with the President.
Abe Cabinet members. Good ? But. But. Un fortunetly.

(CH)

"The Above". are surrounded by a V. E. I. Iron
Wall. Who nolidly preserve this were blood in existence.
by withholding forgivley all knowledge from the Above"
by All means within their Power. By Prohibition. upon me
by depriving me of my personal communicative papers of all
these years. of every Leading Stone Top leadership. as also
Civil tops. There is nothing I the Humble can do against
Such force as V. E. I. Conspecuously there... Are the real
preservators" of National Future were misfortunes".

ISH)

Please Come _ Ch-Come Please. Remains my Ten Years
National Frustiles Leaderh within leaderships. that Refuse
to abolish. the " Cause" of both outgoing Wars.

(I)

Gone Good People. to Court. Of Law. in a law ridding
land. These Surrogate are responsible their Ambitions.
hence refuse to abondon this bolood wars inatitution.
Pumpuelay? or Stronemaley? Ex-Chief Judge. Your chief Judge.
Whose national Ruiners". Respond_ Respond _ Ch-Please".

Please Expect nothing from such leaderships.
Wher some 99 _ 7/8. P. C. of its ledership . respond_ not.
only One Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, is the only living truth telling mind that has responded since 1935. to this days bloody war within the Hundreds of leaderships. So Tragic is is thine national existance Prospectus. So Traggic_ so tragic.

"To Court of Law We Go". Where truth resides, not within thine leadership Internationaly. I have found Iven another to Justice Stone. So impowerrished is thine top leadership.

God Consequently. Remember "Consequently," and not a act of God, Nature, nor faulth Versailles or San Francisco Charthers A Thousand years Romanikal Domination. of thine Human Herd. is Demand. A Thousand or many Thousand years is immatirial but Come? it pressummably ? must? in such mentualy dead ages as ours. Where Aryan Romaniks are the " Only". mentualy alive in old iliterate Russia. since 1890. to 1914. who knew what they wanted. from 1914. to 1917. nearley captured that generations & flock to 1917. only-for-that-no _ gut. Wilson.... Yes. The Romanik Christ Killers. knew what they want. since 1918, to 1938. Yes, they knew what they want. since 1938. to 1941. Capturringley Murderring Milions Dead or alive.

Hence Dachaus. Aspaxieating ovens are not. a act of God? Nature? Versalies? nor San Francisco Charther? Stupidity. Over rides all charthers. You may rest assured, that thine in comming Charther San _ Not. Will_ not end othervise than our 1918. outgoing Charther. With Amerieaan Destroyd Lives Blood labor. for you can not play Big Brother. for a-Mentaly impowerrished Religius Blind Fanaties. where Ireligius Banditie Epiere plunder Extornistie Plunderers. have out bluffed both outgoing generations of its birth right space under the Suns. worldly posessions. With What? ansver.

Must be By A Christian Religion. Meant by its founder to lift Christians Spiritualy to its founders Spiritual as mentual Hight. for reasson of the slow proeses of intelligence developement evolueion. Empiere Burglars. Monopolized Religion as olso its Christian Founder unto A curse upon those Christianity as a blessing meant.
In Wain. Has Pope Pius The Eleventh.
Pleaded to those yet alive in. 1937. That Christians are Spiritualy Semites". Be not bluffed by Aryan Romanik Ireligius Exploytatives of Religius Hate Fire brands. Un-fortunatly. unto Graves went Milions. for reffusing to hear that Truth Telling Pope. Pius the Eleventh in 1937. Un-fortunatly to the slow Evolueion to Truths."

Come Oh Come Good People. Un veil Un-Mask All. . .
Save thine Only liwable Land. Blessed. U. S. A. Save it.

Unto Ever sincerely to serve our U. S. A.

Joseph A Someth

Joseph A. Someth.

P. S.
Please come to our Resque Now_ not Tomorrow."
for as after 1918, all again be to _ late, none will hear her yah Saviors of both generations. Forgive poor spell Spellings as composission. Come do better. Please Come.

[SOVIET]

, JULY 12, 1945

W. E. B. Dubois, representing the National Assn. for the Advancement of the Colored People, said that the Charter was a step in the right direction, but advocated amendments which would give colonial people a voice in their own fate. He also said that the Charter's pledge of protection of human rights was contradicted by the fact that it barred interference in domestic affairs.

Opposition Fades to Echoes of America First

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 12.—What public opposition there is to the United Nations Charter fizzled into nothingness yesterday before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, which heard arguments sometimes reminiscent of the heydey of America First isolationism and the American nightshirt era.

Please,
Accept opologi for delay of letter, for reasson of frail health.

Please reteren _ not . Dollar nor my services offer. untill yours are convinced y upon un truths in my claims.

Please be not as the 99_7/8. P. C. Leadership whe ignore all truth , for national best interest ? If not Yours? who shuld? when there are none others".

Dr. and Mrs. S.R. Soni
Apsley House
Withington, Manchester

29th October 1945

20-15-80

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Soni,

I was going to write to you as soon as I reached America, but as things look now, I may not be able to leave England for tow or three weeks so I will not put off writing to thank you for your very kind hospitality. I greatly enjoyed your home and have already written my granddaughter about Sheila, Jeanne, and Sanghar. Please greet them all for me and for my family. I shall hope sometime to see you again. With pleasantest memories,

Sincerely yours,

[SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE]

DOROTHY PARKER

March 3, 1945

Social Memo

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N.Y.

20-19-Z

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I was very happy to learn of your reservation for the dinner being sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in honor of Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which will take place next Tuesday evening, March 6th, at the Hotel Commodore.

Will you please join us at 6:30 P.M. that evening at a reception for Mrs. Roosevelt in Parlors "B" and "C", ballroom floor of the Hotel Commodore.

I am looking forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Parker

Dinner Committee Chairman

Fred McCuistion
The General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York 20

Ambrose Caliver
United States Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Fred J. Kelly
Chief Division of Higher Education
United States Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

13 March 1945

20-20-60

My dear Dr. Wright:

Can you send me the facts concerning the accrediting of Negro high schools and colleges under the sanction of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools? I would like to know if possible the steps that lead up to the present arrangement and the exact facts concerning that arrangement.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Arthur P. Wright
Southern Education Foundation
Jackson Place Northwest
Washington, D. C.

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*IN THE ARMED FORCES

ESTHER V. COOPER,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
LOUIS E. BURNHAM,
ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY
MAENETTA STEELE,
TREASURER

August 9, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will find enclosed a petition addressed to President Truman and members of the Senate asking for the impeachment of Senator Bilbo of Mississippi.

Our goal is 10,000 signatures by the first week in September. Kindly mail completed petition to this office so they may be presented in Washington at one time.

We will be happy to send you more petitions at your request.

Sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper
Executive Secretary

EVC:gj

1 enclosure

August 23, 1945

20-15-117

My dear Miss Cooper:

I am in favor of the expulsion of Senator Bilbo from the Senate. I believe that legally a senator cannot be impeached.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Esther V. Cooper
Executive Secretary
Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Temple Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

526-28 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING

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*IN THE ARMED FORCES

ESTHER V. COOPER,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
LOUIS E. BURNHAM,
ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY
MAENETTA STEELE,
TREASURER

20-15-118

September 21, 1945

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been selected as one of the twenty-five United States delegates to attend the World Youth Conference which will convene in London, October 31 through November 9.

I plan to spend a week in New York city prior to our ship's sailing. Because I will want to be as well informed as possible concerning the colonial question and movements of Negroes throughout the world, I should like to have the opportunity of spending several hours with you in New York.

Would you therefore let me know on what day from October 9 through the 13 I may see you.

Very sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

EVC:gj

1

PRIVATE POST CARD

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 5th ave
N.Y.C.
N.Y.

[1945]

Mrs. J. E. Spingarn ~~410 East 78th Street~~ ~~New York 21, N. Y.~~

3 April Alexandria - Va.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

20-4-185

Your invitation to the Colonial Conference has just reached me - It sounds most interesting and I regret I cannot attend: as I am out of town, but I send you my best wishes and hope you will ultimately arrive at some solution of this difficult problem and that a wise and statesmanlike approach to it will be made at San Francisco.

Sincerely yours Amy Spingarn

1 February 1945

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

You will be interested to know that the mortgage on my house has been paid. There are two things on which I would like your advice:

1. Which do you think would be wisest to give Baltimore as my official residence and pay income tax in Maryland or pay here in New York.

2. I want gradually to build up from my savings to pay for my granddaughter's education in secondary school and if possible further. What is the best way to save money now. My savings ought to be in such form that beginning in 1946, they could be used gradually year by year so that a ten year investment would be rather too long. I am thinking, of course, of United States bonds.

I should be glad to have your advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

20-3-12

ARTHUR B SPINGARN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW

36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Feb. 2nd, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
c/o N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

It will be difficult for me to give you the best advice about the matters you inquire in your letter of February 1st without talking the matter over further with you. I shall be glad to do so the next time I come to the office.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Spingarn

20-3

2 March 1945

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

In settling up my income tax for 1944, I have this problem which I wish to trouble you with. My tax income for 1944 was $2,250 paid during the first half of the year by Atlanta University. During the second half of the year I received $1,666.66 from the NAACP and $675 in royalties.

I am reporting this whole income to the collector in Georgia. What shall I do about the second half of the year? Must I make additional return to the state of New York? Am I technically a non-resident so far as that salary was concerned although I was of course living in New York at the time?

I will telephone you Monday and if you have time, will come and talk with you about this.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West Forty-Fourth Street
New York City

20-3-11

SF

HAROLD E. STASSEN
SAN FRANCISCO
CALIFORNIA

June 25, 1945

20-16-16

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director, Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
West Coast Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I thank you for your letter concerning the problems of the United Nations Conference.

It is encouraging to know that careful thought is being given to these grave issues. The willingness of the American people to cooperate with the peace-loving peoples of the world is essential to the lasting success of this conference.

I was glad to have this expression of your views.

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES:hbb

864 Fox Street
Bronx 59, New York
July 10, 1945

Professor William E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wonder whether you might help me? I am a student in my senior term at The College of the City of New York. At present, I am preparing a study under the supervision of the Department of History on the status of the negro artisan during the Colonial Period. Having consulted your work on "The Negro Artisans" (Atlanta U. Pub., no. 7), I am hopeful that you might be able to recommend some further material on the subject.

I would particularly appreciate any information regarding the number of negroes, free and slave, employed at the arts and crafts during this period, the attitude of observers regarding the quality of their work, their effect upon the free white market, and any evidences of legislation designed to stimulate or discourage the use of colored persons in such trades. Any suggestions on the location of primary and secondary source material in New York will also be gratefully received.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Yours respectfully,

Leonard Stavisky

Leonard Stavisky

20-47-02

July 20, 1945

20-4-28

My dear Mr. Stavisky:

Answering your letter of July 10th, there is considerable literature on the Negro artisan from pre-revolutionary times down. You will find some references in my The Negro Artisans which you mentioned, others in my Philadelphia Negro, Ginn & Company, 1896, and I think still others in the Myrdal study, or in some of the subsidiary publications connected with it. The Schomburg Collection at the 135th Street Library, could also help you.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Leonard Stavisky
864 Fox Street
Bronx 59, New York

864 Fox Street
Bronx 59, N. Y.
July 27, 1945

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have received your answer to my inquiry about the available material to the study of the Negro artisan during the Colonial Period and wish to express my appreciation for your quick and courteous reply.

Thank you again.

Yours respectfully,

Leonard Stavisky

Leonard Stavisky

20-24-49

17 January 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please subscribe for the following periodicals for me and send the bill herewith such discount as you can allow:

20-15-22

New Times and Ethiopia News
3, Charteris Road
Woodford Green, Essex, England

The Colonial Review
Livingstone House
Broadway, London, S. W. 1

News Letter
The League of Coloured Peoples
19, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S. W. 1

Left
R. E. Fitzgerald
21, Brookside Road, East Barnet, Herts, England

West Africa
West African Publishing Co. Ltd. Chansitor House 38
Chancery Lane, W. C. 2, London

East Africa
London

Empire, Fabian Book Shop
11 Dartmont Street, S. W1, London

The New Statesman and Nation
London

Also will you please order for me Sanceau, Land of Prester John, published this year?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

NEW YORK, N.Y.
JAN 25
9 - PM
1945

MADISON SQUARE
STATION

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
National Ass'n f. Adv. of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

JAN 24 1945 194

Dear Sir:
~~Madam:~~

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your order dated JAN 17 1945 which will receive our prompt attention.

20-15
News Times and Ethiopia News
The Colonial Review
News Letter
Left
West Africa
East Africa
1945, Jan-Dec.
Empire
New Statesm.

Very truly yours,

G. E. STECHERT & CO.
(ALFRED HAFNER)

Phone: STUYVESANT 9-2174
Branch: LONDON, 2 Star Yard Carey St. W.C.2.

31-37 EAST 10TH ST., NEW YORK (3)

Our # 320/45 Invoice referred to Book Dept.

31 January 1945

20-15-29

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly buy and forward to me with bill the following books:

Noah D. Fabricant, THE COMMON COLD AND HOW TO FIGHT IT
Elspeth Huxley, RACE AND POLITICS IN KENYA
Stuart Chase, DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE
SOVIET LIGHT ON THE COLONIES, a Penguin special by Leonard Barnes
THE AFRICAN WORLD ANNUAL, 1944 edition by the African World,
653 Salisbury House, E. C. 2

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

14 February 1945

20-15-24

Gentlemen:

Will you please order and send me with bill the following books:

Appelton's Spanish-English, English-Spanish dictionary - latest edition
M. Wrong, Five Points for Africa, London, Edinburgh House Press, 1942
Los Tres Dictadores
Appleby's End, M. Innes, Dodd, Mead and Company
Esclavos negros por Fernando Ortiz

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

16 February 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you please order and send me with bill the following items:

20-15-23

Winter issue of the Yale Review with article on Africa by Julian Huxley

Current issue of Survey Graphic with article by Maurice Rossin on "What the French have been doing on the Upper reaches of the Niger River"

Hampa afrocuban, los negros esclavos, La Habana, 1916 by Fernando Ortiz

Glosario de afronegrismos, estudio de linguistica, lexicologia, etimologia y semantica, La Habana, 1924, by Fernando Ortiz

La fiesta afrocubana del Dia de Reyes, Fernando Ortiz

De la musica afrocubana, introduccion a un estudio, Fernando Ortiz, La Habana, 1935

Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azucar, Fernando Ortiz, La Habana, 1940.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

15 March 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly buy and forward to me with bill the following books:

20-15-26

AFRICANS AND BRITISH RULE, Margery Perham. Oxford University Press, London, 41
AFRICA AND THE WORLD CONFLICT, Louis E. Frechtline, Foreign Policy Assn., NYC, 1941
COLUR CONFLICT, Gerald Webb Broomfield. The Livingstone Press, London, 1943
EMPIRE, Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, NYC. 1944
FRANCE'S COLONIAL STATE IN WEST AFRICA, Virginia Thompson, Foreign Policy Reports, June 15, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, NYC, 1944
ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION - Pattern for Colonial Cooperation, Foreign Policy Reports, December 15, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, 1944
FIFTY FACTS ABOUT COLONIES, British Information Services, NYC, 1943
HALF OF ONE WORLD, Joseph M. Jones, Fortune, NYC, 1944, October
LOOK AT AFRICA, W. B. & M. S. Woolbert. Headline Series No. 43, No., 1943, Foreign Policy Association, 1943
NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT, M. J. Herskovits, Council on Foreign Relations, NYC, 1944
PLAN FOR AFRICA, Rita Hinden, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, Distributors: W. W. Norton & Co., NYC, 1941
SURVEY OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN 1898-1941, K. D. D. Henderson, The Abbey Press Ltd., London, 1944
THE BASIS OF TRUSTEESHIP, J. G. Smuts. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1942
THE FUTURE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES, Lord Hailey, Princeton Univ. Press, 1944
THE GOVERNMENT OF FRENCH NORTH AFRICA, Herbert J. Liebesny. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1943
WHAT HAPPENED IN BURMA, T. L. Hughes. British Publishing Co., London, 1944.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

15 March 1945

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly buy and forward to me with bill the following books:

20-15-28

AFRICANS AND BRITISH RULE, Margery Perham. Oxford University Press, London, 41
AFRICA AND THE WORLD CONFLICT, Louis E. Frechtline, Foreign Policy Assn., NYC, 1941
COLOUR CONFLICT, Gerald Webb Broomfield. The Livingstone Press, London, 1943
EMPIRE, Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, NYC. 1944
FRANCE'S COLONIAL STATE IN WEST AFRICA, Virginia Thompson, Foreign Policy Reports, June 15, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, NYC, 1944
ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION - Pattern for Colonial Cooperation, Foreign Policy Reports, December 15, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, 1944
FIFTY FACTS ABOUT COLONIES, British Information Services, NYC, 1943
HALF OF ONE WORLD, Joseph M. Jones, Fortune, NYC, 1944, October
LOOK AT AFRICA, W. B. & M. S. Woolbert. Headline Series No. 43, No., 1943, Foreign Policy Association, 1943
NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT, M. J. Herskovits, Council on Foreign Relations, NYC, 1944
PLAN FOR AFRICA, Rita Hinden, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, Distributors: W. W. Norton & Co., NYC, 1941
SURVEY OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN 1898-1941, K. D. D. Henderson, The Abbey Press Ltd., London, 1944
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THE FUTURE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES, Lord Hailey, Princeton Univ. Press, 1944
THE GOVERNMENT OF FRENCH NORTH AFRICA, Herbert J. Liebesny. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1943
WHAT HAPPENED IN BURMA, T. L. Hughes. British Publishing Co., London, 1944.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

26 March 1945

20-15-25

Gentlemen:

Please send me with discount the following books:

Allen's SYNONYMS AND ANTONYMS, Harper Brothers, revised and enlarged

Capitalism and Slavery, Eric Williams, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert & Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

17 April 1945

20-15-19

Gentlemen:

Will you please send a copy of Shirley Graham's GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER published by Julian Messner to

Miss Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

and the bill to me with discount?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

July 30, 1945

20-15-20

G. E. Stechert & Company
31 East 10th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me with usual discount the DELICATE APE by Dorothy Hughes, published by Duel Sloan, and possibly re-published in a cheap edition.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

20-15

SEP 18 1945

G. E. STECHERT & CO. (ALFRED HAFNER) 31 EAST 10th ST., NEW YORK.

PLEASE RENEW MY SUBSCRIPTION TO:-

1	New Times and Ethiopia News, 1946	$ 2.90
1	The Colonial Review, 1946	1.10
1	Left, 1946	1.10

OVER

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
National Ass'n for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.

SIGNATURE W E B DuBois

A RENEWAL OF YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE PERIODICALS LISTED IS NOW DUE. IF YOU WISH TO CONTINUE, PLEASE SIGN THIS FORM AND RETURN PROMPTLY.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

G. E. STECHERT & CO.

221

1	West Africa, 1946	$ 5.50
1	East Africa, 1946	6.60
1	Empire, 1946	.50
1	New Statesman & Nation, 1946	7.15
		$24.85

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27930

Dr. Diggs

20-15

[1945]

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(ALFRED HAFNER)

31-37 East 10th St.

NEW YORK.

20 West 40th Street

11 November 1945

20-15-27

Gentlemen:

Please send with usual discount to

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18

the following book: A. Lipschitz El Indoamericanismo y el Problema Racial en las Americas published recently in Chile.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

20-15

NOV 21 1945

Voucher Ret'd by Miss Diggs

G. E. STECHERT & CO.
(Alfred Hafner)

31 East 10th Street NEW YORK

November 19, 1945

Nat'l. Assn. for Advancement of
Colored People
69 5th Avenue
New York 3, NY

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of your check

27730 of 11/15/45 for $ 24.85
for which accept our thanks.

As we are unable to locate the item of _____ for $ 24.85 may we ask you to send us a copy of the bill (or if more than one bill, a list showing the dates and amounts of each) so that we can credit your account correctly.

If not charged to you, kindly let us know to whom the bill was made out, so that we may credit the correct account.

Very truly yours,

G. E. STECHERT & CO.
31-33 EAST 10th ST.
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

---------- 20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

80-15-81

Gentlemen:

Will you please send the following books to me with the usual discount:

B. Malinowski DYNAMICS OF CULTURE, Yale University Press, 1945
COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE, Judge Lindsay
HERSELF, Lowry, Forbes and Company, Chicago
HOW CAN I G T MARRIED, McFadden Publications, New York
LAWS OF SEX, Hooker, Badger, Boston
MANHOOD AND MARRIAGE, McFadden Publications, New York
WOMANHOOD AND MARRIAGE, " "
NEW YORK NIGHTS " "
NEGRO IN CHICAGO, Report of Chicago Committee on Race Relations
PROSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, Arthur Spingarn

You will please note our change in address.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Te th Street
New York City

Request for information

OFFICE OF
Dr. P. A. STEPHENS
1917 CITICO AVE.
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

20-20-69

January, 6th, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
New York City,

My dear Dr. Dubois:-

I noticed some time ago that you had made mention of the ~~Dum~~ Dumbarton Oaks Proposal either in an article or before a committee. In either case I am writing to ask if you can tell me where I may be able to find a copy of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposal? I am very anxious to obtain a copy of this proposal.

Please if you will tell me by return mail where I may Obtain ~~a~~ this article. Thanking you in advance for same I beg to remain,

Yours Very Sincerely,

Dr. P. A. Stephens

Dr. P. A. Stephens.

07-02-02

17 January 1945

My dear Mr. Stephens:

Answering your letter of January 6, you should write to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. As for Dumbarton Oaks Documents, publication No. 2192, Conference series 56; also for questions and answers on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Enclose ten cents.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. P. A. Stephens
1917 Citico Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

[STEWARD]

A LAYMAN'S VIEWS

By Leon W. Steward,
CALIFORNIA EAGLE
August 23, 1945

A NEW DEAL IN RELIGION

V-J Day brought Los Angeles what appears to be a New Deal in formal religion. In fact, if the movement bears fruit as this column dares to expect, democracy in these parts will have a brand of church support such as it has not yet enjoyed. And another west coast city will be in the vanguard of progress toward the only kind of church that can hasten the coming of the era of the brotherhood of man which indeed must precede the coming of this kind of democracy worthy of a leading democratic nation in this post-war struggle for peace.

OTHERS MADE WHOOPY

When we received an invitation to attend a meeting in the interest of a "Proposed Church of All People" we hardly expected the date would collide with the Japanese decision to Surrender. Nevertheless only a few hours before we were asked to meet at the old castle now occupied by the L. A. Council of Churches for dinner and discussion of plans for such a church, the streets of the city were alive with people happily celebrating the cessation of hostilities and the hope of peace in the world. Yet we wended our way to the West Adams address through the hilarious masses and, coming into the proposed meeting place, we found over sixty per cent of those invited already present and about to be called to dinner. By their physical appearance those who responded to the dinner call could be easily identified as coming from several racial backgrounds and church denominations and dared to be pioneers in the Christian enterprise or intelligent persons seeking a new experience in social living and church fellowship. And as others made "whoopy" over the ending of one struggle, these had come to make plans for another. And here's wishing their plans the best of success.

20-10

ANOTHER BIG THREE

We may not be sufficiently well informed as to the number of groups now sharing in this movement to eliminate Christianity's greatest hindrance against its coming to the fore during these post-war days and leading the nation in a fight to get its own democratic house in order, namely its color barrier to brotherhood. There may be others but we know only of those beginnings at San Francisco and Berkeley. Those two California cities have led the way and now it is Los Angeles' turn to carry on. With this done, Christian America may well look to the Big Three of California for leadership toward a New Day.

THE PLAN

The plan as outlined by Rev. Harold M. Kingsley and others calls for people from any race or faith to constitute the fellowship. Three ministers from three different so-called races. And three classes of members, depending upon the extent to which one is willing to go in supporting the movement as to participation in its program. The church will technically be known as of the Congregational faith. This in order to secure the place of meeting in the L. A. Church Federation building, 3330 W. Adams. Nevertheless membership will be open to all Christians or candidates for the Christian faith. It will not be known as an interracial church but hopes to be well known by its very works. Here is a chance for many who want a New Deal in church experience. Here is a chance to pioneer in a movement that proposes to lead the Christian church out into the sunlight of Christian brotherhood.

(We appreciate this unsolicited estimate by an intelligent Christian layman. We have made a small beginning with an average attendance for three Sundays of 65, and an average collection of $35, with 35 people signing cards for membership. We are working towards securing a permanent location in the near future because of the need of seven day activities, and also because our tenure at the Church Federation runs only four months. We invite our friends and well-wishers to attend - and also to pray for the success of this great venture.)

A PROPOSED CHURCH OF ALL PEOPLE

A group of responsible citizens of Los Angeles is exploring the desirability of establishing a Church that will be inclusive of all people. Preliminary conversations have been held and the expressions of interest have been enthusiastic. The group has indicated that one of the solutions of racial problems lies in fellowship on a religious level. A quality of Christian life approximated by a group will give common ground for much action of a constructive nature in this area.

LEADERSHIP

Such a church would likely have a multiple leadership. It has been suggested that Rev. Harold M. Kingsley, director of Pilgrim House, is admirably qualified by training and long experience for a place on the leadership staff. Rev. Raymond Booth, with his Friends' background, and now Director of the Council of Civic Unity, is part of a tradition that would make his leadership most valuable. Rev. Royden Susu-Mago has been a student and religious leader in Los Angeles for a number of years and is much interested in the possibility of this type of church. These men all have wives who are companions in their work in a most creditable way. Other names will no doubt be suggested. The ministerial staff would lead the group into the formation of a corporate church life with all of the program and services such a group could perform.

OTHER OUTSTANDING LEADERS such as Dr. Albert W. Palmer, Dr. Buell Gallagher, Dr. Howard Thurman, Dr. E. C. Farnham and others will be available for counsel and as guest speakers.

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the group might be made up of at least three types:

1. REGULAR MEMBERS who join on confession of faith or by letter from some other church;
2. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS who wish to retain their membership in another church, but who are willing to assume all of the responsibilities and privileges of membership in this church;
3. AFFILIATE MEMBERS who living here or at a distance wish to affiliate with and support the project although circumstances are such that they cannot attend regularly.

YOU ARE INVITED

We would welcome your suggestions and ideas. You are invited to attend meetings for the purpose of forwarding the plan and, if you will provide your name and address you will receive mailings. Write to: Rev. Harold M. Kingsley, 120 N. San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, 12, California.

THE NEXT MEETING

There will be a dinner meeting, $1.50 including tax, at the Los Angeles Church Federation, 3330 West Adams Boulevard, 6 P.M., Tuesday, August 14, 1945. Reservations must be in Mr. Kingsley's hands by Monday, August 13th.

20-10

Request for information

20-02-22

5316 Maryland Avenue
Chicago, 15, Illinois
November 28, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am starting upon a research project of collecting all the available material on Senator Bilbo of Mississippi. I will appreciate very much any suggestions from you that will aid in finding the source of such material. The Congressional Record, magazines, and references in various books are easily available; but I am primarily concerned with material in addition to the ones mentioned, as well as any other information that may not be easily found.

Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Argyle Stoute

Argyle Stoute

AS/bh

20-16-17a

4937 Washington Park Court
Chicago 15, Illinois
July 10, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Chicago Defender
% Mrs. Cash
3435 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am a law student in Chicago and heard and met you not so long ago when you spoke, concerning the San Francisco Conference and its attitude on the colonial situation, before a group on the University of Chicago campus. I am writing you this letter because I feel that you might be able to fight one of the most powerful and at the same time most reactionary elements in our city, The Chicago Tribune.

Enclosed you will find a story which appeared in this paper last Sunday. A reporter, writing from Washington, D. C., informs us that the Library of Congress began an "experimental program" by suggesting the "latest and best books" to senators and congressmen. This program of education, as you may call it, might be very beneficial to our lawmakers as well as to their constituents. Criticising this belated effort by the Library of Congress, the Tribune reporter, expressing the policy of his paper, represents this program as an attempt to indoctrinate our lawmakers with anti-American and subversive literature. As a glaring example, he cites the recent book, "What the Negro Wants," which is probably quite familiar to you. Then follows a list of the most prominent Negro leaders in the country who participated in writing this book. These Negro leaders are described as "well known followers of the communist cause." In so many words, the Tribune is again giving thousands of readers the impression that the American Negro leadership is composed of "radicals,""reds," "uh-Americans,".....men who are ready to overthrow our government by force!

I know that you too realize that millions of people all over the Mid-West buy the Sunday Tribune every week, including thousands of colored people. I think it is high time that colored people are made aware of the fact that they are subsidizing a newspaper which is ready to cut their own throats.

It is my sincere desire that you, and people like you, who command the respect and influence the opinion of liberals everywhere, would do all in your power to bring the anti-Negro policies of the Tribune before the public so as to discourage the purchase of this hate sheet by all colored people everywhere.

Sincerely yours,

Jurel Stradford

July 20, 1945

20-16-17

My dear Miss Stradford:

Answering your letter of July 10th, I am well aware of the subversive influence of the Chicago Tribune, but I am afraid personally there is very little I can do about it.

Whatever I can do I shall be glad to do.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Miss Jewel Stradford
4937 Washington Park Court
Chicago 15, Illinois

20-19-71

Chuckanut Drive is at the southern entrance to the city of Bellingham, Washington and is one of America's famous scenic drives. In many places it is hewn from the side of the mountain, hundreds of feet above the oysters of Puget Sound, and from which may be viewed the beautiful San Juan Islands.

ADAMS NEWS CO., SEATTLE, WASH.

GENUINE CURTEICH-CHICAGO "C.T. ART-COLORTONE" POST CARD (MADE IN U.S.A.)

3 P 1945

386-4 Cut

POST CARD

Were you satisfied with review of your book? (Commonweal June 30, I think). If you don't like it, you will get a new review!

George Streator

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York
N.Y.

331
Chuckanut Drive along Puget Sound, Washington
PHOTO BY BERT HUNTOON

890TH ENGINEER AVIATION COMPANY
APO 247 - c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California

13 June 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dear Sir:

20-20-1

I know that you are a world traveler and an authority on government and social problems. I am interested in all types of government. I have had a chance since I have been in the army to see how Colonies are governed. What I would like to know is, how will the Peace Conference at San Francisco effect American Negroes and their problems. And, if any of the colonies will get a chance to govern themselves.

Should you write a book of your obcervations of this Peace Conference and I hope that you do, I would like to buy one of the first copies.

Very truly yours,

Ralph E. Strickland.

RALPH E STRICKLAND,
Sgt - ASN 36164126
890th Engr Avn Co.,
APO 247.

July 11, 1945

20-20-2

My dear Mr. Strickland:

Answering your letter of June 13th, it is not easy to say just what influence ultimately the San Francisco Conference will have upon the Negro problem.

I have written a book which partially approaches this question, and I am engaged upon another. The one just published is COLOR and DEMOCRACY, and presented by Harcourt Brace Company on May 25, 1945.

Thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Ralph E. Strickland
Sgt - ASN 36164126
890th Engr Avn Co.,
APO 247
San Francisco, California

CHARLES H. STUDIN
59 WEST 12TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Social Memo

April 11th, 1945.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

I am giving a party for Dr. & Mrs. Ralph Linton at my apartment on Thursday afternoon, April 19th, from 5 to 7 o'clock. As you know, Dr. Linton is the head of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia.

It would please all of us and especially the host if you were free to come.. Won't you try to do so?

Sincerely,

Chas. H. Studin

20-15-87

13 April 1945

20-15-87a

My dear Mr. Studin:

On April nineteenth, as I now plan, I shall leave for San Francisco to help save the world. I am sorry not to have an opportunity to meet Dr. Linton.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Charles H. Studin
59 West Twelfth Street
New York 11, N. Y.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK

20-4-156

March 23, 1945

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

My good friend Herbert Miller of the YMCA has sent me copies of the correspondence between you concerning a colonial conference in New York next month. Mr. Miller suggests my name as a participant, representing Barbados, B.W.I. In your letter you ask for the names of representatives of each colony, these persons to be natives of the colonies and preferably resident in them fairly recently.

It would please me greatly if I could be of service in the plan that you have outlined. However, while my mother was a native of Barbados and my father spent the early years of his life in the British West Indies, they were married in Brooklyn and I was born here forty-five years ago. I have never been to Barbados. What I know about it stems entirely from things I have read and from what my parents have told of their life there before coming to Brooklyn. They have not been back since that time.

Under the circumstances, I am in doubt as to how I could be of service in your very worthwhile project. If from these facts anything suggests itself to you please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Yours sincerely,

Howard A. Swain

Howard A. Swain
Managing Editor

HAS

********** 20 West 40th Street

18 December 1945

20-3-61

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of December fourth, I beg to say that I have been out of my office considerably lately. After the holidays, I shall be in my office from eleven until four. If you will telephone and make an appointment with Dr. Diggs, I shall be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lester Taylor
100 West 116th Street
New York City

********** 20 West 40th Street

30 November 1945

20-19-3

Dear Dorothy:

I want to tell you how very grateful I am for your thoughtfulness and services to Mrs. Du Bois during her illness. It was very, very kind and self-sacrificing. I especially appreciated it because during my six weeks absence in England I did not get a single word either by letter or cable from either Yolande or Du Bois. The only information I could get was by writing to New York and having my office telephone to Dr. Higgins. Mrs. Du Bois is in

Montefiore Hospital
Gunhill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
The Bronx

and speaks of you very often. She has improved and the trip up did not set her back. I think she is going to like the institution. Of course any time you are in town you can go to see her. The visiting hours are from one to three-thirty and seven to nine every day. I shall only be too glad to take you up.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Dorothy Thompson
Baltimore

COMMISSIONER IN CHANCERY

(TIDEWATER VA, BUSINESS AND PROFESS MEN'S CLUB) →

NOTARY PUBLIC

THOMAS H. REID
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
TIDEWATER BUILDING
PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA

April 10th, 1945.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

New York City 3,

N. Y.,

Dear Sir;

I note from the latest issue of the N. A. A. C. P., Bulletin that you have been named by the Board of Directors as an Observer at the United Nations conference opening April 25th, 1945, in San Francisco, California. The Tidewater, Virginia,, Business and Professional Men's Club requested me to write and find out if you would be in a position to furnish the said Club with a complete record of the Sessions, as compiled by you in your position. I would like to find out just what the cost would be and any other matter relative to the task. I would ask just what procedure is required to have a representative from my group admitted as an Observer? I would appreciate it very much if you could let me have an answer by the 18th of this month, so that I could make a report on the same.

Very truly yours,

Thomas H. Reid

Thomas H. Reid

400 Green St., (Tidewater Bldg.,)

Portsmouth, Virginia.

20-121-02

[TIDEWATER VA. BUSINESS AND PROFESS MENS CLUB]

13 April 1945

13 April 1945

6-181-02

My dear Mr. Reid:

Answering your letter of April 10, I beg to say that my status in San Francisco will be a consultant to the American Delegation. If I had time I might be able to send you a record of the sessions but that I will not know until I reach there on or about April 23.

There is no legal obstacle for any organization sending an observer to San Francisco but in order to get the right to travel they would have to have the consent of the State Department. After reaching there they would have to have some place to stay and the State Department has taken charge of most facilities.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Thomas H. Reid
400 Green Street
Tidewater Building
Portsmouth, Virginia

September 25, 1945

20-15-67

Mrs. Benjamin Tilton
25 East 67 Street
New York, New York

My dear Mrs. Tilton:

May I express my deep sorrow at hearing of the death of Dr. Benjamin Tilton.

He was a classmate of mine who I always greatly admired and we had a pleasant reunion at the class dinner last June at Harvard.

Mrs. DuBois and I join in condolence.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

February 6, 1945

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

20-22-1

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a private memorandum I have provisionally completed with respect to Liberia. I hope you will have time to read it and send me your criticisms.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond L. Buell

Raymond L. Buell

(CONF)

Private January 29, 1945

TO:

FROM: R. L. Buell

FOREIGN POLICY MEMORANDUM NO. 6

THE UNITED STATES AND LIBERIA

In 1947 Liberia will celebrate its centenary. This Negro Republic, the only one in the world outside of Haiti, has maintained its independence for nearly a hundred years. Liberia has lost territory to its neighbors; but at a time when the rest of Africa has been conquered and partitioned, Liberia has remained relatively intact. Its chief achievement has been Survival. This has been due to the skill of a handful of leaders, and to the fostering arm of the United States. Through visits of U.S. warships to Liberian ports and through more urbane gestures, the U.S. has posted a keep-off-the-grass sign on Liberian soil.

Liberia has an area of the State of Ohio, and a population of more than one million. Its government is in the hands of the Americo-Liberians, a group numbering about 12,000, who have descended from the Negro immigrants who originally founded the country. This oligarchy attempts not only to govern itself but also the vast native majority in the hinterland. Unlike more modern oligarchies, the Liberian Government has lacked the vitality necessary even for material development. Liberia has no hotels; no first-class doctors, with one exception; no teachers college or other secondary educational institutions such as are found in neighboring British colonies; no census; not even a culture of its own. It lacks adequate roads into the interior (it has no railway), and modern harbors on the coast. It has too few able men at the top; and a rate of illiteracy for the population as a whole of probably 85 per cent. Liberia has been too poor even to maintain a

diplomatic mission in Washington -- unlike Haiti and Ethiopia. It is a country in a comatose situation, crying out for economic, political and cultural development. Despite its Survival for nearly a hundred years, Liberia remains a sick country, perhaps the sickest part of Africa. Unless this sickness is soon cured, racial chauvinists will say, if unjustly, that the Negro everywhere is incapable of self-government.

1. A New Liberia Policy?

As a result of World War II, the United States has taken a new interest in Liberia. Located on the hump of Africa, Liberia is actually closer in flying time to Natal (Brazil) than is Dakar. Geography has destined Liberia to be an important way-point in the sea and air routes of the world.

In World War I Liberia followed the U.S. in declaring war against Germany. Monrovia was actually shelled by a German submarine. Liberia, moreover, sent troops to France. With the advent of Hitler, Germany began to exhibit interest in Liberia; and in 1938 the American Government sent the U.S.S. Boise to Monrovia, in anticipation of the arrival of a German warship. When World War II broke out Liberia declared its neutrality, and did not enter the war until 1944.

With the rise of pro-Nazi Vichy after 1940, Washington feared that Dakar might fall into unfriendly hands. Meanwhile German submarines sank a number of vessels in Liberian territorial waters. After the Casablanca conference President Roosevelt sent a Naval Mission to Dakar under Vice Admiral Glassford with the rank of High Commissioner. About the same time, Pan-American Airways signed a contract with the Liberian Government giving it the right to operate in Liberia. In another agreement Pan-American obtained a ten-year lease of Roberts Field. Here one of the finest land-plane fields was created for Pan-American and later the U.S. Air Force, by the Firestone Company. Moreover an excellent seaplane base was installed at Fisherman's Lake. Both these bases have played an important part in the aircraft ferry across the south Atlantic, and in the protection of rubber exports from Liberia to the U.S.

Although remaining neutral, Liberia early authorized the occupation of its country by American troops. On February 14, 1942 Liberia and the U.S. signed an agreement giving us the right to construct military and commercial airports "and the right also to assist in the protection and defense of any part of the Republic which might be liable to attack during the present war..." In an agreement made the next month, the American Government promised to help in the protection of Liberia, "including necessary equipment for road construction, certain monetary aids for defense purposes" and also help in the training of the Liberian military forces. The United States promised to withdraw "all military forces" at the end of the war. Although Liberia retains sovereignty over the airports, fortifications and other defense areas established by the U.S., the latter government has "exclusive jurisdiction" over such areas and over the persons living in such areas, except Liberian citizens.* On June 8, 1943 the U.S. and Liberia signed

* "Defense Areas Agreement", Executive Agreement Series 275

a lend-lease agreement (Executive Agreement Series 324) in effect continuing the commitments embodied in the Defense Areas Agreement. The U.S. now sent Negro troops to Liberia, at first under General P.L. Sadler, who helped in training the Liberian forces and in the construction of roads both for military and economic purposes. American money now replaced British currency as the legal tender of the country.

President Roosevelt stopped in Liberia on his way home from the Casablanca Conference early in 1943 -- the first President to do so. President Barclay returned the visit in the spring of 1943, accompanied by President-Elect W.V.S. Tubman.

When American forces entered the country the German Government protested against what it termed a violation of Liberia's neutrality. But neutrality did not prevent the Nazi radio in June, 1942 from urging the natives of Liberia to revolt. In the latter part of the year the Liberian Government requested the

German diplomatic and consular officials to leave the country. Finally, if belatedly, the Liberian legislature declared war against Germany and Japan on January 27, 1944; while on April 10, Consul General Walker in New York signed the United Nations Declaration, making Liberia the thirty-fifth signatory.*

* Cf. Henry S. Villard, "Liberia's Relations with the United States," Department of State Bulletin, July 23, 1944

A further development came in the so-called Port Agreement, signed in December, 1943, but published only in November, 1944.* This agreement provides

* Executive Agreement Series 411

that the U.S. will construct a port on the difficult Liberian coast with lend-lease funds, believed to be at least $12,500,000. The Foreign Economic Administration has allocated such funds to the Navy as the procurement agency for the port. The Navy, in consultation with FEA and the Liberian Government, will plan the port, let contracts for its construction, and supervise the work. It is understood that the port will be built by the Raymond Concrete Pile Company of New York City. The agreement provides further that the port shall be administered by an American company (understood to be Clark-Babbitt of Boston) until the government loan is amortized. Although this loan is apparently non-interest bearing, it is so large (cf. the Finance Corporation of America loan of $2,500,000 in 1926) that it is doubtful whether Liberia can ever pay it off, particularly as annual amortization payments as well as the costs of administering the port are to come from port revenues.

That the purpose of the U.S. in constructing this port is more strategic than economic is shown by Article 7 of the Agreement which grants the U.S. the "right to establish, use, maintain, improve, supplement, guard and control" at American expense "such naval, air and military facilities and installations at the site of the port, and in the general vicinity thereof," as may be desired by

the U.S. "for the protection of the strategic interests" of the U.S. "in the South Atlantic." Although the Defense Areas Agreement of March, 1942 provided for the withdrawal of American forces from Liberia at the end of the war, this Port Agreement would appear to authorize the indefinite occupation of Liberia by American forces after the war, even if confined to "military facilities" in the general vicinity of the port. It is understood that for the present the American Navy intends to install in the Liberia port only a submarine base; but that the port will be so constructed that it can be immediately converted into a major naval base in the event of World War III. Such an American base in Liberia would be in a position to neutralize an unfriendly Dakar, Freetown or Takoradi.*

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* This reference to a submarine base and for larger uses cannot be published without approval of the Navy censor.

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In theory the American base in Liberia could be converted later into a United Nations base. But at present the pressures of world politics are not running in the direction of a United Nations solution, but rather of Big Three Imperialism. Exclusive demands by Russia on Poland and British demands on Greece are being matched by the demand for exclusive American bases stretching from Liberia to the Philippines. Regardless of whether Big Three Imperialism ends in World War III, the United States through the proposed Liberian port now has a permanent toehold in Africa. The Liberian offer to us, first made in 1908 for a "naval coaling station", has finally been accepted.

The U.S. took further steps with respect to Liberia in November, 1944. The FEA then dispatched to Liberia an economic commission, consisting of about six experts, ranging from a civil engineer to an expert on dried fish; headed by Earl Parker Hanson. Its purpose is to "assist Liberia to increase its production of strategic materials," but its powers in this respect do not seem to be defined. The Commission plans to stay in Liberia about two years. In the same month the

U.S. Public Health Service dispatched a Public Health Mission to Liberia, consisting of eleven Negro physicians, engineers, entomologists and nurses, headed by Lieutenant Colonel John B. West. Formerly Health Commissioner for Harlem, Dr. West for a time served with American troops in Liberia during the present war. It is understood that this mission will stay about five years in Liberia, to develop a health and sanitation program, to protect Allied troops there against disease, and to prevent the transition of such disease to the U.S. The cost of the mission, according to reports, will be about $350,000 to be borne by the U.S. except for some $38,000 appropriated by Liberia. In addition, the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department, which is already assisting an educational program in Liberia (cf. p.) is contributing to the Public Health Mission a few thousand dollars for a Liberian nursing program. A Commission from the U.S. Geological Survey has just returned from Liberia where it made a survey of the iron resources of the country. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has loaned an expert to the Liberian Government at the latter's expense, to assist in a program for improved agricultural methods and better land cultivation. Finally an official educational mission, representing the Missionary societies of North America and Great Britain, is making a survey of educational and agricultural problems in West Africa, including Liberia.

Such developments represent a new American policy toward Liberia. Whether they will be really effective in curing the sickness of Liberia, as well as protecting our own interests, can be determined only after a survey of the problems and history of the Liberian Republic.

2. <u>What's Wrong With Liberia?</u>

Although the constitution of Liberia is modelled on that of the U.S., Liberia cannot be called a democracy. The descendants of the 19,000 original Negro immigrants, now numbering about 12,000, keep the government of the country -- embracing more than one million people -- firmly in their hands. In theory the

governing class in Liberia welcomes Negro immigration, but in fact it is doubtful whether the Americo-Liberians would welcome real competition from the American Negro. In 1865 about 300 Negroes did enter Liberia from the British West Indies (the Barclay family came from this group). Within more recent years Marcus Garvey and Senator Bilbo have talked about a back-to-Africa movement. But the Negro, whether from other parts of Africa or from America, shows no more disposition to return to Liberia, despite its freedom, than the American Jew shows toward Palestine. Today the Americo-Liberians are not even reproducing themselves.

Nevertheless the Americo-Liberians struggle to maintain the American tradition which their fathers brought to Africa a century ago -- or at least what they thought was the American tradition. They built replicas of Southern mansions, and put their money into houses, few of which are finished. The money not expended this way is usually deposited in foreign banks. Their "freedom" takes the form of imitating the old Southern aristocracy. It is fashionable on Sunday and on state occasions to turn out in high hats, canes, and long-tailed coats. Although the Americo-Liberians are great church-goers, they are sexually promiscuous and have children by numerous concubines. Americo-Liberians disdain manual labor. Even an Americo-Liberian school girl has a servant to carry her school books.* Officials walk down the streets of

* C. Elizabeth Dearmin Furbay, Top Hats and Tom-Toms (1943) p. 130

Monrovia followed by "small boys" carrying their brief-cases.

Despite an emphasis on "classical education", Liberia has failed to produce the intellectual elite found in Haiti. Moreover it has produced no leader having the outstanding qualities of the late James Aggrey of the Gold Coast, or the late Felix Eboué, Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.* Born in the French West

* Eboué's memorandum on Colonial Administration and his General Circular on Native Policy, an English translation of which is published in Free France, Spcial Issue No.2, September, 1944, deserves to rank with Lord Lugard's The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, as a statement of the merits of indirect rule.

Indies, Eboué had a deep understanding of the need for respecting and developing native institutions and customs in Africa.

Every Americo-Liberian strives to get on the government payroll, and usually he succeeds. About 1,000 officials are paid tiny stipends every year, most all being Americo-Liberians. Few educated Americo-Liberians have any other outlet except to practice law, where they besiege foreigners with petty suits. Few of them have the opportunity or desire to embark upon economic enterprise of their own. Lacking an independent means of existence, they cannot oppose the government in power.

This government is ostensibly based on the principle of separation of powers. There is an elective legislature, an elected president, and an appointed supreme court. In fact, all three branches of government are controlled by a small oligarchy. The franchise is limited to individual property owners. For the most part, voters are confined to the Americo-Liberians living in the coastal towns.

Except for an interlude between 1871 and 1877, the government of the country has been in the hands of the same party, namely, the True Whigs. From time to time opposition groups have spring up, such as the People's Party in 1923 and the Democratic Party in 1943, but none has had a chance because a free and fair election is virtually unknown in Liberia's history. Thus, in 1927 President King, who held office for twelve years, claimed to have polled 243,000 votes although there were only 15,000 qualified voters in the country. President King resigned in 1930 as a result of the forced-labor scandal. He tried to stage a comeback in 1935 by organizing the Unit Whig party. Although this effort failed, and Mr. King has gone into retirement, the governing group in Liberia today is substantially the same as that involved in the slavery scandals of the '30s. President Tubman was the "legal adviser" of Vice-President Yancy, one of the leading slavers, and supported King in the 1935 election. Mr. Simpson, the present Vice President, was also involved in the slavery scandals.

Of West Indian stock, President Barclay proved to be the most dictatorial of all Liberian presidents. He became Acting President following King's resignation, and then was elected in 1931 for a four-year term over Thomas J. Faulkner, who had

led the anti-slavery movement within Liberia but who was counted out by traditional methods. At Barclay's request the Liberian legislature enacted a sedition law of 1933 -- still on the statute books -- which penalizes any criticism of the president or the government's native policy with imprisonment of from three to seven months and confiscation of property. The same penalty is imposed upon anyone providing information to a foreign government on affairs of domestic concern. At the same time, the president secured the adoption of a constitutional amendment extending the life of his office from four to eight years. Barclay had the reputation of being a racial nationalist. He opposed the employment of white men in the country if an American Negro or Liberian could do the job. He also secured the adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring twenty-five years residence before one is eligible for the Presidency -- a provision apparently directed against American Negro troops who might decide to remain in the country after the war. Toward the end of his term which expired in 1943, Barclay made a speech warning Liberia of the fate of the Central American countries dominated by the United Fruit Company. As the next section will show, President Barclay skillfully played the U.S. against the League. When he retired in 1943 he virtually selected Mr. W.V.S. Tubman, formerly chief justice, as his successor. Mr. Tubman was opposed in the election of May 1943 by Mr. James L. Cooper, former secretary of the interior, who organized the so-called Democratic party. Mr. Cooper's folkwere asked the government in the interest of fair play to appoint one judge and one clerk from the Democratic party at each voting booth. The government declined to do so, continuing the Whig monopoly. Some observers assert that had there been a fair election, Cooper would have won.

On May 7, 1943 Mr. Cooper's paper, The Weekly Mirror, wrote: "The voting on Tuesday May 4, 1943 was the most partial, the most unfair, the most brazenly corrupt and domineering in the long shady record of the True Whig party and in the history of the Republic." It cited the case of a dressed-up monkey taken to the polls in Monrovia to vote. "One small precinct of two dozen dwelling houses,

more or less, in the Territory of Marshall, with a population in the whole territory of less than a thousand, counting men, women and children, including all domestic animals, polled 5100 for the Whigs and 7 for the Democrats."

Curiously enough, the Americo-Liberian opposition to the Whig oligarchy has never revolted, despite threats to do so in 1913. In fact the number of able leaders in Liberia is so small that even if the opposition did win an election, the new president could do little more than reshuffle the existing cabinet. Today President Tubman has one Unit Whig member in his Cabinet and another as an Under-Secretary. A few Americo-Liberians privately favor the supervision of elections in Liberia by the U.S. As our experience with such a task in Nicaragua and other countries shows, this is a thankless task. Nevertheless, such a solution might be considered by the U.S. if we are going to take a more responsible attitude toward Liberia in the future.

The political system of Liberia has been marked not only by unfair elections but in the past by inefficient, arbitrary and corrupt government. In probably the most sweeping indictment of any political system in the world, a U.S. representative in October 1933 summarized the situation in Liberia as follows:

> "Waste of public funds in the maintenance of over-staffed or unnecessary institutions and bureaux; failure of the Department of Justice to enforce payment of delinquent taxes; failure of the Department of Justice to prosecute Liberian officials for embezzlement or diversion of public funds and Government supplies, or to take action against them under their bonds; failure of the Liberian Government to enforce the payment into the Treasury of Consular and other fees; payments of funds due soldiers of the Frontier Force, whose money was collected by Liberian politicians and their friends; failure to institute reforms and economies repeatedly recommended by the Financial Adviser.
>
> "On the other hand, the Liberian Government has done practically nothing to foster or encourage commerce, or to open the hinterland to trade, a 'law' on the subject passed in 1930 to the contrary notwithstanding. No progress in the uplift of the native Liberian peoples has been seriously attempted by the Liberian Government, nor have the taxes collected from the natives been spent for their benefit." *

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* Liberia, Department of State, 1933, p. 36

Despite the presence of foreign advisers in the country since 1912, and despite the recurrent protest of the State Department, the financial accounts of

the Government remain unsatisfactory. In 1938 President Barclay said in his Annual Message that "the accounting system of the Treasury has shown grave fundamental defects". In 1941 the American Financial Adviser declared, "The general accounts of the government are not in good shape and are in serious need of overhauling. For instance, there is no adequate record of the floating debt, capital investments and depreciation on plants and structures and outstanding obligations incurred by the issue of certificates of indebtedness to soldiers..." The Loan officials can verify whether a proposed expenditure has been authorized by the budget, but they lack the authority to see that the sum appropriated is actually expended for the purpose authorized. Nor do they have the powers of the receivership existing between 1912 and 1926.

The Aboriginal Tribes

Liberia's most important internal problem is the relationship of more than a million native tribesmen to the Americo-Liberian minority. About 50,000 natives have become "civilized" in the sense that they have gone several years to a mission or government school. The remaining natives live in various tribal units. Dr. George W. Harley, a medical missionary at Ganta, Liberia, says with respect to the Mano people, "Except for the question of war, slavery, human sacrifice, and similar evils, and the assumption of political control by the Liberian government, the culture of these people remains today essentially unchanged." This statement

*Native African Medicine, with special reference to its practice in the Mano tribe in Liberia, Harvard University Press, 1941.

no doubt applies to most of the other tribes.

Possibly twenty native tribes are found in Liberia, divided into three main ethnological groups: the Krus, the Mandingos, and the Golas. Living on the coast, the Krus are boatsmen and fishermen; they serve as deck-hands and cargo workers for vessels visiting Liberian ports. The Bassas and the Grebos are related to the Krus. The Mandingos have been under the influence of Mohammedism. Indeed, most

of the native tribes belong to the Sudanese Negro group, in contrast to the Bantus who dominate most of Central Africa. The Kpelli tribe has one of the few written languages in Africa, and the Kpelli language may eventually become the dominant Liberian tongue.

Liberian natives live in small villages, making a living in agriculture. They are usually polygamous; and are ruled by chiefs under a highly developed system of native law and custom. In common with most African tribes, the Liberian natives live under the spell of the Evil Eye, and in fear of the Witch Doctor. Despite an astonishing knowledge of native herbs of high curative qualities, the theory of these tribes -- at least in the case of the Manos -- is that "all accidents, illness, and death (except from old age) are due to witchcraft." *

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*Ibid, p. 186
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The remedy in severe cases is to find out and condemn the witch. The Liberian tribes are noted for their witchcraft and secret organizations, such as the Poro and Leopard Societies. Some of these socities have puberty rites for boys and young girls lasting three years or more where, according to Dr. Harley, they are thoroughly steeped in "a religion of frightfulness". The Poro and Leopard Societies believe that old men can renew their youth by eating the raw flesh of young victims and they indulged in ritual cannibalism, for which they have been outlawed.

Despite such practices, the late Dr. Sibley wrote in 1926, "Altogether the native people possess many fine qualities, both physically and mentally, and undoubtedly spiritually, and constitute a great asset to the country."

In addition to governing themselves, the Americo-Liberians have tried to govern the native tribes through a system of Liberian district commissioners. When Liberia was first established in the 1820's Governor Ashmun and Captain Stockton made treaties with native chiefs purchasing land for the settlers.*

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*The treaties procuring Grand Cape Mount in 1826 contained a clause to the effect that the colonists should never resell the land to any foreign subjects or government. M. J. Nancy, Historical Lights of Liberia's Yesterday and Today. p. 36
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Nevertheless, a series of wars has taken place between the Liberians and the native tribes, the latest of which was the Kru uprising of 1932. With the periodic help of American warships, and American Army officers commanding the Liberian Frontier Force, the Government has succeeded in putting down native revolts. But as the Liberian tribes become educated, they will protest more and more against abuse. Today the Americo-Liberian governing class, living in a string of coastal towns, would certainly be in a constant state of insecurity except for the overshadowing arm of the U.S.

The U.S. and other powers have made repeated protests, reviewed in more detail later, against Liberia's abuse of the native population; and the Liberian Government has made gestures at reform, as in 1917, 1921 and 1931. Nevertheless the underlying conditions remain unchanged. The International Commission of Inquiry in 1931 declared: "Intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the Government's policy. Not only have the native villages been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to ... have been so systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power that now they are mere go-betweens, paid by the Government to coerce and rob the people."

Largely as a result of the League reconstruction effort of 1931-1933, Liberia again reformed its native policy. The five districts into which the hinterland had been divided were reduced to three provinces: the eastern, central and western. The county superintendents who administer the areas inhabited by the Americo-Liberians on the seaboard were given certain authority over the commissioners in the provinces. Despite this latest reform, an unofficial writer who has lived in Liberia wrote as late as 1943, "Natives unable to pay fines assessed by rural Magistrates are being held in pawn and made to labor long hours, without pay, until the often unjust penalties are paid. There are other natives who have been held in pawn for twenty years for having committed misdemeanors which would draw a suspended sentence of thirty days in this country. For slavery,

whatever may be the pious phrases in the Liberian Constitution, is the law in practice in Liberia -- the law which supports Supreme Court Justice W.V.S. Tubman, partner and attorney for the slavers" (since elected President). * There are

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* Arthur I. Hayman and Harold Preece, Lighting Up Liberia, p. 52.

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innumerable cases where Liberian commissioners and native chiefs, possibly in collusion with each other, arbitrarily seize the crops of natives, or impose arbitrary fines and forced-labor exactions on villages -- causing frequent migrations. President Tubman tried to stop such practices by requiring that when an official imposes a fine, it should be paid not to him but to the nearest Revenue office. He gave an instance where to liquidate a $10 fine, tribesmen had been obliged to pay their chiefs a total of about $80 to $100.

The same writers, quoted above, who are obviously sympathetic to the natives, state that the tribes hate their Negro rulers "in a sullen, restless fury which may assert itself in this period of the Second World War with all the sudden fury of an African storm... The Liberian Government is simply the cancer on the body of that unfortunate nation; the Buzzi, Basse and Dvai are the staunch heart which cannot be stopped by brutality and extortion." One reason why the tribes have not revolted during World War II may have been the presence of American troops.

Going against the trend in British and French colonies to strengthen the traditional authority of chiefs, one of Liberia's reforms has been to have chiefs elected. In an address to the Liberian legislature in 1937, President Barclay admitted the plan did not work:

> "This, in some sections is demonstrably true and would be seen in the inability of chiefs to secure labour to work on the public roads or for other purposes where payment is made. In two instances this was graphically brought to my notice. In the Tode Chiefdom, no roads could be built nor could the government taxes be fully collected for over a period of years. No Paramount Chief after Paramount Chief had been deposed and others elected with change in conditions. I made a visit to this chiefdom with a view to investigating the cause. The results of this investigation clearly demonstrated that these conditions grew out of the fact that the population felt themselves subject to a particular house to which they had paid allegiance for centuries. One

> witness said frankly that unless the paramount chieftaincy was restored to that house the government would find that there would be only perfunctory obedience to its orders, since the majority of the tribe would continue to take up an attitude of passive resistance to the orders of any chief who did not belong to the ruling house... In my conversation with some of the chiefs they professed themselves to be perplexed on this question of elections. Many of them think it is an unmitigated evil making for the destruction of the moral fibre of the tribe and bringing forward men for public office whose only qualification is either their wealth or their demagogic capacity for misleading and inciting the masses."

Although President Barclay did not say so, there is a native democracy in Africa revolving around the hereditary chief.* And when either a Negro or white aristocracy

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* Cf. A. A. Nwafor Orizu, Without Bitterness, Section IV

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wedded to the West, attempts to upset native concepts rather than encourage their gradual evolution, trouble usually results.

Indeed, the future of Liberia will depend upon whether political power is gradually transferred from the decadent Americo-Liberian minority to the vigorous native tribes, constituting the overwhelming majority. Liberians and others point out that assimilation between the two groups through intermarriage is already taking place. Certainly the gulf between the two classes in Liberia is less than that between the Creole of the neighboring colony of Sierra Leone -- also founded as a home for freed slaves -- and the natives of that colony. There are a few instances also in Liberia where natives have acquired prominent government positions; thus, two members of the Supreme Court are Greboes.

Nevertheless the vast native majority in Liberia has no right to participate in elections for the presidency or the Liberian legislature, which is confined to representatives from the coastal counties. This problem of giving tribal organizations the right to be represented in colonial legislatures, along with the educated native, is a difficult one. But the British are trying to solve it. For example, in the Gold Coast the legislative council established in 1925 made provision for the election of the six provincial African members by the councils of head chiefs.*

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* R. L. Buell, Native Problem in Africa, Vol. I, p. 837; Lord Hailey, African Survey p. 172

Another suggestion is that a Tribal Council be established in Liberia. Sydney de la Rue, The Land of the Pepper Bird (1930) p. 223.

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Certainly the Americo-Liberians should find some similar means of giving the aboriginal population fair representation in the Legislature. If Kenya and the Union of South Africa, which are white-dominated territories, can work out a plan for Negro representatives in their respective legislative bodies, Liberia, a Negro "republic", certainly should do so. In his annual message of November 1, 1944, President Tubman recommended a constitutional amendment providing for a representative of each of the three provinces to the National Legislature. This proposal to give the tribes three members in the legislature is certainly the minimum that should be adopted.

If the natives of the Liberia hinterland are to have the opportunities equal to those in adjoining British and French colonies, the administration of the hinterland must be improved. This is difficult in view of the present lack of central control. Liberia lacks a telephone, telegraph, and road system linking up the provinces to the capital. As a result the native commissioner is virtually a law unto himself. So long as the natives have no security and feel unable to get justice either from the tribal or Liberian courts, they have no incentive to work beyond what is needed to live. This helps to explain why Liberia has to import rice.

The improvement of native administration depends in the first instance on the construction of a road and communications system, already started by American troops. In addition, the natives need new opportunities to develop small farms. Governor Ashmun had the dream of Liberia becoming a nation of small, independent producers. But largely because of the defects in the Liberian Government, this development has not taken place as it has in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. The natives should be encouraged to grow palm kernels, kola nuts, coffee, and other tropical products; they should be given agricultural instruction; and they should be aided in marketing their produce through the type of cooperatives found in

numerous African colonies.* They should be protected against arbitrary seizure

* Cf. Lord Hailey, African Survey, Chapter XXI

and excessive taxes and labor demands.

Need for Better Education

The greatest need of both the Americo-Liberian minority and of the native majority is a better system of education. American missionary societies are responsible for most of the educational work in Liberia, whether among the Americo-Liberians or the natives in the bush. American missonary and philanthropic organizations pour into Liberia about one-quarter of a million dollars a year, which on the average is about ten times what the Government itself appropriated for education before World War II.* But the type of education has not produced real

* Cf. Henry Litchfield West, The Liberian Crisis, 1933, a pamphlet.

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leadership, at least in adequate numbers, nor has it developed an independent and indigenous Liberian church, such as has come into existence in China, India and Japan. There are several institutes of higher education in Monrovia and elsewhere competing against each other and giving a rather poor high school education. There is lack of coordination among the missionary schools, which do not produce well-trained clergymen, let alone teachers. There is an over-emphasis on evangelism rather than on a well-rounded life. The American missonary boards agree that the results of their efforts in Liberia are less than in any other field.

The Liberian Government attempts to maintain its own institutions, the Liberia College, on a budget which during the '20s and '30s ranged from $25,000 to $30,000 a year. No Liberian educational institution has any laboratories, library, or scientific equipment.* The late Dr. James L. Sibley, educational adviser to

* James L. Sibley, Education and Missions in Liberia, makes such a statement as of 1936. I understand it is still true.

the Liberian Government, wrote:

> "From a standpoint of future leaders, very little can be expected of a system where there are about 9000 children enrolled in all schools with less than a sixth in high school and less than a twentieth in college courses... Liberia stands in need of trained leaders to guide the country through this critical period of development. One almost marvels at the way in which this country has succeeded in maintaining its existence, when you consider the lack of educational facilities in the country and the relatively small number of leaders who have had even so much as a high school education." *

* Ibid, pp. 112, 170.

Since 1926 two educational improvements have been made. Under the leadership of the Phelps Stokes Fund, the Booker T. Washington Institute has been created at Kakata to give instruction in agriculture and trades. Its principal is a white man, Dr. R. L. Embree. It has a staff of about fourteen teachers, including several American Negroes, and an enrollment of about 130 boys all of whom are boarders. It operates on a budget of about $16,000 a year. Classes go through the eighth grade, and daily instruction is divided between academic subjects and actual work in agriculture and various trades. In 1944 the Division of Cultural Relations of the U.S. State Department made a grant-in-aid of about $40,000 a year to the Phelps Stokes Fund so as to establish a mechanics training center at the Kakata Institute along with a public health center where visiting nurses can be trained, and a further center for experimental agriculture.

Valuable as is the Kakata development, some observers doubt whether as yet it has been able to draw the best graduates from the good elementary schools throughout Liberia, or find productive outlets for its own graduates. Moreover, the students lack a good elementary education. In any case, the school would appear to be of more importance to the aboriginal natives, who constitute most of the students, than to the Americo-Liberians who do not like manual work.

The second development is that during the past year the Liberian Government has granted scholarships to six Liberian students to study at Howard University in

Washington, D. C. These students appear to be doing well and make a good impression. Lacking the means to establish a first-rate institution of higher learning, Liberia in theory could profitably send its students to nearby institutions, such as Achimota in the nearby Gold Coast, and other similar institutions. A few years ago some Liberians were sent to the Gold Coast for study; but the experiment was not continued because of what the Liberians call "the colonial complex" dominating education in the British colonies. They feel that they get better education in a spirit of freedom in the U.S., where a total of about forty African students altogether are now enrolled.* Here is one field where American funds

* Recently an American Council of African Education has been created to secure scholarships for African students in American universities.

could probably be more profitably employed than in attempting to build up Liberian secondary education under existing political conditions. The number of Liberians sent to the U.S. to study should be increased.

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Despite these developments, Liberian education, some critics insist, has lost ground on the whole during the past twenty years. If it is to develop the leadership needed to maintain its independence in the future, Liberia needs better instruction and equipment. ([redacted])

The natives in the hinterland also need better education, even more so than the Americo-Liberian minority along the coast. Today about thirteen aboriginal children attend school to one Americo-Liberian. But many native children never see a school. Probably two-thirds of them attend mission schools. While better than nothing, this education does little more than give a smattering of English to the native; it does not fit him to play a responsible part in the community. If anything it tends to uproot him from it. In a striking document, Mass Education in African Society (Colonial No. 186, p. 18) an advisory committee on education for the British Colonial Office recently wrote:

> "It should be possible to aim in two or three years at getting all children into school, all illiterate adults below a fixed age into reading and writing classes, all the households working at certain prescribed health and agricultural improvements, a general stimulation of local political interests and activity and increased recreational activities of many kinds. But it will be useless merely to turn out numbers of young carpenters, masons, mechanics, tailors or even farmers, with nothing but technical education in these formative adolescent years. These young technicians and farmers will have to live in a society which is facing certain major problems... China has found in training boys for her industrial co-operatives that they must be given literacy instruction, some physical training, some elementary teaching in civics and economics if they are to be useful citizens as well as effective technicians..."

The radio and the film -- particularly the remarkable educational films recently designed by Walt Disney for illiterate peoples -- should have a great influence in Africa.

In view of its origin -- a home for the emancipated Negro -- Liberia should have one of the most advanced educational systems in the whole of Africa. Today it has one of the worst. And in view of the incapacity of the Government, the lack of able teachers, if not the dearth of revenues, it is difficult to see how Liberia can get such an educational program without some new form of outside aid. This need not be necessarily financial. Now that revenue is flourishing, Liberia should be able to increase its educational appropriations; moreover such appropriations need to be administered with scrupulous honesty. (The story is told how the late president of Liberia College used funds appropriated for the College to send his daughters to be educated in Italy.) The loan agreement of 1945 in fact obligates the Liberian Government to use one-third of its "excess" revenues (once the floating debt is completely paid) "to the extension of the educational and sanitation facilities of the Republic." Outside aid should take the form of teachers and educational authorities, backed by the moral support of the U.S. Government. Just as Liberia profited from an infusion of Firestone blood, so will it profit from the infusion of educational personnel and ideas from the U.S. and elsewhere. Liberia ought to have a ten-year program in which to wipe out illiteracy and to create a community type of education in which the student learns to become

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a more useful and happy member of the community in which he lives.

Despite the defects in the existing educational system the so-called "civilized"natives already outnumber the Americo-Liberians five to one. And it is only a matter of time when their preponderance will become overwhelming. Once awakened to western ideas of democracy and freedom, the educated natives will demand the right to participate in the government, believing that eventually the Americo-Liberian minority must lose its control. Sooner or later a struggle for power between the two groups will take place. The process of assimilation now going on and the right kind of education may cushion this clash. But whether the struggle becomes violent or whether the transition of power to the natives is gradual, depends on the wisdom of the present governing class and of the United States.

Undoubtedly some members of the Americo-Liberian oligarchy do not wish to open up and develop the hinterland because they fear an increase in the power of the native tribes. Undoubtedly they hope that the U.S., more firmly anchored than ever in Liberia on account of the new port, will continue to assist in forcibly repressing native revolts. But certainly the American people would not stand for such a policy if they really knew conditions in Liberia; and the most enlightened Americo-Liberians also know that a repressive policy can end only in suicide.

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It is possible to be too severe in passing judgment on Liberia. The abuses of government in that Republic can be duplicated and possibly exceeded in other independent countries, particularly in the semi-tropical areas. Moreover, the Americo-Liberian oligarchy has never been guilty of the organized and continuous atrocities found in the totalitarian countries of Europe. Nevertheless it is doubtful whether the outside world will long tolerate the present situation in Liberia. As the next section will show, the U.S. is in large part responsible for the present situation in Liberia. Whatever the legal relationship between this country and Liberia is, the outside world will hold us to this responsibility. Whether the situation in Liberia will be changed, and how, depends largely on American policy.

3. A Century of Independence

Liberia owes its birth to the joint efforts of the American Government and certain American philanthropic organizations, chief of which was the American Colonization Society created in 1816 to settle freed slaves on the West African Coast. At that time freed slaves were not wanted in the U.S. out of fear that they would increase the agitation for emancipation.

The slave trade having already become illegal, Congress passed an act in 1819 instructing the American Navy to seize any American vessels engaged in the slave trade, and instructing the President to return all Negroes thus seized to Africa. During this period American naval vessels cruised off the west coast of Africa looking for slavers. The Negro slaves thus seized on the high seas and the freed slaves in America were the two sources from which the Liberian Republic emerged.

Congress in the act of 1819 authorized the President to appoint agents to receive the seized slaves in Africa, and apparopriated $100,000 for the general purpose of the law. President Monroe* ordered a naval vessel and two American

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* "The whole coast was thought to be left open for the selection of a proper place..." Message of December 17, 1819, Messages and Papers of the President, Bureau of National Literature edition, Vol. II, p. 631

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officials to go to Africa, taking with them tools and other implements to get the ex-slaves established. These agents were instructed to select "the most suitable place on the Africa Coast" to which the captured slaves should be delivered, with an "express injunction", according to Monroe's message of December 17, 1819, "to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization" or other power than that of performing a "benevolent office with the permission of the existing government under which they may establish themselves." In other words, President Monroe seemed to feel that these captured slaves, taken on the high seas by American naval vessels, could be put ashore with some help and then proceed to organize their government.

Through such a policy the American Government and the American Colonization Society cooperated for about twenty-seven years in nursing the Liberian Republic into existence.* Altogether the American Navy carried about 5,000 captured slaves to Liberia;

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* It is interesting to note that President Monroe who was to lay down the non-colonisation doctrine for Latin America in the Monroe Doctrine, should have pledged the U.S., in the message of 1819, to non-colonization in Africa.

President James Buchanan, in his annual message of December 6, 1858, referred to the recent capture by a U.S. brig of an American slaver, with 306 Negroes, under the Act of 1819. He then said that "no express provision was made for their protection and support after they had reached their place of destination." He did not accept the narrow interpretation of this Act that such slaves might be "landed by our vessels anywhere in Africa and left exposed to the sufferings and fate which would certainly await them." So he made an agreement with the American Colonization Society to settle these slaves in Liberia for the consideration of $45,000. Ibid. Vol. VII, p. 3059

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the remainder of about 15,000 consisted of freed Negroes from the U.S.

These ex-slaves were settled in what came to be called Liberia by agents of the American Colonization Society, under the leadership of white men who served as governors of the colony, chief of which was Jehudi Ashmun. The first colonists arrived off the west coast of Africa in a government-chartered sailing ship. And the first purchase of land from native chiefs was made by an agent of the Society assisted by Captain Stockton of the U.S.S. Alligator. Despite agreements with native chiefs as to the purchase of land, conflicts soon arose. And in 1823 Captain Spence of the Cyane arrived in Liberia to relieve the settlers, just attacked by the natives, and to assist in building forts as future protection.

In 1825 a Constitution for the settlement of Monrovia -- named after President Monroe -- was drawn up and approved by the American Colonization Society. Meanwhile other colonization societies were formed in America which established settlements along the Liberia coast. Except for Maryland, these settlements joined together in a central government in 1837, called the Liberian Commonwealth. (Maryland joined in 1857.) This government was actually administered by the American Colonization Society. In 1836 Thomas Buchanan, a cousin of President Buchanan, came to Liberia as governor. He proved to be the last of the white governors, dying in 1841; being succeeded by

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an octoroon from Virginia, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, an able man.

When this Liberian Commonwealth started to levy duties on British trade, it got into trouble, for nobody had recognized it as a sovereign state. In a note to the U.S., August 9, 1843, the British Government said it wanted to know "what degree of official patronage and protection, if any," did the United States extend to the "colony" of Liberia. In reply Secretary of State Upshur said that the American Government regards Liberia as occupying a "peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly consideration of all Christian powers; that this Government...would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement." In substance this has been American policy to the present day.

Meanwhile the American Colonization Society found itself in an anomalous position. It was a private society attempting to run a government. It decided to withdraw so that Liberia could be recognized as a sovereign state. In 1847 the settlers in Liberia held a convention; drew up a constitution, modelled on that of the U.S.; ahd adopted the motto, "The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here." Britain quickly recognized the independence of this Negro Republic, followed by other powers except the U.S. No doubt because of the slavery issue we recognized Liberia only in 1862.*

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*At that time we made a treaty with Liberia, Article VIII of which authorized our intervention against the aboriginal inhabitants, at the request of the Liberian Government. This treaty was "supplanted" by the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation concluded between the two countries, August 8, 1938. Article XXIV. Treaty Series No. 956

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With the withdrawal of the American Colonization Society, Liberia was left to shift for itself. White men had already withdrawn as governors of the "colony" and the responsible relationship to Liberia of the American Government, under the Act of 1819, came to an end. Our warships periodically went to the rescue of the Monrovia authorities when confronted by tribal uprisings, as in 1852 in the case

of the John Adams, and again in 1875. Moreover, American missionary organizations, together with the colonization societies, continued to send in thousands of dollars a year which helped keep the country afloat. But after guiding the destinies of this new state for its first twenty-seven years, responsible direction from the outside abruptly ceased. A Liberian writer says, "We question very seriously the appropriateness and the expediency of this decision." *

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* E. J. Yancy, Historical Lights of Liberia's Yesterday and Today, p. 56

Liberia was founded in an epoch when liberals believed that a people, no matter how poorly prepared for freedom, could achieve it more quickly if thrown upon its own resources than if obliged to go through a period of tutelage by more advanced peoples. The history of Liberia does not support this contention. The descendants of the Americo-Liberians may have a sense of freedom lacking in Negroes under colonial rule. But the Liberians have made much less econcomic, cultural and political progress than the American Negro. Nor is this surprising. In the light of our present knowledge of the cultural and material differences between primitive and advanced groups, and of the dangers in uprooting an individual from his cultural environment, it is almost miraculous that 5,000 captured African slaves and about 15,000 freed Negroes from America should have succeeded as well as they did in making a new life for themselves in West Africa. Having diverse African backgrounds and languages these people were suddenly dumpted into an entirely strange spot, marked by a severe tropical climate, great economic difficulties, and struggles with native tribes and foreign powers. It is almost miraculous that these people should have been able to maintain, particularly after the withdrawal of American direction in 1847, an independent Negro State. No doubt the policy thereafter followed by the U.S. had something to do with this -- weak as this policy may have been; but luck and ability on the part of the Liberian leaders, with all their defects, must be given their due.

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Throughout the rest of the 19th century Liberia experienced difficulties with its native tribes, some of whom raided British and French colonies; with Britain and France who demanded that such raids stop and who succeeded in obtaining part of Liberia's original territory; and with foreign creditors. In 1871 Liberia made its first foreign loan, receiving a sum of only $100,000 out of $500,000 actually borrowed, a sum soon squandered. Believing that President Roye had personally profited from this transaction, the Liberian legislature deposed him and soon stopped interest payments.

In 1879 France offered to place Liberia under its protection; but the State Department in Washington declared it felt a "peculiar interest in any apparent movement to divert the independent political life of Liberia, for the aggrandizement of a great continental power." But when the British Government proposed that both Britain and the U.S. "make a joint declaration of special interest" in the independence of Liberia, the U.S. shied away from any guarantees. In difficulty again over its boundaries, Liberia in 1908 itself proposed a joint guarantee which the U.S. again declared was "impracticable."

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Meanwhile in 1906 Liberia once more found its finances in chaotic shape, and turned to a second loan. Through the medium of Sir Harry Johnston, the African explorer, Liberia negotiated this loan in London, part of which was turned over to the Rubber Development Company, Johnston's rubber plantation in Liberia, for the construction of roads. A series of difficulties now arose between the Company and the Government which led the British to demand that Liberia enact sweeping reforms. Fearing British absorption, Liberia turned to the U.S. for help. The British were not enthusiastic about American assistance. They expressed doubt whether "there is at the present time any scope for the cooperation of the United States Government in the customs or police," although there might be room for an American judicial adviser.

Nevertheless in 1909 the American Congress authorized a commission to go and

investigate Liberia's affairs. This body in its report proposed that the U.S. make a treaty with Liberia, establishing there an American customs receivership, similar to that in Santo Domingo. It also proposed an American loan with which Liberia could refund its British debt; an American naval coaling station, and American aid in training the Liberian Frontier Force.

The State Department doubted whether the U.S. Senate would approve a treaty providing for such a receivership, and it feared that Britain and other powers would not withdraw from Liberia in favor of an exclusive American plan. Consequently it took the initiative in working out a plan of using private finance, from a number of countries, to establish outside control. In 1912 American and European banking groups agreed to loan $1,700,000 to Liberia at 5 per cent to mature in 1952. Nearly all of the 1912 loan went to pay off bad debts. The service of this loan was a first charge on the customs, the collection of which was placed in the hands of a foreign receivership. The General Receiver, who was also made Financial Adviser to the Liberian Government, was "designated" by the President of the U.S. and "appointed" by the Liberian Government. Three other receivers were designated respectively by Britain, France and Germany. Although the receivership was technically international, the receivers were not responsible to any international agency but only to their respective governments. And disagreement between the receivers, as well as between the receivers and the Liberian Government, soon arose.

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With the outbreak of World War I, Liberia's foreign trade was disrupted; customs fell off about 50 per cent; and the government could not pay its 1912 obligations or meet local salaries. These burdens were superimposed upon a government hardly able to meet its ordinary responsibilities.

Meanwhile, in 1915 the Kru people went on a rampage, killing several Liberian customs officers. Had the Krus won this war, it was believed they would have placed themselves under British protection. Fear of British intervention increased when H.M.S. Highflyer arrived in Monrovia in the midst of the Kru revolt and offered

its services to the Liberian Government. At the request of the Monrovia authorities the U.S. asked the British to withdraw. It now sent the U.S.S. Chester with arms and ammunition to Monrovia. Thus supplied the Liberian Frontier Force decimated the Krus, while the Government hung seventy-two chiefs. Although the Chester itself did not fire upon the rebels, it did patrol the coast, transport Liberian soldiers, and forestall foreign intervention.

The U.S. had made its support of the Government dependent upon the adoption of far-reaching reforms. But having hung the Kru chiefs, the Monrovia Government was slow to clean house. His patience tried, Secretary of State Lansing sent a note to the American Minister in Liberia, April 4, 1917, which stated:

> "The Department has in the past made known to the Government of Liberia through your office its disappointment in the administration of Liberian affairs, and the time has now arrived when this Government, as next friend to Liberia, must no longer be subjected to criticism from other foreign powers as regards the operation of the loan agreement, and can no longer tolerate failure on the part of the Liberian Government to institute and carry out necessary administrative reforms.
>
> "Unless the Liberian Government proceed without delay to act upon the advice and suggestions herewith expressed, this Government will be forced, regretfully, to withdraw the friendly support the historic and other considerations have hitherto prompted it to extend." *

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* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1917 (1926) p. 877

The note contained suggestions of reform, such as giving the General Receiver increased powers with respect to traffic in arms and ammunition; proposing changes in interior administration; financial reforms, and numerous other improvements. It also proposed that the granting of concessions should be greatly restricted, although no concrete proposal was made giving a veto the Financial Adviser over such concessions. The note closed with the injunction, "while the Government of the United States will cheerfully accept promises in connection with the above enumerated reforms, it will not be satisfied with promises alone, tangible and permanent results must follow."

Subsequently the Liberian Government adopted these reforms for the most part, but they proved to be "promises" -- not "results". Nevertheless U.S. Army

officers at the head of the Liberian Frontier Force completely overcame a two-year revolt of native tribes in the region of Cape Palmas, in 1919.*

* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1919, Vol. II, p. 528

The Bank of British West Africa had come to the aid of the Liberian treasury by advancing it a monthly sum to pay the local bills. In 1918 the Bank declared it could extend further relief only on condition that officials appointed by the Bank undertake a far-reaching reconstruction program, with the aid of a $15,000,000 loan with which the 1912 arrangement would be terminated.*

* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1918, p. 510

Liberia realized that the acceptance of such demands would make the Bank the dominant commercial and political power in the country. And back of the Bank stood the British Government. The Monrovia authorities thereupon again appealed to the U.S. And the State Department induced the Treasury on September 12, 1918 to open a credit of $5,000,000 to the Liberian Government, under authority of the War Debt Act of April 24, 1917, on the understanding that Liberia would accept a far-reaching reconstruction program directed by the U.S. (possibly modeled after that established by the U.S. in Haiti in 1915.) On January 22, 1919 the Liberian legislature authorized the President to accept the loan and to negotiate as to the plan. At the time Acting Secretary of State Polk wrote, "It is against the policy of this Government at the present time to permit the State of Liberia to be forced into a position where she will be dominated or controlled by an European Government or its agent." (Ibid. p. 534.)

The next step was to approach Britain and France. The State Department did this in a memorandum of November 19, 1918 in which it informed its allies that the U.S. wanted to convert the international receivership in Liberia into an all-American affair and to bring about reforms, involving improved transport facilities, harbor improvements, better sanitation and the like. It declared that the 1912 plan

had proved "expensive and cumbersome." As it stated later, "the multiple control of Liberia's affairs" had not worked.*

* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1918, p. 545. Also Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1919, The Paris Peace Conference, Vol. I, 1919, p. 548. Hereafter cited, Paris Peace Conference.

Both France and Britain proved reluctant to give up the idea of international assistance to Liberia. Britain proposed that the rehabilitation of Liberia be brought before the Peace Conference. It also proposed that the U.S. take an international mandate over Liberia. For its part the State Department tried to assuage the fears of Britain and France that the U.S. wished to establish a protectorate over Liberia, stating that its reform plan was "merely in the interests of good government" and to maintain "its historic position of Liberia's next friend." *

* Paris Peace Conference, Vol. I, pp. 545, 548

Britain proved less reluctant to withdraw from Liberia than did France. It agreed to do so provided equality of treatment was established and certain British claims satisfied. France however wanted to take over the German cable rights in Liberia; and made its withdrawal dependent upon U.S. support for a French concession to build a railway from Monrovia north into French territory at Beyla and also a port at Monrovia. The French proposed that the Liberian Government subsidize this construction in return for a share in the management. So far as is known this concession did not materialize, and the French finally approved the idea of American control. Both France and Britain however firmly told the United States that order must be maintained along their borders with Liberia. "The anarchical conditions in the hinterland are a source of constant expense and annoyance..." *

*Foreign Relations, 1919, p. 476

The United States advanced $26,000 to enable the Liberians to send a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Liberia was represented there by a mixed commission

of Liberians and Americans, headed by a Liberian chairman, Secretary of State King.*

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* This commission was instructed by President Howard to demand readjustments in the French and British boundaries and to secure the dissolution of the 1912 receivership in favor of the American plan. The President also renewed the offer, first made in 1908, of an American naval coaling base in Liberia. The Paris Peace Conference, p. 547.

The U.S. was successful in keeping Liberia off the Peace Conference agenda, but it did take advantage of the presence of a Liberia delegation to negotiate a memorandum of agreement, signed June 15, 1920. Liberia agreed to place the collection of all Liberian revenue, the administration of native and military affairs, and the control of virtually all government expenditures, in the hands of thirteen American officials in return for a U.S. Government loan of $5,000,000.

Had the U.S. promptly followed up this agreement, Liberia doubtless would have accepted its terms. But for some reason no action was taken, and Liberian opposition to American control arose. American officials believed that this opposition was inspired in part by "misrepresentation and intrigue" of foreign powers.*

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* Foreign Relations, 1920. Vol. III (1936) p. 52 ff.

Washington now sent the U.S.S. Chattanooga to Monrovia, a visit which according to the American Minister there, proved "quite beneficial to American prestige." Later, following Liberian amendments to the plan, Secretary of State Colby telegraphed on August 2, 1920 that if Liberia turned down the plan it might be necessary for the United States "to reconsider its objection to the establishment of a mandate over Liberia..."

Meanwhile, American Chargé Bundy in Monrovia was becoming impatient. Reporting that the legislature was opposed to the agreement, he urged that another cruiser be sent; and on August 21, 1920 he said that U.S. assistance to Liberia made it "morally responsible for the perpetuation of a Government notoriously inefficient, corrupt and hostile to effective reforms... All American officials here except two

are so unfavorably impressed by the gross carelessness, deliberate obstruction and quibbling of the Liberian government that they have expressed to the Legation desire to leave Liberia..." Bundy had reluctantly reached the conclusion that nothing substantial could be done unless a mandate were established or effective intervention undertaken.

Despite diplomatic pressure, supported by visiting American warships, Liberia remained stubborn. Secretary of State Barclay (note of August 21, 1920) objected to any plan which would give an American receiver a veto "upon the exercise of certain sovereign and constitutional powers by this government and its constitutional officers". The Liberian legislature meanwhile found that the scheme "violated the constitution of Liberia..." At the same time the Liberian Government granted a number of concessions without consulting the American financial adviser, which produced an American protest.

While this wrangling was going on the state of war between Germany and the U.S. was declared at an end on July 21, 1921. The authority of the American Government to make war loans was thereby terminated, and Congressional approval for a Liberian government loan of $5,000,000 became necessary.

In October a new agreement was drawn up and accepted by the Liberian Government, increasing the number of American officials from thirteen to twenty. The charges for their salaries would have totalled $109,500 which along with the $250,000 interest on the U.S. loan, would have been greater than the customs revenue of the country. Despite new cries that Liberia would lose its independence, the Liberian legislature reluctantly accepted this plan in 1922, and the House of Representatives in Washington did likewise. The Senate, however, refused to do so, Senator Borah declaring the loan would simply pay off at par Liberian bonds purchased by private interests at 10 or 20%.

Secretary of State Hughes now informed the Liberian Government that the failure of the loan "is not indicative of any change in the traditionally friendly

attitude of this Government toward the Liberian Republic. This Government will always look with sympathetic interest at any attempts of the Liberian Government and people to promote the real interests of the Republic." * Once more America,

* Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1922 Vol. II, p. 633

even if employing save language, had left Liberia in the lurch.

Liberia now returned to "normalcy" along with the United States. But American automobile concerns and the American Government were soon shaken out of their "normalcy" by the British Stevenson plan boosting the price of rubber. Determined to find a source of rubber supply not under monopolistic control, Mr. Harvey Firestone between 1924 and 1926 studied the possibility of raising rubber in Liberia and elsewhere. Here he asked for and finally obtained a 99-year lease for a maximum of 1,000,000 acres of land for the production of "rubber and other agricultural products..." At the time, Firestone publications declared that this rubber concession, the largest in the world, would result in the investment of $100,000,000, the employment of 350,000 workers, and the production of 200,000 tons of rubber annually, or half the present world production.*

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* R. L. Buell, Native Problem in Africa, Vol. I, p. 823

Mr. Firestone, however, insisted that this rubber concession be made dependent on an American loan which would build up Liberia as planned under the 1921 agreement and get rid of non-American influence, represented by the three foreign receivers.*

* Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1925, Vol. II, pp. 367, 385, 404

Apparently Mr. Firestone hoped that the American Government would revive the 1921 plan. But Secretary of State Kellogg pointed out that Congress had not supported the idea. Mr. Firestone then proposed to make a private loan as an alternative. A memorandum of July 8, 1924 by an Assistant Secretary of State said, "To an inquiry why they

did not consider it possible to secure the necessary safeguards through appropriate provisions in the proposed rubber concession, the reply was made that they had in mind the failure of this government to accord what they considered adequate protection to American investments in Mexico. It was also observed that there is not even the protection of the Monroe Doctrine in Liberia."

Liberia, however, did not look with favor on a proposed loan coming from Mr. Firestone. On April 28, 1925 Secretary Barclay wrote the American Minister:

> "The fundamental position which the Liberian Government takes upon this question is that it is politically inadvisable in their view to place the Republic under financial obligations to any private concern operating in the country under grants from the government. This is a line of policy from which there can be no departure. Secondly, in the changed conditions which now obtain in the country, no loan could be negotiated with a private concern upon the terms and conditions of the agreement negotiated by the Liberian mission to the United States in 1921, the reason being that any rights the Liberian Government, for political purposes, would be willing with every confidence to accord to the Government of the United States, or any obligations which they would be willing to assume vis-a-vis said Government, they can find themselves able neither to accord nor undertake for a private concern however well recommended." *

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* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1925, Vol. II, p. 367

Nevertheless, Barclay suggested that money be secured from sources other than a corporation operating in the country.

Mr. Firestone solved this problem by setting up a subsidiary called the Finance Corporation of America, which drafted a loan agreement. The American Consul General in Monrovia told the Liberian Government that the State Department "having carefully gone over the Firestone contract felt that all that had been previously contemplated in the loan of 1921 might be accomplished through the Firestone agreements."

Secretary Kellogg on May 1, 1925 urged the acceptance of the Firestone contracts by Liberia, saying the Department

> "earnestly believes that the successful establishment of the rubber industry in Liberia will tend to promote the country's welfare... Mr. Firestone has assured the Department that as soon as the contracts are in effect there will be money available for necessary public works such as roads and ports.

Furthermore, the Department would be willing to give appropriate assistance at the request of Liberia and of the American interests concerned would be prepared again to assist in the selection of a Receiver General of Customs.

"The interest of the Department in the conclusion of these contracts may be taken by the Liberian Government as proof of its continuing friendly interest in Liberia. It would seem, therefore, most unfortunate should a disagreement as to the exact terms of a loan prevent or delay the conclusion of a contract which will in all probability be of immense advantage to Liberia."

Secretary Kellogg repeated such advice several times.

Nevertheless throughout 1926 the Liberian Government and the Firestone interests engaged in a rather acrid controversy over the terms of the proposed contracts. The Liberian legislature being anxious to preserve the "sovereignty" of the country and to avoid what it called the "Haitian affair", in February approved the loan agreement, subject to about twenty-four amendments. This action tried Mr. Firestone's patience. On February 18 1926 he wrote the State Department, "They must accept agreements without single change if we go into Liberia." He had already threatened to take his plantation to Dutch Borneo and the Philippines.

Meanwhile, Liberia was involved in a boundary dispute with the French Government over the so-called Zinta sector. At Monrovia's request our State Department offered its good offices in connection with this dispute. On July 2, 1925 the American Minister in Liberia wrote:

"It is believed that an indication from the United States to France that the American Government would look with disfavor upon any further aggression by the French Republic... would once for all put an end to a long standing difficulty and settle a question of territorial sovereignty."

T The Liberian Government now feared that if it turned down Firestone contracts the American Government would withdraw its support of the Liberian Government in its controversy with the French. Although Acting Secretary of State Castle* was to deny publicly any connection between the two issues, Secretary of

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* New York Times, August 31, 1928

State Barclay privately wrote on April 28, 1925 to the American Minister as follows:

"Frankly, what it has been hoped the Republic would gain from the encouragement of large American investments in the country is a counterpois (e) to other menacingly aggressive interests already established in this country, a balancing of foreign influences here and a new economic impulse." *

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* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1925, Vol. II, p. 424

Whether for this or for other reasons, the Liberian Government finally came to terms. In addition to the Plantation Agreement already mentioned, the Liberian Government made the so-called loan agreement of 1926 with the Finance Corporation of America, a Firestone subsidiary. The latter undertook to make a forty-year loan to the government of Liberia, possibly totalling $5,000,000 so as to refund the 1912 loan held by European and American bankers and to secure economic development. This is one of the few refunding loans in history which actually increased the burden on the debtor government, for the interest rate was raised from 5 to 7% (the current rate) and the life of the loan extended from 1952 to 1966. Only the first half of this loan in fact was issued. It went largely to the paying off of the 1912 loan and the internal floating debt. In addition, about $36,000 went to repay the United States for the expenses of the Liberian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, advanced by the U.S. Treasury. In repaying this advance Liberia gained the distinction of being the only government in the world to pay in full its war debt to the U.S. -- an achievement, according to Secretary Mellon, "that bears glowing tribute to the ability of her statesmen and to the industry of her people as a whole." *

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* Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1927, Vol. III, p. 153. The text of the Firestone Plantation agreement is found in Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1926, Vol. II p.561 The text of the loan agreement is on p. 574

In accepting the loan agreement Liberia got rid of the three European receivers, but it was obliged to accept in return nine American officials headed by a financial adviser designated by the President of the U.S. In addition to the Financial Adviser, six of these officials were to concern themselves with financial

affairs, while two Army officers from the U.S. were to administer the Liberia Frontier Force. For twenty years, moreover, Liberia can make no refunding loan without the consent of the Financial Adviser. Thereafter the Finance Corporation has an option on any new loan.

A third agreement provided that Firestone would build a harbor at Monrovia at a cost not to exceed $300,000 which the Liberian Government would repay. Mr. Firestone engaged J. G. White Engineers who expended more than $115,000 on the project, but concluded the shifting sands made the project impracticable except at prohibitive expense." The work was then abandoned, the cost being absorbed by Mr. Firestone. Eighteen years later the port project was revived by the U.S. Government.

* James C. Young, Liberia Rediscovered (1934) p. 36
Today the U.S. Government plans to spend $12½ million on this port.

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The grant of land made by the Liberian Government to Mr. Firestone was more generous than he could have secured in any other part of the world, and the terms of the 1926 loan were severe. Service charges and advisers' salaries amounted to a fixed charge of nearly $270,000 a year, constituting 20 per cent of government revenues in 1928, and nearly 55 per cent in 1931.

The 1926 loan proved as unproductive as the loans of 1870, 1906 and 1912. More than 90 per cent of the $2½ million advanced by the Finance Corporation went to pay off existing obligations, 10 per cent being left for sanitation and public works. Moreover, according to some writers, the land grant appeared to be a violation of the Liberian constitution which prohibits any alien from "holding" real estate - a phrase which the Liberian Supreme Court has interpreted to prohibit any concession for more than twenty years.*

* Cf. N. Azikiwe, Liberia in World Politics, p. 159

The Liberian Government accepted these terms partly because it wished the blood infusion which the Firestone investments would bring to the country, and also

because it felt the need of the firm diplomatic support of the American Government against the designs of more powerful neighbors.

To a certain extent its hopes in both respects have been realized. Not only has Liberia stopped having trouble with France over its boundary, but the Firestone rubber enterprise has proved the only real productive venture in the country. Imports jumped from $2,898,000 in 1926 to nearly $4,850,000 in 1928, representing Firestone investment.

Nevertheless, new difficulties arose between Liberia and the U.S. In 1929 an epidemic of yellow fever broke out causing the death of the American Minister, Mr. Sibley, the educational adviser, and other foreigners. Representations were made to Liberia by the American and other governments, as a result of which Dr. Howard F. Smith of the U.S. Public Health Service was loaned to Liberia. After staying eleven months he was withdrawn by the American Government. In a note of December 12, 1930 the U.S. representative frankly stated, "because of the lack of cooperation on the part of the Liberian Government and officials this work has been unproductive." *

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* Liberia. Documents Relating to the Plan of Assistance Proposed by the League of Nations. State Department, November 19, 1933, p. 32

In 1930 the Finance Corporation of America declined to make further advances on the loan, except for $18,000 for the Booker T. Washington Institute at Kakata, charging nine specific violations by Liberia of the loan agreement. League experts investigating conditions in 1931 found that large sums supposedly devoted to the construction of the Monrovia-Kakata road had been diverted to the construction of private houses. Although the loan agreement prohibited the creation of a floating debt (Article XV) the government proceeded to accumulate such a debt, which reached $675,000 by December 31, 1932. It was in the following year that the American Government made its blistering indictment of corruption and inefficiency in the Liberian Government (cf. p.). Dissatisfied with the financial policy of the Government, the British Bank of West Africa withdrew from Monrovia, the only bank in the country, being eventually replaced by the Bank of Monrovia, Inc., a Firestone subsidiary.

Meanwhile reports multiplied that conditions of slavery and forced labor existed in Liberia on a large scale. President King and also the State Department at first denied these charges.* As the charges were reiterated, Mr. Stimson, who

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* The charges with respect to general conditions in Liberia and the dangers of forced labor if Firestone actually developed his million-acre concession were first made at Williamstown by R. L. Buell, New York Times, August 30, 1928. Following two cables urging him to do so from Under Secretary of State Castle, published in 1936 in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, Vol. III, p. 249, 250, President King of Liberia denied these charges in a telegram to the State Department. Acting Secretary of State Castle also made a public reply. New York Times, August 31, 1928. However, the International Commission of Inquiry sent to Liberia (C.658, M 272, 1930, VI) declared that among other sources of information used by the Commission were books. "In recent years the most notable reference is that which appears in Raymond Buell's The Native Problem in Africa."

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had recently become Secretary of State, telegraphed the American Minister in Monrovia on June 5, 1929 that the reports on Liberian conditions as to forced labor, "justifies earnest representations..."

> "... It would be tragically ironic if Liberia whose existence was dedicated to the principle of human liberty should succumb to practices so closely akin to those which its founders sought forever to escape... The Government of the United States, because of its century-old friendship for Liberia, is impelled urgently to call the attention of the Liberian Government to this matter and to impress upon it the vital importance and necessity of reforming without delay the social conditions reported to exist, and the Government of the United States does not doubt that the Liberian Government will be prompt to appreciate the situation and to take all appropriate measures to this end..."

Subsequently, the State Department proposed that Liberia appoint an international commission of inquiry to investigate these charges. Although the United States in 1921 and 1926 had worked to oust other nations in Liberia in favor of exclusive American control, the State Department now agreed to cooperate in an international inquiry and later in an international reconstruction program. Subject to the pressure of the American Government and public opinion generally, Monrovia now announced the creation of such a commission consisting of one member named by the U.S., a second by the League of Nations, and a third by the Liberian Government. After a visit to Liberia this commission published the results of its investigation in January 1931. It reported numerous abuses, the gravest of which was an organized

system of forced labor in connection with the nearby Fernando Po cocoa plantations. It charged that officials and relatives of President King received a fee of $5 for every "boy" thus recruited, and that Liberian officials, including Vice President Yancy, actually sent Liberian soldiers to "catch" boys for this purpose. The Commission also reported excessive forced labor with respect to the road program, and grave abuses in the administration of the native tribes.

After reading this report Secretary Stimson informed President King that the United States was "profoundly shocked." He demanded prompt reform. Ten weeks later, on November 17, 1931, the State Department sent a second note declaring that nothing had been done to carry out reforms and no action had been taken to punish the guilty officials. "Unless there is instituted by the Liberian Government a comprehensive system of reforms, loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result in the final alienation of the friendly feeling which the American Government have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago."

Confronted by this threat, President King and a number of other officials abruptly resigned, ostensibly because of opposition to his "reform" program. Secretary of State Edward Barclay became Acting President. The U.S. said that its decision with respect to recognizing him would depend to a considerable extent upon the attitude taken by Liberia toward the report of the international commission.*

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* G. H. Hackworth, Digest of International Law, Vol. I, p. 306

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Although President Barclay declared that he would not surrender Liberia's independence in accepting outside assistance to clean up conditions, the Liberian legislature did enact laws prohibiting the export of labor and pawning, creating a public health service, and reorganizing the hinterland. Such measures were largely international window-dressing. For at the beginning of 1931 the American, British and French Governments informed the League of Nations that the Monrovia Government had "massacred" hundreds of Kru people by way of reprisal for testimony

before the International Commission. Investigation showed that while this was not true, a revolt of the Krus had broken out. This revolt was induced by unscrupulous Liberians who told the Krus that as a result of international inquiry the white man was going to take over the country and they did not need to pay taxes. There is no evidence that the Monrovia government punished such Liberians, but Liberian troops as in 1915 proved guilty of grave excesses in repressing the rebellion.

In January 1931 the Barclay government presented to the League of Nations at Geneva the report of the Slavery Commission. Confronted by these serious charges as well as by an increasingly difficult financial situation, due in part to the depression, the Liberian Government was virtually obliged to ask assistance from the League to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission. The League Council thereupon set up a Liberia Committee, consisting of representatives of eight member states. The U.S. accepted an invitation to join the Committee.

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There were two problems before this Committee. The first was to work out a program of League assistance for Liberia. The second was to secure a modification of the 1926 loan agreement so as to ease the financial situation of the Liberian Government.

In September 1932 the League Committee adopted a plan of assistance based largely on a report of three experts sent to Liberia in the previous year (the so-called Bruno report). Following two protests from the U.S. that the original project did not go far enough in delegating authority to foreign officials, the League plan was strengthened.

During the negotiations the Liberian representatives fought hard against any proposal to fasten real control on their country. They declared they could not accept any assistance plan which involved the political organization of the country, or placed the administration of its native population in the hands of foreigners. Liberia did finally agree to the League plan of assistance in September 1932 on condition that negotiations with the Firestone interests lead to a satisfactory outcome.

The League plan of assistance provided that the League Council should "designate" three provincial commissioners, three deputy commissioners, and two medical officers, who then would be "appointed" by the Liberian Government. The whole territory of Liberia would be divided into three provinces and administered by these provincial and deputy commissioners. The total salaries of these officials, including the Chief Adviser mentioned below, and the other expenses of the program would be $150,000 a year. To guarantee these charges a working capital of $150,000 should be created out of the unexpended balance of the 1926 loan. In addition to these League officials, the American loan officials, including the Financial Adviser, would continue in existence.

To coordinate the work of the foreign officials in Liberia, the League plan called for the "appointment" (not "designation") by the League Council of a Chief Adviser with the agreement of the Liberian Government. This Adviser could not be of the same nationality as that of the Financial Adviser or of the powers holding neighboring colonies. This ruled out an American, Britisher, or Frenchman. On October 9, 1933 the U.S. accepted this proviso, if with some reluctance.

Under the League plan the Chief Adviser was authorized to prepare, in collaboration with the President of Liberia, a detailed plan of assistance. The Liberian Government should agree to act in accordance with his advance and recommendations; but if it wished to refer any disagreement to the League Council it could do so. The decision of the Council would be final, provided it acted by unanimous vote except for the vote of Liberia. The Monrovia government should also agree to "delegate to the Chief Adviser sufficient authority for the effective execution of a plan of assistance". In particular, he could ask for any documents and official reports and make investigations. The Chief Adviser should also arbitrate disputes between the American Financial Adviser and the Liberian Government. The Chief Adviser should report quarterly to the League Council. Should the latter body find that the Liberian Government had disregarded its promises, the Council could declare that the protocol had lapsed, and that the modifications to be made in the

1926 loan agreement for the benefit of Liberia would also automatically come to an end.

Meanwhile the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the League plan and sent a vice president to Monrovia to make a report. Two days after his arrival, on December 17, 1932, the Liberian legislature enacted a moratorium on the Firestone loan until government revenues reached $650,000 for two consecutive years. This idea had been taken from the plan drawn up by the League experts, but the League moratorium had been contingent on the inauguration of a real international reconstruction program, which had not yet been agreed on. At the same time the Liberian Government dismissed the Acting Financial Adviser, and took a series of other acts which violated the 1926 agreement. Despite the protests of Firestone, the League Committee, and the State Department, Liberia failed to rescind these measures. The growing concern of the U.S. was indicated when in March 1933 the President sent Major General Blanton Winship as his Representative on Special Mission to Liberia.

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Despite the Liberia moratorium, the Finance Corporation proceeded to negotiate concerning revision of the 1926 agreement. It agreed to accept a permanent reduction in the interest rate from 7 to 5 per cent, and agreed that the current expenses of government and the cost of the assistance plan would have priority over the cost of servicing the Firestone loan which had priority under the 1926 agreement. The Corporation also agreed to renounce interest when Liberia's annual revenue amounted to less than $500,000 a year, and undertook for five years to guarantee the salaries of the foreign advisers when they could not be met out of current revenue -- and also a $150,000 loan as initial working capital. Firestone agreed to make these modifications in the 1926 loan contract on two conditions: first, that Liberia repeal its moratorium and other unilateral legislation which violated the 1926 loan agreement, and, second, that Liberia accept the League plan of assistance as strengthened.

In June 1933 the Liberia Committee accepted eight out of the twelve changes in the plan of assistance required by the Firestone interests as "sufficient guarantee". These strengthened the authority of the Chief Adviser over the provincial commissioners; and provided that a two-thirds majority rather than a unanimous vote of the League Council was to govern decisions of the League Council with respect to the application of the plan. Finally, the Council accepted the Firestone insistence that the Chief Adviser be an American.

In addition to recommending changes in the loan agreement of 1926, the League Committee of Experts criticized the vast extent of the Firestone rubber concessions. In its second report to the League Council, the Liberia Committee stated that in the opinion of certain of its members "the co-existence in Liberia of a weak State and a powerful foreign undertaking gives rise to disadvantages ..." The Committee recommended at that time that the size of the Firestone concession be reduced by negotiation, assisted by League experts, and the land rental increased from 6¢ to 50¢ an acre.

Nevertheless, in its final report the League Committee made no recommendations concerning the Plantation contract. Instead, a League expert, Mr. Ligthart, officially reported that:

> "I understand from the Firestone Plantations Company's representative that it is prepared to make the utmost possible allowance for the general interests of Liberia, and that it would be perfectly ready, in consideration of the well-being of the population, to take account of competent opinion. In particular, I understand that the Firestone Plantations Company, during the operation of the plan, will be glad to consult with the Chief Adviser and the Provincial Commissioners concerned in the selection of additional land."

And the Liberia Committee finally said that the question of permament modifications in these contracts was a matter of negotiation between the parties concerned.

League officials at the time had doubts about their reconstruction program. Its first weakness was lack of financial support. It saddled the Liberian Government with the salaries of outside officials but did not provide the country with the funds needed for its real development. Moreover, the League plan would not

have supplanted the American control over Liberian finance under the 1926 agreement, despite the provision that the Chief Adviser should arbitrate disputes between the Financial Adviser and the Liberian Government. It was doubtful whether the dual system of control would have worked.

Nevertheless, on November 19, 1933, the State Department issued a statement saying:

> "The American Government expects Liberia to accept the Plan of Assistance and will be pleased in this case to cooperate in its successful execution. Should the present administration at Monrovia reject this opportunity, such action could only be construed as opposition to reforms the urgent desirability of which has been apparent for over three years, and as indifference to the welfare of the million and a half native people of Liberia."

Meanwhile the Liberians followed the tactics they had pursued in 1920 and 1921. Although they accepted the first plan of assistance, they now charged that the revised plan was a violation of Liberia's constitution and sovereignty. Liberia rejected the new financial proposals outright. The League of Nations by this time had lost its patience. The League Council formally withdrew its offer of a plan of assistance in May 1934. Thus, the three-year effort of the League of Nations and the U.S. to put Liberia on its feet came to nought. Liberia had succeeded in playing off the League, the U.S. and Firestone against each other, and the Liberian governing class won.

Britain, however, continued to take the matter seriously. The British delegate to the League Council proposed that Liberia be expelled from the League; and the British Ambassador in Washington was instructed on May 29, 1934 to say to the American Government that even the threat of exclusion from the League would not be adequate to bring about real improvements in Liberia.

> "They are aware of the deep interest which the United States have always taken in the fortunes of this State, which, indeed, owes its foundation to American enterprise and philanthropy. On the material side, Liberia is rendered dependent upon the United States Government by the extent to which her financial machinery is already in American hands and organized in conformity with a contract entered into between the Liberian Government and an American corporation. His Majesty's Government cannot, therefore, doubt that the United

States Government have been as much perturbed as have they themselves by the course of recent events, and they would be grateful for an indication of the policy which the United States Government would in the circumstances recommend. His Majesty's Government are ready to co-operate to the utmost of their power in any well-considered measures which the United States Government may consider appropriate to the occasion." *

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* "Papers Concerning Affairs, in Liberia," Cmd. 4614, p. 52

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So far as the public knows, the State Department made no reply to this communication. It did send to Monrovia for a special investigation, Mr. Henry A McBride of the State Department who had been receiver of customs in 1918. (Mr. McBride subsequently negotiated the Defense Areas Agreement of 1942.)

Despite his rejection of the League plan, President Barclay realized that he could survive only if recognized by the U.S. Consequently, at the time of the withdrawal of the League proposal, the Liberian representative at Geneva made a declaration saying, "So definite...is the Liberian Government's determination to secure the advice of Specialists in its administration that it has decided to obtain them otherwise than under the plan of assistance..." In his annual message of October 1934, the President added that in pursuance of this declaration, "which the Government regards as an international engagement", a number of specialists had already been employed.

In August the President drew up a Three-Year plan for international Development, approved by the legislature in December. At the same time the Legislature authorized the President to negotiate a modification of the 1926 Loan Agreement.

Under the Three-Year plan the President engaged eight "emergency" specialists, mostly American; but these specialists lacked power and got into interminable difficulties with the Liberian Government officials. They did serve as international window-dressing. When the Three-Year plan expired in December 1937, their contracts were not renewed. The only foreign advisers who remain in Liberia are the American loan officials now reduced to three, and the military advisers.

Shortly after the adoption of the Three-Year plan, President Barclay came to terms with the Firestone interests. On January 1, 1935 the so-called Supplementary

Agreement No. 1 (supplementary to the 1926 loan agreement) was concluded between the Liberian Government on the one hand and the Finance Corporation of America and the National City Bank on the other. The preamble of this agreement referred to the Three-Year plan and to the pledge of Liberia to retain the services of competent foreign specialists, the majority being Americans. Applying ideas worked out by the League reconstruction plan, the agreement provided that Liberia need not pay current interest on the Firestone loan when annual revenue fell below $450,000 -- the so-called Basic Budget. This budget covered the salaries of the loan officials and advisers, in addition to ordinary administrative expenses. Interest on the 1926 bonds was reduced from 7 to 5 per cent, but only to December 31, 1942. Moreover, should government revenues rise above $450,000 the excess should be applied to pay current interest, but if not sufficient, the balance would be cancelled. Revenue above what was needed to pay the interest should apply to amortization and also to the liquidation of the floating debt -- which on December 31, 1934 stood at $650,000. Finally, the Liberian Government promised to issue bonds to the amount of $355,000 to clear up interest payments due as of January 1, 1935. At the end of three years (December 31, 1937) the provisions of the 1926 agreement would be automatically revived. The Supplementary Loan Agreement No. 1 would enter into effect only if the Liberian legislature repealed the moratorium of 1932 and other acts which violated the 1926 agreement. This the Liberian legislature proceeded to do.

Several months later (March 20, 1935) Liberia and the Firestone Plantations Company concluded Supplementary Plantation Agreement No. 1 (supplementary to the Plantations Agreement of 1926). This enlarged the tax exemptions granted Firestone. Liberians state that the value of these new tax exemptions is much greater than that of reducing the interest rate from 7 to 5 per cent. But this overlooks the fact that in return for such exemptions the Firestone interests returned to Liberia cancelled bonds of the value of $750,000. In addition the Firestone Plantations Company received the right to operate a radio communications and an

aerial transport system on its land, also the "exclusive right" to take up by mining the "mineral contents of the subsoil" under its leased land, subject to a royalty not exceeding 10 per cent.

Apparently satisfied that Liberia had met its obligation and enacted internal reforms, the United States recognized President Barclay in June, 1935. The British followed in December 1936. Liberia thus surmounted the gravest crisis in its history, escaping from foreign control.

No doubt heaving a sigh of relief, President Barclay declared in his Inaugural of January 6, 1936:

> "Liberia, and Liberians in the past few years, have had to pass through the crucible of both responsible and irresponsible criticism. This has thrown into high relief their real and fancied deficiencies. The severest self-analysis will not leave us unconvinced that some of that criticism was just. This experience will have been without benefit if it has not developed in us the courage to face realities. We should not, therefore, hesitate to shed that self-complacency with which we have been so strongly inhibited in the past, and secure that assistance and adopt competently recommended methods as will assure the strengthening of our National Institutions, the broadening of our social activities and the proper basing of our Nation's economic life."

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With the approaching expiration of Supplementary Loan Agreement No. 1, the parties concluded a second agreement November 10, 1937. Supplementary Loan Agreement No. II continued the interest reduction five more years, but was less generous than the first agreement in providing that when revenue fell below $475,000, the interest due should be paid in bonds, instead of being cancelled. Supplementary Loan Agreement No. III was concluded December 28, 1939, continuing existing provisions, and providing for a schedule of payments in the event that Liberian revenues should go above $525,000 (as they did during World War II). Moreover, it authorized the Firestone Company to pay its land rental and revenue tax direct to the National City Bank until such time as the Liberian loan had been discharged.

Meanwhile the Firestone Plantations Company secured new rights in Supplementary Agreement No. II of December 1939. Thus, the Company received the right to construction communications, including a "railway", outside the land leased

under the 1926 agreement. The lessee merely promised to "consult" the government in the matter of its "location". The Company was also granted the right to use government land not already devoted to some other "incompatible" use for rights-of-way not to exceed 80 feet in width, and for station-areas not to exceed five acres.

At the end of 1944 the parties "permanently amended" the loan agreement of 1926, replacing the supplementary contracts. This reduced the interest rate from 7 to 4 per cent until the beginning of 1950, and then fixed it at 5 per cent for the remainder of the loan. Although the loan continued as a first lien on customs, head money and rubber revenues, the contract provided that if the government receipts should be less than $565,000 a year, interest on the loan should be paid in bonds rather than cash.

The loan contract provides that the Liberian budget be divided into two parts: (1) the Basic Budget, amounting to $565,000, for operating expenses, plus current interest and amortization on the Finance Corporation loan amounting to $415,000 a year, or a total basic budget of $710,000. The second part of the government intake is called Excess Revenues. When government revenue equals a million dollars or more, the government may appropriate 90 per cent for the use of the Basic Budget -- i.e. for its ordinary operations. The remaining 10 per cent is earmarked as follows: $35,000 for arrears in amortization; an equal amount to the government's floating debt; $50,000 to public roads; $50,000 to a Reserve Fund. In the event that the floating debt is paid, one-third of the excess revenue shall be applied to the "extension of the educational and sanitation facilities of the Republic." Thus when Liberian revenue is as high as it now is -- $1,800,000 in 1944 -- the government has a substantial sum left for internal improvements.

In his annual message of 1938 President Barclay quoted the American Financial Adviser as follows:

> "The Republic of Liberia, notwithstanding its great and urgent need of funds for the advancement of progress and public improvements in the Republic; the need of construction of roads and bridges over which to transport its national products to market, requirements for administrative purposes, and additional safeguards of the public health and sanitation, has constantly maintained its credit both at

home and abroad. For the payment of its foreign and domestic obligations the Republic of Liberia contributes approximately twenty-five per cent of its income, and has consistently operated under a budget of appropriation not in excess of that proportion of the National Income allocated to its own purposes... Both foreign and domestic debts have been reduced in amounts which considering the income of the Government, have been large. The position of the Government of Liberia today in regard to its national credit is worthy of the highest admiration."

Mostly responsible for Liberia's good credit are the Firestone interests and the National City Bank, tacitly supported by the State Department.

Nevertheless, it is a striking fact that at a time when Liberia was virtually required to keep up its interest payments, if at a reduced rate, and to balance its budget, the State Department made no protest when Latin American governments went into complete default to American bondholders. On the contrary, the American Government through the Export-Import Bank actually extended to these countries new credits. In the case of Liberia, however, the State Department recognized President Barclay only after he had agreed to resume interest payments. The American concerns involved could not be blamed for taking advantage of this situation. What was lacking was a U.S. policy.

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In any case, in a period of history when the American Government was itself engaged in a colossal deficit financing, Liberia enjoys the distinction of having maintained a balanced budget since 1933. It is the only government in the world to pay in full its war debt to the U.S. Moreover, today all the arrears on the 1926 loan are paid off; the internal debt will be wiped out in two years; and the foreign debt as a whole will be extinguished as originally planned by 1966.

4. Recent Economic Development

Apparently to offset Firestone influence, and to quicken the development of the country, President Barclay tried to induce European interests to enter the country. Thus, in 1931 the government granted a concession to a Danish-Liberian syndicate to build a pier in Monrovia, and granting it a 99-year right to build a motor-truck road from Monrovia to the Franco-Liberian boundary. The

government agreed to set aside 75 per cent of the harbor dues to pay for the port; and authorized the Syndicate to collect a charge on the traffic passing over the road. The government leased up to 40,000 acres of land at 50¢ an acre to the Syndicate, agreeing that no traders could trade within a mile of the trading stations erected by the Syndicate. In return for these rights and certain tax exemptions, the Syndicate agreed that the Liberian Government could "participate financially in the different undertakings for an amount of 25 per cent of the value, which is to be fixed by a mutual understanding between the Syndicate and the Government." In the British House of Commons the question was raised whether this concession was not a monopoly which would make British commerce in certain areas of Liberia illegal. Whether or not because of pressure from British or American sources, this concession was not put into effect.*

* Cf. Azikiwe, Liberia in World Politics, p. 344

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A new effort to enlist non-American capital was made in August 1937 when the Liberian Government approved a mining agreement with the Noord Europeesche Erts En Pyriet Mattschappy, giving it a concession to prospect and develop the Bomi Hill iron fields, and obliging it to construct at its own expense a harbor either at Monrovia or Cape Mount. Ships belonging to the Company would be exempt from harbor dues during the life of the agreement. NEEP would pay a tonnage royalty of 4¢ a ton of iron ore, if the price did not exceed $3, rising proportionately thereafter.* Later it was discovered that Nazi capital was back of the Dutch

* Acts of the Republic of Liberia, 1937, pp. 42. This prints only the legislature's amendments to the mining concession, not the full text. For the repeal of, Ibid, 1938, p. 9

concern; and no doubt because of American pressure the concession was cancelled the following year without arousing any protest from the Netherlands Government. Thus, a further effort of Liberia to secure the construction of a port came to an end.

By 1933 Liberia showed signs of recovery. In 1934 imports increased to $1,233, 148 from the low point of $858,741 in 1931. In the same period, however, exports fell from $679,885 to $555,656. This fall was due largely to declining prices, palm kernels dropping from £15 a ton to £5 in 1933; coffee from £38 to £14. Resenting these prices, Liberian producers in Grand Bassa boycotted the merchants until some price increases were made.

World War II did not disturb Liberia nearly as much as World War I. The disruption of European shipping and the British navicert system did cause a decline in relatively non-essential exports, coffee and palm oil each falling off about 100 per cent. Nevertheless, trade as a whole boomed, rubber constituting 92 per cent of the exports, gold coming second with 4 per cent. Imports declined from $2.2 million in 1937-1938 to $1.8 million in 1941 because of the shipping shortage. But exports shot up, rising from $1.9 million 1937-38 to $3.9 million in 1941. By 1944 exports rose to $10,139,000 while imports remained about the same. During the last several years Liberia has converted a passive into an active balance of trade.

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As the result of World War II, Liberia has increased its dependence upon the U.S. with respect to its foreign trade. In 1941 the U.S. took $7,922,000 out of $9,282,000 of Liberia's exports, and provided nearly all its imports. Moreover, in 1941 government revenue was nearly twice that of 1934. In 1942 it hit the million dollar mark, despite the disruption of non-essential exports. Liberia has escaped the grave financial difficulties encountered in World War I and again in 1932.

This economic prosperity has been largely due to the wartime activities of the Firestone Plantations Company, and to a lesser extent to those of the Pan American Airways and to the expenditures of the American military forces in Liberia.

The Firestone Operation

The Firestone Plantations Company represents the one concrete evidence of economic progress in Liberia since 1926. Its operations to date have proved more modest than at first contemplated. Instead of actually leasing a million acres of land, the company has taken up less than 200,000 acres, of which 80,000 are under cultivation. Instead of employing 300,000 native workers, as the Firestone publications first predicted, it employs about 30,000 -- the actual force at work every day being about 26,000. Instead of producing 500,000 tons of rubber a year, it produced last year about 17,000 tons. Instead of investing $200 million in Liberia, it has invested about $15 million. Even so, this is the largest rubber operation in the world.

It takes about five years for a rubber tree to come into bearing; and it is understood that the Firestone Company is now tapping over 50,000 out of its 80,000 acres under cultivation. In fact the company today follows a policy of drastic tapping, i.e., of prematurely tapping the trees for the sake of the war effort, even though the plantation is thereby injured. Liberian rubber has been of first-class importance to the American war effort. Except for Ceylon, Liberia is the only source of plantation rubber under United Nations control. It is understood that regardless of the rise of synthetic rubber, the Firestone operations will be maintained in Liberia after the war -- in fact these operations have been extended at the rate of about a thousand acres a year. All the Liberian rubber exported is consumed by the Firestone plant at Akron; Liberia providing only about one-quarter of its needs.

The Firestone Company has done something to encourage independent rubber production in Liberia. Thus, it provides free rubber seeds to independent growers and what is more important, high-yielding clones, or buds, as well as trained men to open up plantations. About a hundred Americo-Liberians, such as ex-president King and Mr. James L. Cooper, and a few natives, have started plantations totalling about 2500 acres. In 1943 the independent producers exported about 500 tons.

The Firestone Company has the reputation of treating its workers well. The current African wage of 9 pence a day is paid, but in addition incentive bonuses are given for increased output. A company store sells food to the natives at the 1941 price level. This in fact amounts to a subsidy because rice is sold at 3¢ a pound although its present imported price is 10¢. The amount of credit extended to natives at the company store is strictly limited so the worker cannot get hopelessly into debt. Work on the rubber plantations is pretty continuous throughout the year, but the workday is over by early afternoon. If the workers wish they can then till their own gardens, land being provided for the purpose. Native workers are housed in villages made up of houses provided by the Company, the natives preferring a native-type house made of frame construction with an earth plaster wall and a thatch roof. At each village is a dispensary, attended by a dresser trained at the hospital. The Division Superintendent, a white man, maintains a rigid inspection of water supply and other sanitation facilities. The Company provides recreational facilities, including two club houses, for Liberian employees. Firestone already has experienced labor shortages, and suffers from labor turnover. It has not succeeded in inducing many natives to bring their families to live permanently in the Company villages, as has Union Minière in the Congo, partly because of native attachment to native chiefs (and their women) and to tribal lands.

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The Firestone Plantations Company has built two hospitals at a cost of $100,000, staffed by five American physicians. Its annual medical budget is about $200,000 a year. It has put into effect a compensation system for injured employees. It also operates a pre-natal clinic and a program of child care. The Company maintains a school for training nurses from which fifty Liberian nurses have graduated, eight with graduate diplomas. It also has a school for mechanics which has turned out 200 mechanics, 400 carpenters, 200 bricklayers, and 20 electricians.

At present Firestone is operating a hydro-electric generating plant which can produce 1500 K.W.H. of power, with Liberian employees trained by its engineering staff. It has carried on a broad research program in establishing a variety of

food and other crops in its experimental gardens -- pioneering in the growth of wet rice and high-grade tobacco.

The Firestone Company contributed $20,000 to the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine which sent a research expedition to Liberia, publishing two volumes in 1930 called "The African Republic of Liberia and the Belgian Congo." The Firestone Company made contributions also for an anthropological survey, for a study of the tropical timber of Liberia and for the publication of a grammar of a leading Liberian native language -- Kpelle. It contributes to the budget of the Booker T. Washington Institute. The Firestone Company has established a public radio service; has expended $275,000 on 125 miles of road within the plantation; and contributed $65,000 to the improvement of government roads. It has also organized and supported a sleeping-sickness mission.

Nevertheless, numberous criticisms of the Firestone operations are made by Liberians and others. Thus, it is alleged that about 125 Americans monopolize all managerial and scientific positions, and that no Americo-Liberians or American Negroes are employed in such a capacity. A former Firestone employee declares that natives have been dispossessed of their land and traditional rice fields disrupted when rubber land was staked out.*

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* Arthur I. Hayman and Harold Preece, Lighting Up Liberia, p. 76

Liberians declare, moreover, that the Firestone Company is the only source through which the natives can market and process their own rubber. They assert that Firestone abuses its monopoly position to pay native producers less than the market price. They also charge that the plan of the Barclay government to collect wild rubber in wartime from the natives independently of Firestone failed because of the Firestone fear that such trade would weaken its rubber monopoly.

They also contend that the Firestone contribution to Liberia's revenue is unduly small By virtue of its tax exemptions, the Plantations Company pays no

corporate income tax and no Firestone employee is subject to an income levy. The Firestone taxes are limited to 1 per cent of value (N.Y.) of rubber exported, and to 6¢ a year on the land actually taken up. In 1938 President Barclay declared in his annual message that the Firestone taxes constituted less than 3 per cent of the government revenues. The Company disputes these figures, pointing out that it pays several hundred thousand dollars duty on imported goods sold at the Company stores, and that its total tax contribution constitutes about a third of the government revenues.*

* In 1943-44 the Company paid to the Liberian treasury a total of $435,037, of which the chief item was about $275,000 customs duties paid by the Firestone Trading Company on goods sold at the company stores; being followed by $94,179 paid out as a tax on rubber exports. The land rentals amounted only to $12,128 because such rentals had been paid up in advance on 110,000 acres for 99 years, because the Liberian Government badly needed current revenue. The Company also pays the hut tax due by all native workers on the plantation, which last year amounted to $12,170.

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From this distance it is difficult to determine whether there is any basis for these criticisms. Given the general backwardness of the country, and the weakness and the inferiority complex of the governing class, any successful foreign corporation would be subject to criticism, no matter how enlightened its social policy may be.

Inquiry, moreover, shows that the charges that Firestone is abusing its rubber "monopoly" are unfounded. The price of rubber in wartime is fixed not by Firestone but by the U.S. Rubber Development Corporation in agreement with Britain. The price paid is 23½¢ a pound (it is believed that 15¢ rubber yields a profit), and the Development Corporation pays the native producers exactly the same price as it does Firestone. It is true that the Rubber Development Corporation originally made an agreement with the Liberian Government with respect to collecting wild rubber. But President Barclay insisted that agents of the Corporation refrain from dealing with the natives direct but, rather employ the services of a government agency called the Libero-American Corporation -- similar to the old Government Employment Bureau. Although President Barclay said the plan should yield 500 tons

of wild rubber a year, in fact it yielded only 8 tons! The reason was the Liberian Government agents paid the natives in worthless script, while pocketing the hard cash paid by the Development Corporation for the rubber collected. With the failure of the first wild-rubber program, the Rubber Development Corporation induced the Liberian Government and Firestone to make a new agreement, April 20, 1944, providing that Firestone should be the agent for the wild-rubber program with the right to employ 30 Liberian assistants at rubber stations established for the purpose. Assured of honest payment, the native has an incentive now to collect wild rubber, and it is believed the new program will yield about 200 tons a year.*

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* These facts about wartime Liberian rubber should not be published without first checking with Mr. V. O. Goodell of the Rubber Development Corp., HOLC Bldg., 101 Indian Ave., Washington, D. C.

The procurement officers of FEA experienced similar difficulties with a palm oil program in Liberia. Partly because of the questionable character of the Americans who organized an Americo-Liberian corporation, partly because of lack of cooperation from the Liberian Government, the palm oil program proved a failure.

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The real criticism which can be directed against the Firestone enterprise is its vast potential size -- namely of a million acres of land, and the political influence it exercises through the 1926 loan agreement. Should the Firestone Company proceed to develop a million acres of land (instead of 80,000), and should it open mines and build railroads as it is entitled to, what is now a potential monopoly would be converted into a real one with injurious results to the country. In the first place, an acute labor shortage would certainly develop to the disadvantage of the native producers and other foreign concerns. Competition for labor might then arise which could lead to some form of compulsion and to the disorganization of native life. Secondly, the full use of the Firestone rights would work against the growth of a class of native producers, which is essential to the economic and political independence of the country. The future of Liberia should not depend upon foreign corporations employing native wage earners; there will be a place for a number of such corporations who, by example and technical

assistance, stimulate native production. But primarily the future of Liberia depends upon the growth of an independent native middle-class.

Finally, the development of such a huge concession, virtually taking up the best land, would make it difficult for other foreign companies to enter Liberia. Now the U.S. Government has taken a strong position on behalf of the Open Door, particularly in China and the Middle East. On August 18, 1943, Mr. Henry S. Villard (now chief of the African Division of the State Department) declared at Chautaqua that the United States had "no desire to carve out for its exclusive benefit any portion of Africa... Our traditional policy of the 'Open Door', if applied uniformly to all colonial areas, is one which we confidently expect will aid in removing sources of economic conflict..." In view of such a policy, it should be to the interest of the U.S. to see that the Open Door is applied with scrupulous care to Liberia, our "next friend". It is difficult to argue that Firestone's potential hold on Liberia conforms to the Open Door policy.

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Given the absence of a responsible U.S. governmental policy, Mr. Firestone possibly was right in risking a large scale investment in Liberia only on very generous terms. Assuming that the U.S. will now adopt a more responsible policy toward that country, the Firestone Company no doubt would be willing to revise its concession, as indeed it informed the League of Nations Committee. If the U.S. Government decides to assume real responsibility toward this country, the Firestone Company should be requested to revise its rubber concession limiting its holdings say to 200,000 acres instead of a million acres, and possibly increasing the land rental from 6¢ to 50¢ an acre, as the League experts proposed.* Likewise the 1926

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*In 1906 the government of British Malaya gave to Sir Frank Swettenham land for rubber cultivation in perpetuity at thirty cents of a Strait dollar quit rent annually per acre --somewhat less than the present rate paid by Firestone in Liberia. The Firestone Company believes its present rental of 6¢ is adequate since the price of land in the interior on the rivers is valued only at 50¢ an acre by Liberian law. (Revised Statutes of the Republic of Liberia, Vol. II, Sec. 1285, Par. 4) The question is however whether the land is not under-valued. The Liberian legislature can increase the valuation when it wishes. The Liberian Rubber Syndicate was rented rubber land at 6¢ an acre. But that was before World War I. Since then the world has made progress in its sense of the treatment to be accorded undeveloped countries.

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loan agreement should be replaced by an inter-governmental arrangement discussed latter.

Upon returning home last September, Mr. Lester A. Walton, American Minister to Liberia, declared, "Liberia is on the threshold of the greatest economic development in his history." * The American Financial Adviser in his report of 1942

* New York Times, September 24, 1944

does not share this optimism. On the contrary, he expresses apprehension about Liberia's postwar economic future. He pointed out that before the outbreak of war Liberia was beginning to lose its export markets (apart from gold) because of poor quality and poor marketing methods. Liberia had flourished because of the war boom, but at the end of the war there was danger that the Liberian economy would fall flat. He intimated that the country should increase the local production of food. Despite the law prohibiting imports of rice except in case of emergency, and the adoption of a protective tariff in 1935, the country still imported rice and other products which could easily be produced at home. In this category he mentioned fruits, vegetables, cotton, cooking fats, soap, sugar, lumber, furniture and clothing.

The postwar economic welfare of Liberia depends upon whether new resources of wealth are developed. Meanwhile a foundation has been created for such developments which did not exist before World War I, namely, the Firestone operations and the construction of a modern port by the U.S. Government. The question is whether the new policy of the U.S., indicated not only by this port but also by the dispatch of the economic and public health commissions to Liberia, is adequate to meet Liberia's future needs.

5. The Need for a New Program

America cannot escape perhaps the major share of responsibility for the difficulties which Liberia has experienced. For the first twenty-seven years of the history of this Republic, the American Government cooperated with philanthropic

societies in getting Liberia started. Then America left it in the lurch -- except for philanthropic handouts, mostly misspent, and periodic hands-off warnings to foreign powers, coupled with demands that Liberia reform itself.

Liberia tried to get on its feet with the aid of foreign loans in 1870, 1906, 1912, and 1926. All these loans proved unproductive for they went to pay off previous obligations to the benefit of native and foreign speculators. Moreover in 1912 Liberia found itself saddled with a foreign receivership consisting of foreign officials coming from four different states. During World War I the Wilson administration attempted to take advantage of its war powers to get rid of the international receivership of 1912 and establish a virtual American protectorate over Liberia. But somebody delayed too long; the war powers expired and the U.S. Senate said No.

A few years later Liberia, determined once more to enlist American support -- this time against French territorial demands -- made the Firestone contracts of 1926. The State Department hoped that a private corporation could now do for the country what the American Government in 1921 had tried to do, and what the British and French Governments were doing in adjoining colonies. The American Government agreed to designate American officials authorized by the 1926 contracts, and in certain cases to arbitrate disputes between Firestone and the Liberian Government. Nevertheless, the American Government insisted that the Firestone contracts were "a private affair." * The American Government thus disclaimed

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* Cf. letter of April 18, 1934 of J. F. MacVeagh to Secretary of State Simpson, Annual Message of the President of Liberia, 1934.

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any responsibility for the welfare of Liberia, placing the load on a private corporation which it could not be expected to bear. The American officials appointed under the 1926 agreement have lacked adequate power. Their chief success has been in collection of interest on the foreign debt.

In its relationship with Liberia the American Government is confronted with a so far unsolved dilemma. Liberia is an independent Republic, yet it is in

drastic need of outside aid which it hitherto has been unwilling to accept. The American Congress, and indeed the State Department, is committed to the principle of "non-intervention" in the affairs of other people. Having burned our fingers in the Haitian intervention of 1915, the United States has not confronted its responsibilities in Liberia but has tried to shove them on to a business corporation, just as before World War I the State Department made use of Wall Street banks to extend American influence both in the Orient and in Central America.*

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* Dollar diplomacy was "an attempt to force American cpital by diplomatic pressure into a region of the world where it would not go of its own accord." A. Whitney Griswold, The Far Eastern Policy of the U.S., 1938, p. 146. Mr. Firestone was more ready to go into Liberia than Wall Street was into China and Central America; but the net result remains the same.

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As the result of World War II, a new Liberian policy seems to be emerging, namely, through the construction of the Monrovia port and the dispatch of several governmental missions. Indeed, history seems to be repeating itself. For just as the administration attempted to make use of its war powers in 1918 to impose a postwar protectorate on Liberia, so today the administration is taking advantage of lend-lease to build and administer a port in Liberia, which in fact will be a naval base.

Several criticisms may be advanced against this new policy. First, it is doubtful whether the use of lend-lease for the construction of a postwar port is legal. The last section of the Lend-Lease Act of May 17, 1944 provided: "Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to authorize the President to assume or incur any obligations on the part of the United States with respect to post-war economic policy, post-war military policy or any post-war involving international relations except in accordance with established constitutional procedure." Certainly the construction of the Liberian port involves postwar "obligations" on the part of the U.S. -- an obligation which in fact commits us to the future defense of Liberia. But neither House of Congress has been consulted, let alone informed, about this

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development except for the publication of Executive Agreement 411. The Act of June 30, 1944 making lend-lease appropriations did not earmark any item for the Liberian port, and no mention of this Liberian development was made in the House hearings on the extension of the lend-lease act of March 1944. This is in contrast to the acquisition of the American naval base at Guantanamo which was authorized by Article 7 of the Act of March 2, 1901, preceding the Executive Agreements of February 16, 1903 and July 2, 1903.* It is in contrast also to

* Cf. Malloy, Treaties and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers, Vol. I, p. 358

the Act of June 30, 1944, in which Congress authorized the President to obtain postwar bases in the Philippines. Congress has passed no such act with respect to Liberia.

No doubt the administration will succeed in its new policy with respect to Liberia, in contrast to the failure of World War I, for the Liberian port will probably have been completed out of existing funds before Congress gets around to raising any questions. Nevertheless, to those who believe in the democratic control of foreign policy, the present situation represents part of the ominous trend toward Presidential dictatorship. The construction of the Liberian port should be approved either by a joint resolution of Congress or by treaty.

Existing legislation probably authorizes the sending of the economic and public health commissions to Liberia.* As far as the public knows, it is uncertain

* The Act of May 25, 1938 authorizes the President upon agreement with the government of Liberia (and the American Republics and the Philippines) to detail to it persons having special scientific and other technical knowledge. Moreover, Title III of the Appropriations Act of June 30, 1944 authorizes expenditure of lump sums for the travel expenses of employees of the FEA.

whether the Liberian Government has granted these commissions power merely to make investigations, or also to execute an economic and public health program.

Our new Liberia policy is not only of dubious legality but it represents piecemeal administration. About a half dozen government agencies in Washington have Liberian sections, each trying to work out its own policy toward this Republic. The people in charge of these sections are able and well-meaning. What is lacking is a top policy that considers the Liberian problem as a whole, rather than in segments. Certainly the activities of these various government agencies with respect to Liberia ought to be integrated through the African section of the State Department.

The final criticism to be directed against the new policy is that it does not go far enough. The only thing really tangible about it is that the U.S. will have a permanent strategic hold on Liberia after the war. Apart from the vague powers of the public health and economic commissions, there is nothing as yet to indicate that the U.S. will make any thorough contribution to the solution of Liberia's grave economic and political problems.

The only thing certain about the new policy is that with military forces permanently anchored in Monrovia to protect the port, the American Government will find it much more easy in the future than in the past to underwrite the existing Liberian oligarchy with all of its weaknesses.

As the result of this port development there is no likelihood that the U.S. now will wash its hands of Liberia and allow Britain or France to take it over. We are in Liberia to stay. Supposedly we will have a choice between the so-called "realistic" policy of merely protecting our strategic and rubber interests in the country, along with the governing oligarchy, and a policy of taking over the country either as an American protectorate or a mandate. But examination shows that neither course is desirable or possible. The problem is to find some alternative which, while protecting American interests, will really set Liberia on its feet without converting it into a colony.

Progress Elsewhere in Africa

The importance of finding such an alternative is fortified by the considerable social and political progress made in colonial Africa between the two wars. During this period many African colonies have enacted social legislation; created wage-fixing machinery; encouraged labor unions and native cooperatives; established a system of labor inspectors; and showed a real concern over native education, nutrition, and public health.*

* Social Policy in Dependent Territories, International Labour Office, Montreal, 1944; L. P. Mair, Welfare in the British Colonies. Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Moreover, the British Parliament has adopted a policy of frankly subsidizing colonial developments. The idea of a colonial subsidy is not new; between 1921 and 1943 the British tax-payer contributed £38,000,000 to pay colonial deficits.*

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* Sir Bernard H. Bourdillon, "Colonial Development and Welfare," International Affairs, July, 1944

But the British Parliament created in 1940 a colonial development fund to be used not to pay off government deficits but to secure positive development. In West Africa appropriations from this fund have been made to train teachers, including an African Agricultural Staff and a Veterinary Training School. Such funds have also been used to construct a pilot sawmill; survey the juvenile delinquency problem; and to establish an Institute of West African Arts, Industry, and Social Services.*

* Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940. Cmd. 6422;
Ibid. Return of Schemes made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act..to 31st March, 1943. Cmd. 6457.

In addition to this social progress, political developments of importance have taken place in British Africa within recent years. Recently an unofficial majority for the legislative council of Northern Rhodesia has been created (so far

nominated by the Governor). Three of the four new members are to represent the interests of Africans. Moreover, on the Gold Coast a new constitution has been promulgated which creates for the first time in Africa an elected majority. It is true that the Governor can override the decisions of such a council in the interest of "public order, public faith, or good government"; but certainly the Gold Coast constitution is an important step toward African self-government.*

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* Cf. The Economist, London. October 14, October 18, 1944

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Moreover, in October 1944 the British Government created a standing Central African Council having a permanent secretariat, with consultative powers to promote cooperation as between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland with respect to communications, health, and education. Direct African representation on this council is envisaged.

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Despite their struggle for self-preservation, the Free French have found time during World War II to consider far-reaching revisions in their African policy. Thus, in January 1944 a colonial conference convened at Brazzaville, attended by eighteen governors-general and governors, which drew up resolutions looking to the creation of a French colonial federation; the increase of native rights; and the recognition to a far greater extent than in the past of the importance of preserving and developing native institutions and traditions.*

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* For the English texts of the Brazzaville resolutions, cf. Free France, Special Issue No. 2

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The Rise of Negro Nationalism

Meanwhile, the Negro both in America and Africa is awakening. Particularly in British West Africa a Negro nationalist movement is beginning to emerge for the first time in history. Thus, the West African Students Union demands internal self-government for West Africa. Prince Orizu demands virtual independence for

Nigeria.* In Nigeria a trade-union congress has been formed which has invited

* A.A. Nwafor Orizu, Without Bitterness. Western Nations in Post-War Africa. 1944 p. 158

a group of American labor leaders to visit the colony.* No doubt it will be many

* Cf. New Africa, October 1944

before self-government in British West Africa is realized because of the lack of a common language, and the presence of an illiterate population split up into numerous tribal compartments.* Indeed, if self-government came too soon in British

* Cf. Julian Huxley, "What West Africa Needs", New Statesman and Nation, June 17,1944.

West Africa, the result might be merely to create new Liberia. Nevertheless, the Negro nationalists of West Africa already are critical of the Americo-Liberian dictatorship and its exploitation of the native tribes. A white defender of the Liberian tribes goes so far as to propose that Liberia surrender its independence to a West African federation which will insure to each tribe the right to develop its land and culture.* Certainly Africans themselves will advance such demands

* Hayman and Preece, Lighting Up Liberia, p. 242 ff.

sooner or later, if Liberia does not soon become more democratic.

Meanwhile in the present war African troops are fighting in the Middle East, Madagascar, Italian East Africa, Ceylon and Burma. The war has given new opportunities and experiences to these Africans. In the British East Africa Command there are about seventy-nine different classes of tribesmen. About 12,000 Africans from Kenya alone have learned to drive. The East Africa Army Education Corps has produced about 500 Africans trained as teachers, information officers, welfare workers, interpreters, and Swahali instructors. An Army newspaper is published in Swahali, called Askari, with a weekly circulation of 8,000.

"Tens of thousands of soldiers have advanced further under five years of war than would have been possible in two decades of peace." *

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* Russell Smallwood, "Native Military Development in East Africa." The Fortnightly, November 1944.

A few Liberian individuals (not units) are fighting also in Europe.

As the result of his war experience the African is going to make demands which he did not make before the war. Sooner or later African nationalism is going to affect Liberia. Undoubtedly such nationalism, while believing in the independence of Liberia, will oppose the existing dictatorship.

Finally, the American Negro is showing a new interest in world affairs -- particularly in the condition of Negroes outside the U.S. For example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has hitherto restricted its activities to the American Negro. But in 1944 the Association appointed a committee on the Negro in the peace conference. The American Negro is coming to realize that fascism abroad threatens to undermine Negro gains at home. But this does not mean that the American Negro will defend conditions in Liberia. On the contrary, he is becoming concerned lest the capacity of Negroes everywhere by judged by conditions in Liberia. Upon returning from a visit to that country a Negro writer, Mr. George Schuyler, declared that the U.S. should undertake "benevolent supervision" of its affairs. Another American Negro, Dr. George W. Brown wrote in 1941:

"The land of liberty definitely fails to justify the modest hopes of strong sympathetic western friends... Accusations of extortions, bribes, petty grafting, court and legal corruption, flagrant abuses against the persons and property of individuals by soldiers, or minor officials, mis-appropriation of funds and 'selling out the country' continue to revive among the unsavory charges made within and against the Republic." *

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* Dr. George W. Brown, The Economic History of Liberia, 1941.

A Negro writer in the Daily Worker of November 16, 1944, stresses the need for internal democratic reforms.

Certainly the old romantic idea about Liberia is no longer held by the American Negro. When President Barclay and President-Elect Tubman visited this country in June 1943, two leading American newspapers, the Afro-American and the Chicago Defender were quite critical of them as representatives of the Negro race.*

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Cf. The Afro-American of June 19, 1943 which criticized the appearance of President-elect Tubman, and which had a sub-title, "Salary $30,000; native wages 25 cents a day..." The Chicago Defender of June 5, 1943 said that President Barclay's 28-word speech to the U.S. Senate would long be remembered for "painful stupidity."

Cf. also E. E. Johnson, "The Liberian State Visit," The Crisis, October, 1943.

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The Americo-Liberian oligarchy cannot count on support from the American Negro. It is only a matter of time when the latter will demand that Liberia reform itself, or if this is not possible, that Liberia accept real American assistance. A few American Negroes now frankly believe that the U.S. should "take Liberia over."

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Surrounded by such developments in neighboring colonies, and by a rising tide of Negro Nationalism, Liberia continues to remain a stagnant pool. It can show no record of social progress, despite its "freedom". And its freedom is not real, for the aboriginal majority is not "free". It does not follow that the U.S. should annex Liberia. No doubt the colonial powers would welcome such a development; for the extermination of Liberia's independence would constitute a setback for all Negro movements elsewhere on the continent. Moreover, the racial chauvinists would hail such a development as proof of Negro incapacity everywhere, including the U.S.

The U.S. however cannot continue to close its eyes to conditions within Liberia. American opinion is vocal in demanding "colonial reforms" in every part of the world. It demands freedom for India and the extension of the international mandate system in Africa. Inevitably, if this keeps up, the British, French and other governments who bear colonial responsibilities will turn and askthe American people: "How can you continually criticize our policies when in

Liberia, which is your especial responsibility, the majority of the people is probably worse off than in any other part of Africa?" The U.S. cannot answer such a question merely by repeating the phrase "non-intervention" and "self-determination". In the present world Liberia's independence can be maintained only if it meets the responsibilities of independence.

6. A Liberian Rehabilitation Program

The problem of reconciling Liberian independence with an effective program of American assistance is difficult, as past history demonstrates. The old system of sending "advisers" to Liberia whose salaries are charged to the Liberian budget has not produced results, and should not be continued. The "advisers" do not have adequate power and their salaries impose an undue burden on the meager Liberian budget. Some new formula must be found.

Assuming for the moment that a new Liberian reconstruction plan should be American rather than international, it might take the following form:

1. Improved Diplomatic Representation. The U.S. should send an Ambassador (not a Minister) to Monrovia; and Liberia should send an Ambassador to Washington. In the past the diplomatic representative of the U.S. in Liberia usually has been an American Negro politician, and the result has not been satisfactory. There are able American Negroes who could serve as ambassador, but under the existing political system they are not likely to be appointed. The most that can be hoped for therefore is for the President of the U.S. to appoint a high-ranking naval officer as his Special Representative to Liberia -- an appointment justified by the new port and by the precedent of sending Vice Admiral Glassford to Dakar as Special Representative. This Special Representative should have full power to coordinate any assistance given the U.S. by Liberia and to see to it that Liberia carries out an agreed reconstruction program. The Special Representative should outrank the American Ambassador.

2. A twenty-year agreement creating four joint commissions. The U.S. and Liberia should conclude a twenty-year agreement, approved by our Senate or both

Houses, providing for a Liberian rehabilitation program. This agreement should authorize the construction of the Liberian port.

In the proposed agreement Liberia and the U.S. should also undertake to establish joint commissions dealing with economic questions, public health, education, and political affairs. Such commissions should be patterned after similar agencies established elsewhere during World War II, such as the Anglo-American Boards and Staff in Washington, the Middle East Supply Center, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, and the joint Americo-Liberian port authority created by the Port Agreement.

The proposed economic, public health and education commissions should have a minimum of three members each: a chairman appointed by the U.S. and two Liberians appointed by the Liberian Government. The member of the Liberian cabinet dealing with matters entrusted to the joint commission, such as the Secretary of the Treasury in the case of the Economic Commission, might well constitute one of the two Liberian members.

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The proposed treaty should provide that if a majority of each commission proposes a given recommendation, the Liberian Government should agree to carry it into effect. Each commission would render periodic reports to the President of Liberia and to the American Ambassador or Special Representative of the President of the U.S. The expense of each commission should be divided between the two governments. Instead of saddling the Liberian budget with the cost of the American member, his salary should be borne by the government of the U.S.

The Joint Economic Commission might well be an outgrowth of the Economic Commission just sent to Liberia by FEA -- except that Liberians would occupy a place of equality with Americans. This Commission could work out a plan for the reorganization of the accounting and tax systems of the government, including the administration of the customs. It should develop a program for native agriculture and cooperative marketing; it should make a survey of the native land and labor

questions; it should pass upon all applications for foreign concessions. It should make recommendations as to a revision of the Firestone agreements.

The Joint Public Health Commission likewise might be an outgrowth of the present Commission under Colonel West, continuing its present work. The Joint Education Commission might begin by working out recommendations for the better coordination of American missionary schools in Liberia. Generally these commissions would do well to study the educational and public health progress in the Southern States of the U.S. and also in adjoining colonies -- constantly bearing in mind that the problem of Liberia is not to improve a colony but to strengthen the foundations for independence.

The fourth and most important body would be the Joint Political Commission. Fully recognizing the sensibilities of the Americo-Liberian governing class with respect to questions affecting the political structure and the "sovereignty" of the country, the U.S. should firmly recognize that no real improvements can be made in Liberia without strengthening and purifying political power. Toward this end a joint political commission should be created, consisting of the President of Liberia as chairman, along with the American Ambassador and the Special Representative of the U.S. Other members should be possibly the Vice President of Liberia, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a representative of the tribes possibly chosen by a Tribal Council, and a member of the Opposition. This commission would thus have five Liberian members in contrast to two Americans.

The Liberian Government would not be expected to promise to carry out the recommendations of the majority of the Commission, as in the case of the three other joint bodies. But by means of such a joint commission, the American representatives could freely express their points of view without having to resort to diplomatic protest and negotiation. The type of question which any member of the Joint Political Commission could raise would be the question of fair elections, the repeal of the Sedition Law, and the need for an improved native policy. (The improper use

of government funds would fall under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Commission.) The success of this Commission would depend upon whether the Liberian governing class really desires to improve the country, even at the risk of its political prerogatives, and also upon the tact and strength of the American diplomatic representatives.

The Joint Commission program can succeed only if it has the support of American Negro opinion. Should the American Negroes attack the program as "imperialism", certainly opposition to the program would arise in Liberia and make it as unworkable as previous programs. American Negro opinion would be pleased if qualified American Negroes should be selected as American representatives on these Joint Commission, and where foreign specialists are needed. It is important however that the U.S. avoid the temptation send either White or Negro politicians to Liberia, lacking character or ability. Only the best representation from the U.S. can insure the success of such a program.

In theory these commissions would be limited to studying problems and making recommendations as to policy. Promising to accept the recommendations of the majority of each of the first three commissions, the Liberian Government would be responsible for the execution of the policy. Some such arrangement is necessary if the Liberian Government is to be strengthened -- not weakened -- by these new agencies. At the same time, the proper Liberian department could delegate certain specific tasks to the American members of these joint commissions and otherwise make use of their services in the execution of policy.

Skeptics no doubt will predict that this type of program will be no more successful than the American plan of 1921 or the League plan of 1932. They will point out that the joint commissions will not have enough authority to override the opposition of the Liberian Government, and that even though the government accepts the program at the beginning it will find means, as in the past, of escaping from its obligations.

While admitting the difficulties involved in reconciling Liberia's independence with foreign assistance, the proposed program would have certain

advantages over those hitherto tried. First, Liberians would be associated jointly with Americans on these commissions. They should learn to work together on a basis of equality, which has never been attempted before. Second, the cost of these commissions would not be an exclusive charge on the Liberian Government, nor their chief object to secure payment of the foreign debt. Thirdly, the diplomatic representative of the U.S. would have a position and powers hitherto lacking. The U.S. would maintain a diplomatic representative on the spot, of much greater prestige than our Ministers have hitherto enjoyed, with authority to coordinate the rehabilitation program. If this representative has intelligence, force and tact, and if he follows the program on a day-by-day basis, the chances are good that the Liberian Government will cooperate loyally. Moreover, the existence of the new port, together with the Firestone plantations and other possible foreign enterprises, inevitably will create a situation where the Liberian Government will have to take more seriously the recommendations of the joint commissions than if no such American interests were in the country. In any case the Special Representative should make it clear that if this plan fails, and if conditions in Liberia again deteriorate, some more drastic action will be demanded not only by American opinion, white and black, but also by Liberia's neighbors.

3. A U.S. Government Loan. Liberians are well-nigh unanimous in opposing new foreign loans from private sources, in view of the unproductive record of such loans in the past and of the profit made from refunding operations by speculators. Undoubtedly, however, they would look with different eyes on a U.S. Government loan. Such a loan would be necessary to refund the 1926 Firestone obligation so as to get rid of the existing loan officials whose work should be absorbed by the Joint Economic Commission. Such a refunding loan would not enrich speculators because Liberian bonds are not in default, and are held entirely in the hands of the Finance Corporation of America. Moreover, a U.S. Government loan would mean cheaper money for the Liberian budget. Any real rehabilitation program will require foreign capital.

Such capital could come from a U.S. Government loan of $5,000,000, which would refund the 1926 loan and yet make available more than $3,000,000 for productive purposes to be expended only in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Commissions. The cost to Liberia of a U.S. Government loan of $5,000,000 at 2 per cent, the present cost of Government money, would be less than the cost of the present $2,500,000 private loan at 5 per cent. If the American Congress is serious about the assumption of world responsibilities, it should authorize such a loan. For Liberia is our most immediate world responsibility, which hitherto we have neglected. The Firestone Company arranged its loan in 1926 only because the Government was unwilling to revive the 1921 plan. No doubt it would be glad to get rid of its present responsibilities if assured that the Government now had a real program.

4. A West African Regional Council. The final question is whether the rehabilitation of Liberia should be an exclusive Liberia-American effort or should take an international form, such as the League Plan of 1932. In view of the uncertain future of international organization, a program of Liberian rehabilitation cannot be entrusted to the United Nations, at least right away. Nor can this kind of help be expected from the Colonial Regional Councils now being discussed in England.

In an address to the British Parliament, July 13, 1943, Colonial Secretary Oliver Stanley suggested the creation of regional colonial commissions to develop close cooperation among adjacent colonies, providing permanent machinery for consultation and giving the dependent peoples, as well as governments having economic or strategic interests in the area, membership in the Commission. A West African Regional Commission would include all the territories from the tiny colony of Rio de Oro in the north (under Spain) to Portuguese Angola in the south. It would thus cover the three British West African colonies, French West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, and Liberia.* This kind of Commission, functioning under the

* Joseph M. Jones, "Half of One World", FORTUNE, October, 1941.

aegis of a world organization, could promote both political and social progress.*

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* Since 1942 the British colonies in West Africa have made regional progress through a resident Minister, originally Lord Swinton, who had authority to secure "the effective cooperation in the prosecution of the war of all services, civil and military, throughout West Africa." Once immediate war problems relating to supply, the Naval convoy for the South Atlantic, and other matters were solved, the Minister's office turned to postwar developments. Under the Minister is a Civil Members Committee consisting of the governors of the four British West African colonies and a small secretariat. Some opposition however has developed to continuing this regional organization on the ground that it is difficult for a governor to be responsible to a local Minister as well as to the Colonial Office in London. Cf. African Transcripts, No. L, p. 13; also "West African Regionalism", The Economist, December 9, 1944.

As proposed the regional commissions would have only advisory powers, each colonial government being left to apply the suggestions of the regional body. Nevertheless such bodies might grow to the point where they would become kind of a decentralized Mandate Commission but having more influence. The Mandate Commission was limited largely to the negative task of pointing out violation of existing obligations. The Regional Commission would have the positive task of making creative suggestions for development. It might propose boundary changes so as to reunite native tribes now arbitrarily separated by colonial boundary lines; thus the Mends and the Mando people are divided between Liberia and British Sierra Leone.

The proposed Regional Commission could also initiate the negotiation of regional conventions defining minimum social conditions, and giving the Regional Commission the power of inspection to see to it that the conventions are applied.*

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* At the Philadelphia I.L.O. Conference in May 1944 the member states adopted a recommendation concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. Liberia being a sovereign state, the recommendations do not apply to it as such; but the West African Commission (or the United States) could urge Liberia to apply the Recommendation by analogy. Liberia ratified the Forced Labor Convention, as part of the reforms made after the slavery expose of 1931; but it made only two annual reports required by the Convention.

Moreover such a Commission could bring about agreement as to the creation of common institutions. As Mr. Henry S. Villard said in his Chautauqua speech, "Africa may

require the establishment of an adequate tropical health institute sponsored by governments or by an international organization to prevent the transmission of disease and to help eradicate local sources of infection."

Valuable as a regional colonial commission might be, the danger is that it would be dominated by the colonial powers, particularly by the least progressive members. In the process of integrating colonies in the same vicinity, the Commission might become an instrument for retarding the African demand for self-government. This danger would be reduced if the General Assembly of the new United Nations organization could elect say two members coming from non-colonial powers to this and other regional bodies, and if adequate Negro membership is assured.

Nevertheless if is doubtful whether Liberia would welcome real assistance from a West African Regional Commission, or whether its participation would be welcomed by the colonial powers. Regarding America as its mother country, Liberia would probably prefer to get assistance from Washington than from a body dominated by colonial powers, just as the Gold Coast or Nigeria would prefer to rely on Great Britain than to transfer their dependence to an international body. For a time at least Liberia would be less suspicious of the motives of the United States than a colonially-minded Regional Commission. For their part, the colonial governments, and also native nationalist groups in West Africa, might resent the inclusion of Liberia in a West African regional colonial commission on the ground that Liberia could pass judgment upon conditions in their colonies without having first put its own house in order.

For such reasons it would appear that if the rehabilitation of Liberia is to take place, aid must come direct from the United States in contrast to any regional or international authority. Liberia and the U.S. might submit an annual report to the Commission as to the progress of the Liberia rehabilitation program.

If the United Nations concept has any chance of survival after this war, the U. S. ought to agree also to open its "military facilities" in Liberia to the

forces of any member of the United Nations. By some such means the exclusive position of the U.S. with respect to Liberia might be made responsible to international authority.

The Liberian Centenary comes in 1947. Already the Monrovia government has appointed a Centennial Commission, which is working out an elaborate and expensive program. Now there are two ways of celebrating this Centenary. One is merely by eulogizing the Liberian Government and people -- and they deserve certain eulogies because of the Fact of Survival. But eulogies as such will merely cover up deep-seated maladjustments. They must be accompanied by a real rehabilitation program. If the second century of Liberian independence is to be more promising than the first, there is not much time to lose in getting such a program under way.

(END)

[TIME]

DUMBARTON OAKS AND SAN FRANCISCO

An analysis of the Proposals together with suggestions for improvements to be made in the drafting of the Charter of a World Security Organization.

28-21

This report was written by the undersigned as part of the continuing wartime study of international problems made by the editors of TIME, LIFE, and FORTUNE

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WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE

If the world organization analyzed on the following pages of this pamphlet comes into being, it will be the work of many men and of many minds. It will also be the peculiar result of the last few tremendous years in which America has emerged if not as the leader at least as the greatest single power of a coalition of nations large and small.

The American architect of that coalition is now dead. Whatever his mistakes, his achievement towers immense. It fell to Mr. Roosevelt long before the U.S. was at war to lead his country into two momentous decisions. One was to stand at all costs for the preservation of Britain and to reassert America's traditional interest in Anglo-American hegemony in the Atlantic. The other was to stand with Russia, whose defection from the Western world in and after World War I played its part in bringing on World War II.

By reason of those decisions the United Nations came into being almost on the instant of America's active entrance into the war. From that time forward Mr. Roosevelt never let up in his attempt to hold the basic coalition together. The exhausting conferences of Washington, Casablanca, Cairo, Tehran, Quebec, and Yalta were milestones along the way. The day before his death Mr. Roosevelt was preparing his itinerary for San Francisco. He died on duty.

The fact that the present proposal for a world organization grows out of a coalition of powers, and particularly out of the coalition of three powers, explains both its strength and its weaknesses. This is no time to underrate the weaknesses. Even less is it a time to underrate its potential strength. Rather it is a time to attempt to build better. Mr. Roosevelt would be the last to believe that everything has been accomplished. For him as for the American destiny, ". . . what's past is prologue, what to come, in yours and my discharge."

DUMBARTON OAKS AND SAN FRANCISCO

Dumbarton Oaks is not good enough and never was: San Francisco can and should do better.

I AN AMERICAN PREFACE TO THE POLITICS OF WAR AND PEACE

The American people are in favor of joining a world organization to keep the peace. So are we, the authors of this pamphlet.

The American people are also in favor of maintaining, for many years, a naval and military establishment at least as powerful as that of any other nation. This proposition is not usually mentioned by those who speak or write on behalf of a world security organization. We mention it, at the very beginning, because we believe that only if these two propositions are put together is it possible to talk sensibly and honestly about the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

One of the things we learn from putting the two propositions together is that the American people do not rely on the world organization to keep the peace in the foreseeable future. A simple recognition of this example of popular good sense eliminates at one stroke most of the hypocrisy and well-meaning blab that has given an odor of staleness to much internationalist propaganda in our time.

But these two propositions taken together tell us something else. They tell us that the American people do not choose to maintain their own peace (let alone the peace of the world) by force of arms alone. Thus those who prate only of "two ships for one" and sneer at international organization are the most unrealistic of all, for they reckon without their fellow countrymen: the American people cannot be counted on to follow the grim path of armed isolationism to military glory and political disaster.

We learn yet a third thing by putting these two propositions together—the will to have a world organization and the will to have the mightiest armament. We learn that these two are not enough. They cannot be synthesized into a coherent whole. Something is missing. That something is an American foreign policy—a clear articulation of foreign policy *within* the government of the U.S. and *between* the government of the U.S. *and* the people.

Granted a clear development of U.S. foreign policy, then both our position in the world organization *and* our armed might may be used harmoniously toward common or parallel ends.

This pamphlet does not attempt to outline a correct American foreign policy either in principle or in application. It deals only with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. But unless commentators on Dumbarton Oaks disclose their general position on American foreign policy, their remarks are either hypocritical or meaningless. A few words therefore are necessary to indicate the notions and convictions of the authors of this pamphlet on the subject of America's future foreign policy.

A foreign policy is obviously not something to be picked out of the air or dreamed up in ivory towers. The elements of a nation's foreign policy lie in its geography, in its state of political and social development, in its history, and in its ideals. At various times the people and their leaders are in varying degrees successful in fashioning out of these elements successful and admirable policies.

In the course of decades or even centuries, a nation develops only a very few basic policies. In times past the American people and their government have been successful in developing policies appropriate to their situation and their aims. The three most important policies of the past were: (1) "no entangling alliances"; (2) the Monroe Doctrine; and (3) the Open Door.

What is now required, in view of the present condition of the world and in view of America's extraordinary position in it, is that the U.S. should develop a general *positive* policy toward the whole world, which would give a measure of coherence and reliability to our day-to-day and year-to-year activity.

For our part we do not hesitate to state what we believe must necessarily be the cardinal aspect of American foreign policy. The cardinal aspect of American policy toward the whole world should be a *policy favoring political freedom*—of men and of nations.

We assume that Americans will be determined to maintain their own political freedom. But the threat to freedom is worldwide and never-ending. Therefore, as a practical matter, if it is proposed to keep the U.S. at peace, it is necessary to have a world environment which will be friendly and not hostile to the existence and development of American freedom. This does not mean that the U.S. intends to impose its concepts of democracy and culture on other peoples. It does mean that we shall want to strengthen freedom at home; it does mean that it is most desirable and necessary for the U.S. to cooperate courageously and generously with other peoples who seek in varying conditions freedom under law.

As regards our own physical security, the threat to it lies in any aggressive attempt (such as has been made by Germany and Japan) to dominate Europe or Asia. A policy favoring the political freedom of men and nations is a policy automatically opposed to the domination of one nation by another.

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II A VERY SHORT HISTORY OF A VERY WORDY BUSINESS

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are the direct outgrowth of a deep yearning by the American people for some sort of world organization to keep the next peace. The smoke of the attack on Pearl Harbor had barely blown away before the State Department, through its Division of Political Studies, began to collect blueprint material on new peace machinery. By September, 1943, the popular desire to organize the peace in some way was notably reflected by the Republican Postwar Advisory Council, which, meeting at Mackinac Island, Michigan, called for "responsible participation by the United States in a postwar cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world." Two weeks later the House of Representatives adopted (360 to 29) the Fulbright Resolution along the same general lines.

The world-organization idea was advanced another major step the following month when Secretary Hull flew to Moscow and met with Foreign Ministers Molotov and Eden. The U.S. Senate quickly swung into step by adopting (85 to 5) the Connally Resolution endorsing the sentiments of the Moscow Declaration on peace machinery.

Such were the diplomatic and political preliminaries to Secretary Hull's invitation (May 30, 1944) to Britain, Russia, and China to meet in Washington for specific discussion of a specific world organization. The meetings, which began August 21, were held at Dumbarton Oaks, a beautiful colonial estate in Georgetown that had belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, who had given it to Harvard University. From it the forthcoming Proposals took their name. Because Russia was not at war with Japan, the conference had to be held in two sections: the U.S., Britain, and Russia for the first thirty-nine days; the U.S., Britain, and China for the last nine days. Though the press was rigorously excluded from the conference, Russia's successful standout for absolute veto power over the Organization's actions made frequent headlines. The sessions over, President Roosevelt declared that a "90 per cent agreement had been reached," and Secretary Hull, in publishing the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, invited "full study and discussion [of them] by the people of all countries."

Meanwhile a presidential campaign was going full blast in the U.S. But both Democrats and Republicans at their national conventions had adopted platform planks favoring U.S. participation in a world organization and both candidates stood firmly on these planks. The Proposals therefore came through the campaign with full bipartisan support.

The whole electorate, in fact, had at first accepted the Proposals with uncritical enthusiasm. But as they were scrutinized in more detail, doubts began to arise. A meeting of Roman Catholic bishops in November approved the principle of world organization but warned against "imperialistic domination by a few powerful nations." Later the Federal Council of Churches accepted the Proposals as "an important step" but urged nine amendments, largely in behalf of the smaller nations and of colonial peoples. In answer to Secretary Hull's invitation to discussion, a score of nations criticized the Proposals and suggested amendments and changes. The world attitude was approaching the "yes, but—" stage, leaving Russia as the only power to back the Proposals as they stood.

The next act in the great world drama came at the Big Three meeting at Yalta. The final communiqué announced a United Nations meeting at San Francisco on April 25 to prepare a Charter for a general international Organization "along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks"—i.e., to turn the Proposals into reality. (It was reported that when Roosevelt proposed the conference as a follow-up discussion to Dumbarton Oaks, Stalin asked: "What is there to discuss?") The communiqué also said the Big Three had reached an agreement on voting procedure. Only nations that had declared war on the Axis by March 1 were to be asked to San Francisco. In an unseemly scramble no less than nine states tossed themselves into the war before the deadline, bringing to forty-six the number of states entitled to sit down in San Francisco.

Meanwhile the State Department had been conducting an unprecedented publicity campaign to take the public into its confidence on the San Francisco meeting. Over and over the statement was made that in the Assembly of the new Organization each nation would enjoy sovereign equality, with one vote. Suddenly the New York *Herald Tribune*, in a notable scoop, smoked out the fact, later confirmed by the White House, that at Yalta a secret agreement had been made accepting Stalin's demand for admission of the White Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics to the Organization, giving him three votes in the Assembly. Roosevelt had agreed to the Russian demand—provided the U.S. also got three votes.

Consternation at this disclosure engulfed Washington. In the consequent critical uproar—more over the method than over the deal itself—President Roosevelt hastily retracted the U.S. demand for extra Assembly seats. When Russia proposed that the Warsaw (Lublin) government of Poland be asked to San Francisco, both Britain and the U.S. were ready with an emphatic no.

In six months since their publication, U.S. opinion on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals had undergone a change. The disagreements, compromises, and deals thus far revealed were, perhaps, a good thing because they tended to focus national attention more sharply and discriminatingly upon just what was to be done at San Francisco.

III THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS: WHAT THEY ARE

The Proposals drafted at Dumbarton Oaks and filled in at Yalta deal primarily with the structure of a world security Organization. The final Charter of this Organization is to be worked out at San Francisco. According to the proposals the Organization will have four "principal organs": (1) General Assembly; (2) Security Council; (3) International Court of

Justice; (4) Secretariat. A fifth, the Economic and Social Council, may turn out to be another "principal organ" (but the Proposals treat it as a "subsidiary agency").

The General Assembly, presumably out of deference to world opinion, is given top billing although it is definitely second in power and importance to the Security Council.

As projected at Dumbarton Oaks, the Assembly is to be not a world legislature but an international forum. Every member of the Organization is to be automatically a member of the Assembly, free to "discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" and "to make recommendations" on such matters, including the "principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments . . ." But if the Assembly wants action taken, it must appeal to the Security Council. The General Assembly cannot on its own initiative make recommendations on any such matter if it is already being dealt with by the Security Council.

The Assembly can admit new members to the Organization, suspend or expel an offending member, and elect the important Secretary-General, the chief administrative officer of the Organization. But all of these actions require the "recommendation of the Security Council." This means that the Assembly can accept or reject the views of the Council on such matters, but cannot make proposals of its own. In four other respects, however, the Assembly stands on its own feet: it approves the budgets of the Organization; elects the six nonpermanent members of the Council and the eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council; supervises subsidiary social and economic agencies; and makes recommendations as to cooperation in "political, economic and social fields"—without interference from the Security Council. All "important" decisions of the Assembly are taken by two-thirds vote—an advance over League procedure, which required unanimity (except for parties to a dispute). Routine decisions are taken by a simple majority. In the Assembly each state has one vote, subject to possible changes caused by the Russian demand for three votes.

The Security Council has eleven members. Five of them—the U.S., Russia, Britain, France, and China—have permanent seats. The other six memberships are elective and temporary.

In the first Council, three of the elective members will be chosen by the Assembly for one-year terms, three for two-year terms. Afterward, all the elective terms will run two years, three of the six expiring each year. No elected member can have two terms in succession, but a former member can be elected two years after its last term expired.

The drafters of Dumbarton Oaks frankly proposed that the Council, rather than the Assembly, should have "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." The Council may (not must) "investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction . . ."; but all members promise to seek a solution to disputes through negotiation, mediation, judicial settlement, or "other peaceful means." The main job of the Council is to press the parties to settle disputes by themselves. Only in the event of failure does the Security Council swing into action. In such a case it has the power to "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment." It is not clear from the language used in Article VIII whether the Council can merely suggest to the parties a *method* of settlement or whether it can actually suggest terms. The Council, however, cannot investigate any situation or dispute "arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned." In other words, should some future Hitler contend that his mistreatment of the Jews is a "domestic" question, the Council apparently could not act.

If all efforts at peaceful solution fail, the Council can rule that a threat to peace has arisen and proceed to "take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security . . ." It may order any form of action, whether political, economic, military, or all three. All members of the Organization must act against the aggressor as the Security Council may determine (II, 5; VIII B, 7, 10). It is in short an executive agency.

An important arm of the Security Council, in respect to military action, would be its Military Staff Committee—in effect the world Organization's General Staff. On this body only the Big Five would be represented, although they would be expected to invite other states to participate when needed. Dumbarton Oaks calls for no standing international police force, but relies on armed forces made available to the Security Council by "all members of the Organization" in accordance with special agreements.

The original Proposals left the troubled question of the Council's voting procedure up to Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill. At Yalta they agreed on a procedure that not only concentrated the Council's power in its big-power members, but made any effective action by the Organization impossible without the unanimous consent of the big powers. In short, any one of the big powers may "veto" such action—even if it is an aggressor.

Decisions by the Council relating to procedure require a vote of any seven of the eleven members. In deciding whether a dispute should be investigated, whether the Council may make a recommendation, and in certain other matters, a big-power aggressor cannot veto Council action.

The International Court. The Proposals call for an international court of justice. The question is left open whether it should be the existing court or a new one. The Proposals say that "justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the international court of justice" but do not define this troublesome term.

The Secretariat, or permanent research and managerial staff, would be headed by a Secretary-General who would have the right "to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matters which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security." This provision—the only specific one in a necessarily vague paragraph on the Secretariat—would give the Organization's executive an importance far beyond that of his counterpart in the old League.

The Economic and Social Council would be the only body directly subject to the General Assembly. This agency is to carry out the recommendations of the Assembly with respect to "international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and human freedom," and even make recommendations with respect to such matters on its own initiative. While this Council has no power to impose a solution on any state without its consent, it can call international conferences to frame new treaties or make recommendations dealing with any economic or social matter. The members of this Council represent eighteen states elected by the Assembly for three-year terms, which can make decisions by a simple majority.

Regions vs. the World. The Dumbarton Oaks draft enjoins

Security Council to encourage and work through "regional arrangements or agencies."

Hard to Amend—Impossible to Resign. One of the most interesting features of the Proposals relates to amendments. These can be adopted by two-thirds of the members of the Assembly if ratified by the Big Five and a majority of the other members of the Organization. Thus the U.S. can block any amendment, but a small state voting no must nevertheless accept it if it is approved by the requisite majority of other states. In such a case the small state is not permitted to resign. Doubtless recalling the sensational resignations of Germany and Japan from the old League, Dumbarton Oaks' authors apparently wanted no member to withdraw unless expelled by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

IV AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSALS—PLUS AND MINUS

What do the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals add up to?

Not a world organization. A good part of the world (Germany, Japan, Italy, and other enemy and ex-enemy countries; Sweden, Switzerland, and other neutrals) is not invited to join, at least at first. It is an Organization of victorious official belligerents called the United Nations, forty-six in number, which represent about 85 per cent of the two billion inhabitants of the globe.

It is not a superstate. The Organization will lack all the essential attributes of sovereignty. It cannot pass laws; its court has no defined jurisdiction; it has no more executive power than its chief member states are willing to grant it in any particular crisis. It professes to be "based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," the phrase that Cordell Hull labored for in Moscow. Not all its members are as "peace-loving" as nonmembers Sweden and Switzerland; the "equality" of the members is far from perfect; but nobody can deny that their "sovereignty," especially that of the big nations, is rigorously observed.

Finally, it is not a plan for collective security. This statement may come as a surprise; but we are here concerned with the actual Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, not with the oversized shadow of them that has been cast on the wall by the State Department's publicity campaign.

Then what, after all, are the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals? They are a carefully, though not very bravely, calculated attempt to avoid, or at least postpone, the next war.

The chief difficulty confronting those who seek to prevent war is that war's causes have never been scientifically isolated. Religion has isolated them, but not science; and we are still in a scientific age. This is not the place to explore that problem. But for perspective's sake, we may quote what two great scientists, one in the field of politics and one in the field of psychology, have had to say about war.

Thomas Hobbes wrote that "warre . . . is necessarily consequent to the naturall Passions of men, when there is no visible Power to keep in awe, and tye them by feare of punishment to the performance of their Covenants."

Sigmund Freud wrote, "There is but one way of ending war, and that is by common consent of a central control which shall have the last word in every conflict of interest. For this, two things are needed, first, the creation of . . . a supreme court of judicature and, second, its investment with adequate executive force."

In other words, we shall not be rid of war until we have a world community with a world government, and perhaps not even then. The authors of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals probably knew this, but they also had another stubborn fact to consider: that the human race, the only living species that indulges in mass self-slaughter, is not yet alarmed enough about its own self-preservation to take the necessary steps against war. Mankind yearns for peace but values other things more highly. One of the things it values more highly—whether for reasons of idealism, fear, greed, or pride—is national freedom of action.

The distribution of world power, according to one theory, is a major determinant of war and peace. When national powers are in fair balance, there is peace; war is the effort to upset or restore this balance. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are an effort to perpetuate the power balance that will exist as a result of this war. The maintenance of the Big Three coalition is their basic assumption and aim.

So long as the Big Three act together, they can continue their victory and so keep formal peace. No "aggressor nation" now visible on the postwar horizon is capable of defying their concerted might. If, on the other hand, the Big Three fall out, no combination of other "peace-loving nations" is capable of preventing another major war. Such is the assumption on which Dumbarton Oaks rests, dubious though this assumption may be. It has been well summarized in a current fable about a man who was walking along an English road, sprinkling a white powder on either side. A fellow traveler asked him what the powder was.

"It's anti-lion powder."

"But there are no lions in England nowadays."

"And a good thing too, because this powder is no bloody good."

Wilson's day and ours

The last great effort to preserve peace was Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations. Some Wilsonians are among the most outspoken critics of Dumbarton Oaks. They point out that the current Proposals, considered as a step in man's long climb toward worldwide freedom under law, are a step backward from the League, rather than forward. To their criticism there is only this answer: the world, since Wilson's day, has greatly changed.

At the end of World War I the world looked like a Mercator-projection map: a fairly flat terrain broken up into segments like a jigsaw puzzle. Although some segments were larger than others, they differed in circumference rather than in depth. The world problem consisted in fitting together the pieces of the puzzle. Power seemed fairly equally divided among the five major victorious states. Wilson believed the world could be so organized that these states could be held accountable for the exercise of their power by an international organization resting on justice and law. The strength of the forty-odd small states,

if pooled through the League, would be sufficient, Wilson believed, to offset the aggression of any one big power. He believed it was to the interest of all states to accept common obligations to this effect. He assumed that the same moral standards governed the larger part of the world, that democracy would soon be universal, and that competitive enterprise and ultimate free trade would improve the living standards of all peoples. Had the U.S. Senate given this idea a chance, men might have succeeded in creating the world of Wilson's vision. It did not; and its failure has given the American people, or many of them, a sensitive conscience about all forms of world organization, so that today they are predisposed to join almost any.

But while men may learn from their mistakes, they may not repair them. Wilson's flat Mercator world is no longer even a possibility. It has become a shrunken globe spiked by two antipodal jagged peaks, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and by a third somewhat lower mountain, the British Empire. The rest of the world consists of foothills, active and inactive volcanoes, oceans, deserts, valleys, and swamps. As the world grows smaller, the differences in its moral and political climate become more obvious. It is one world, yes, but not in Wilson's sense. In morals, politics, and economics there are six or a dozen worlds, some dying, some merging, some waiting to be born.

At this moment the most powerful world is the U.S. Americans are slowly beginning to understand the vast extent of their noonday strength. We shall emerge from the war with the mightiest navy and air force in the world or in the history of the world, and with an army comparable only to that of Russia. Other nations, Britain and Russia especially, have made far greater per capita sacrifice than the American people in this war. But without American production, which fed Britain and put the Russian Army on wheels, the Nazi menace could not have been subdued. We have paid less for victory than any nation, and emerged with more power.

Mr. Churchill seems even more aware of American power than we are ourselves. In his speech of January 18 he said, "We must marvel at the triumphant strength of the U.S. now roused from its peaceful, free and easy life against its desires, to become the greatest military force in the world."

Despite our tremendous military and economic power, the U.S. today is exercising less political influence on the future than its allies. This is partly because we are uncertain as to how we wish to use our power. The very success of American arms increases our national pride and our new sense of independence. In this kind of turbulent world, do we really wish to accept external commitments restraining the use of our power? Or to submit our policies to international judgment? Just the other day Admiral King, echoing the late Secretary Knox, proclaimed the Navy's desire to keep the island bases we occupied in the Pacific. Some of these islands were Japanese mandates, but some—and the Admiral did not distinguish—are British, French, and Dutch. Such statements, suggesting a new American imperialism, arouse disquiet among our allies.

As to Soviet Russia, the other great center of military power, it has made more obvious gestures toward imperialism. Subtly but firmly extending its political influence over Poland, Finland, the Balkans, and northern China, and threatening to do the same in central Europe, Russia is creating a buffer zone of "friendly" governments all around its borders, whether the inhabitants want to be friendly or not. Meanwhile Russia takes an old-fashioned view of the international peace-keeping Organization. It will sign the fine words, but it will have its buffer states and alliances too. To the Russians, Dumbarton Oaks is probably just a tricky and tedious periphrasis for a highly desirable objective: a military alliance with the U.S. (It already has one with Britain.)

Britain, the third member of the triumvirate, occupies a more difficult position than either Russia or the U.S. It knows that in World War III Britain would be immediately exposed to a murderous attack from what General Macready calls "V-58." But its more immediate problem is how to feed the people of Britain—among the most heavily populated islands in the world—when this war is over. Despite great achievements in the present war, Britain's historic position must inevitably give way somewhat to the U.S. and Russia in the future. Britain's foreign investments have been largely consumed by war; much of its merchant marine has been sunk; its industries are in certain respects inefficient. Nevertheless Britain must export or die, at a time when the U.S. threatens to take the lion's share of the trade of the world. Britain has numerous assets—such as national solidarity, a superior political structure, moral fiber, brains, a good many raw materials, a good Navy, Air Force, and numerous strategic bases. But Britain inwardly knows that the problem of postwar survival in a world dominated by two new giants involves new and difficult problems. While Britain might prefer to solve its economic and security problems through a universal organization, it cannot wait for the U.S. to make up its mind as to concrete policies. While hoping for the best, it therefore strives to create a sterling bloc the trade of which it will control through bilateral and other agreements; it also aims to restore its empire in the Orient, and achieve a predominant position in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Africa. Britain is committed to the idea of international organization, but it develops an alternative policy.

Such, in broad strokes, is the current background of Big Three power politics. It is essential to an understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, for the authors of the latter accepted this background as their major premise. They made no assumption as to any common desire for a "better world." They accepted the existing distribution of power in the world, and then sought in that necessity the virtue of peace.

Three merits

The plan has three considerable merits. The first is that any great power—and particularly the U.S.—can join it without sacrificing any important freedom of action or jeopardizing such security as it may create for itself.

The U.S. can join this Organization without making any hard decisions. Once inside it, the same choices of policy will confront us as confront us now. Instead of being asked for difficult commitments, we are offered a flexible framework within which we can make our own policy. The same goes for Russia and Britain, for China and France. Possibly this is a considerable merit in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals; for the outlook of postwar politics is confused and murky, and it may be a good time to retain some freedom of choice.

A second merit of Dumbarton Oaks is that it sets up machinery of continuous international consultation. Almost any diplomatic machinery, if its limitations are understood, is better than none at all. This particular machinery will not work unless the Big Five agree; but it provides them with a spotlighted forum, the Security Council, where they must seek their indispensable agreement regularly and before witnesses.

The third merit is that the Assembly and (to a lesser extent) the court are provided with great opportunities, though little

ower. Some of the best apologists of Dumbarton Oaks, such as Walter Lippmann, promise us that the Assembly and its organ, the Economic and Social Council, will replace the Security Council in importance, once the postwar "era of pacification" is past. In other words, an effective international democracy of equal states may grow out of Dumbarton Oaks, provided the forty-six members show the capacity for it. Nothing forbids them and much invites them. They will control the various "functional organizations" (I.L.O., F.A.O., International Monetary Fund and Bank, etc.) that can heal the wounds of this war and attack the social maladjustments that may cause the next. Through the cumulative force of wise recommendations and the backing of public opinion, they may gradually influence national policies and, over a long period, lay the groundwork for a genuine world community.

The flaws

But our generation is understandably most concerned with the next decade or two, Mr. Lippmann's "era of pacification." Will the Security Council bring us safely through it? To answer that we must turn to the flaws in Dumbarton Oaks. They may be summarized as follows: the plan's reliance on big-power agreement is so desperate that no peaceful alternative is envisioned.

The rule of unanimity, also known as the big-power veto, makes it impossible for the Security Council to act against any threat of war if any one of the Big Five does not want to act. For example, suppose that the U.S. decides to invade Mexico, as it did in 1916. We are pledged on joining the Organization not to use force "in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization." But we might tell ourselves that this invasion is self-defense, so the pledge does not apply. According to the British official Commentary, the Organization will determine when "the right of self-defense has been properly used." Under the current Proposals, however, the U.S. could, by simple veto, prevent the Council from deciding that our invasion was "a threat or breach of the peace," let alone taking any action on Mexico's behalf.

The rule of unanimity goes further. The Council could, of course, take cognizance of the U.S.–Mexican controversy, and even decide to urge that we take it to the world court. Under the Yalta formula, the U.S. as a party to the dispute could not vote on this decision. But a simple majority of the Council could still not make the decision. Each of the other four permanent members must agree. Considering how solid the Big Five must be for Dumbarton Oaks to work at all, it seems probable that at least one of our big allies would, if the U.S. wished it, veto the decision.

The unanimity rule may also protect an aggressor among the small states, if it has a friend on the Council. If Bulgaria and Greece became embroiled over Macedonia, either Russia or Britain could by simple veto prevent the Council from even investigating the dispute.

As we have seen, this flexibility is a merit, but it is a danger too. The danger is that a series of threats to the peace, and even open wars, may develop while the veto-bound Security Council takes no action. Its elaborate military paraphernalia may remain idle throughout a major crisis. Nobody is committed in advance to any positive action, except as the Council may order. This is the first weakness of the Dumbarton Oaks plan: it fails to provide collective security while professing to do so.

The standard defense of this weakness in Dumbarton Oaks is that of the New York *Times* in a recent editorial: "The whole hope of maintaining peace rests, in the last analysis, on the good faith of the three Great Powers." This is a very innocent view of history. Of course if no great power wishes to fight, there will be no major war. But if "good faith" is enough to maintain peace, why do we need a Security Council?

It is true that any attempt to coerce a major power would probably mean a major war. Yet there remains the question whether action against the next aggressor should take place with the same hesitation and uncertainty that marked the entrance of many of the United Nations into the present war against Germany. The U.S., for example, stayed out of World War II for about two years. Under a real system of collective security, the U.S. and all the other United Nations would have entered the war immediately following the German attack on Poland. The knowledge that the U.S. was under a commitment to do so would have been a deterrent to Nazi aggression—probably an effective deterrent. This deterrent does not exist under Dumbarton Oaks because of the big-power veto.

Under Secretary Grew and others defend their handiwork by arguing further that, despite the big-power veto, the Security Council and Assembly can effectively mobilize "world opinion" against aggression. World opinion, though important, is hardly a substitute for effective action. In any case, so-called "moral sanctions" will have a very limited influence in a world in which many nations do not enjoy freedom of the press, radio, and speech, and may even be kept in ignorance of condemnation from without.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals do not create a system of collective security; but they do offer a flagrant affront to the juridical equality of nations. They accept the principle of the "sovereign equality of all peace-loving states." But in fact their procedure establishes the juridical *inequality* of states. A small state cannot be judge and party to its cause before the Security Council, but a big power is to enjoy this privilege. All states under this plan *must* act unconditionally against aggression if ordered to do so by the Security Council (VI, 4). But a big power has complete discretion in preventing the Council from acting at all. A small state under certain circumstances is obliged to accept amendments to which it is opposed, in contrast to the Big Five, each of which has an absolute veto.

A year ago, Secretary Hull expressed his belief that the new world Organization would mean an end to the era of "spheres of influence." Yet spheres of influence are not precluded by anything in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. They leave the decision about that right where it was before—in the foreign policies of the great powers. It is true that every nation may speak out on the affairs of any other, neighbor or not; and the Big Five are in a sense licensed kibitzers on each other's regional policies. Thus the U.S. has a voice in Polish-Russian matters, and Russia has one in Western Hemisphere disputes. In theory this global mutuality makes Dumbarton Oaks the opposite of a "spheres of influence" solution. But in practice, juridical inequality and the unanimity rule would permit each great power to dominate its smaller neighbors. They may even encourage this domination; for the small nation's final recourse —as both will well know—is to Council action that the big power can prevent. The Big Three must and should agree if peace is to be kept. But the absolute priority placed on this agreement is a standing invitation to imperialism to any big power so minded. However shocked the other big powers may be, they will look the other way a long time before risking a breach of big-power unity, that one indispensable ingredient.

Commonweal says with reference to Yalta (March 2):

"What disturbs us the most about the entire policy line of the Big Three is their seeming tendency toward assumption of world hegemony. If this is in fact the intention, then we shall be confronted with a world in which small states will be in substance feudal appanages of the most powerful country in their neighborhood. For the nations of the world of their own free will to curtail their sovereignty is one thing—and a desirable thing. For the big powers to retain their full sovereignty and force their lesser neighbors to give up theirs is dangerous and bad."

Imperialism vs. *federalism*

The clustering of satellites around the three great power centers, which Dumbarton Oaks will indirectly promote, is sometimes justified as inevitable, on the ground that the day of the independent small state is over. Some people argue that because of technological reasons small states must inevitably be absorbed by big ones. But this sphere-of-influence solution involves two grave dangers. First, any system under which a big power can regiment its smaller neighbor involves great injustices. Here it is necessary to talk with some frankness. Soviet Russia is a totalitarian regime. Should it absorb or control its neighbors, totalitarianism would be extended into countries some of which at least have upheld the concept of Western individualism. Today there are disquieting reports that in Poland, Soviet-controlled authorities are carrying out wholesale deportations and even executions of Poles loyal to the London government. These reports may be exaggerated or untrue. But neither the American nor the English people, devoted to the tradition of freedom, will long support any system that makes the big powers immune from international responsibilities for essentially barbarous acts.

The second danger is that the spheres of influence inevitably tend to clash. If our hardboiled school of liberals acquiesces in the destruction of Poland for the sake of Big Three unity, will it also acquiesce in the partition of China for the same reason? If so, how should China be divided? What is to be the fate of Germany in a Europe divided between a Russian and a British sphere? Who is to have the Middle East? Wholly apart from injustice, this kind of peace can lead only to clashes among the Big Three.

It does not follow that we can or should restore the state system as it existed in 1938. But the confederation or merger of states is not an end in itself. It should be done by consent for the purpose of advancing both welfare and freedom. Instead of encouraging such voluntary mergers in the past, the Big Three have actually opposed them. Thus Britain vetoed an agreement in 1932 providing for a 10 per cent tariff reduction between Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands. Soviet Russia has opposed the idea of a Scandinavian federation and frowned on similar projects for both central and western Europe. Washington has discouraged the concept of a united Europe because of the belief, in our view mistaken, that a united Europe would be dominated by German imperialism. A Paris newspaper, *Temps Présent*, recently wrote, "There are two ways of realizing this organization of the world: by the imperialism of a few great powers dividing the vassal world among themselves, or by a federalism freely born—and internationally guided—from the will of the peoples. It is unfortunate that the first solution should have been chosen at Yalta . . ."

Yet all these defects and dangers in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals might be readily overlooked if it were not for one final defect, the most significant of all. We must grant that the Proposals are "realistic" in that they fit the present state of world politics. We may agree that our best hope of peace does indeed lie in the continued collaboration of the Big Three, even in their "good faith." But the old question remains: *Quis custodiet custodes?* Who polices the policemen? What is disturbing about the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is not that they do not answer this question satisfactorily, but that they do not even try to answer it at all.

The Big Three do not profess or bind themselves to any known standard of international morality. They do not even appeal to the *concept* of justice, or of law, or of freedom. They acknowledge no higher moral authority than their own sweet will. The defect may seem trivial; remediable with a few long words. But if some higher standard than "security" was not in the authors' minds to begin with, it may be doubted whether they will achieve even that.

Yes or no?

Such are our misgivings about Dumbarton Oaks. They are profound misgivings. Is it not our duty, then, as journalists to urge all American citizens and Congressmen to oppose the plan? Would it not be wiser of the State Department to admit a failure, throw this blueprint away, and start over; or, failing that, to keep the U.S. from joining any world organization at all?

Better roads to peace might have been devised than the one which the peoples of the world are now asked to travel. In the course of popular discussion in the last several years many other schemes and policies have been proposed, good and bad, wise and foolish. They range all the way from an Anglo-American alliance to a real International Police Force and include a variety of concepts such as Walter Lippmann's "Atlantic Community" and the "Culbertson Plan."

If we actually could "start over again" a better combination of plans and policies might be developed. But actually there is never a wholly "new chapter" in history. As a result of the history of the last few years with all its human mistakes and triumphs, the world has before it one and only one basis, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, for seeking the minimum degree of "unity" which is necessary to worldwide peace. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are based on the maintenance of our wartime coalition, thus keeping continuing alliance. It is a plausible, even a hopeful road to peace, however rocky. Those whose hearts are on peace are therefore wise to take it. They will be still wiser if they bear always in mind that joining the Organization is only a fraction of the job of preventing the next war. The rest of the job for us Americans, and much the bigger part of our job, lies in the successful development of our own domestic and foreign policies. Americans cannot long be either peaceful or prosperous if the rest of the world is racked by poverty and lawless conflict. But there can be no greater contribution to the well-being of mankind than a strong, vigorous, outward-looking, and morally responsible America.

Finally, as to the eternally basic political problem of freedom, we shall not keep our political virtues any purer by keeping them to themselves. The world contains much evil; so does Dumbarton Oaks; so does the U.S. But all three can be improved, and the U.S. can do more to improve them as a member of the Organization than from without.

V HOW TO MAKE THE FINAL CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

The time to begin making "improvements" is right now—at San Francisco. If at San Francisco improvements are made over the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, that will be evidence that progress toward a just and durable peace *can* be made under Big Three domination. If, on the contrary, no improvements are made at San Francisco, many groups and individuals who have tentatively endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals may properly feel compelled to withhold their support from the actual Charter of the Organization.

There is plenty of room for improvement—now. Many sensible and morally responsible suggestions have been made officially, semi-officially, and by private persons. We outline here, with brief comment, the more important improvements on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals that we believe to be both practical and necessary.

1) Greater recognition of the rule of law

The Charter of the Organization should contain recognition of the principles of justice and law. Such recognition is now almost entirely absent. In this respect the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are much weaker than the Preamble of the League Covenant, which called for "the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments" and for "the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another."

We specifically endorse Senator Vandenberg's proposal that the Charter should have as one of its leading purposes "to establish justice and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Second, the Charter of the Organization should instruct the General Assembly to appoint a commission to work on the codification of international law and, on the basis of such studies, to submit, say within five years, conventions embodying recognized principles or proposing new ones. In 1942 the American nations created an Inter-American Juridical Committee, which, sitting at Rio de Janeiro, did excellent work, the fruits of which were seen at the Mexico City conference this spring. This precedent should be followed at San Francisco.

Third, the San Francisco Conference should accept the Permanent Court of International Justice as the principal judicial organ of the Organization—instead of creating a new one. To achieve this result it will be necessary to amend the court statutes so as to transfer the powers of the old League Assembly and Council with respect to the election of judges and other matters to corresponding bodies in the Organization. At the same time change might be made in the statute to make it easier of amendment and to give the Permanent Court power to create regional chambers. The so-called optional clause under which some forty-five states accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the court in so-called legal disputes should certainly be retained and if possible strengthened.

The Charter should also contain a clause similar to Article 18 of the League Covenant—providing for the registration with the Secretariat of all international treaties or engagements.

Finally, in order to give immediate significance to the recognition of the rule of law, and pending the recommendations of the General Assembly's commission on law, it is recommended that a definition of "aggression" be incorporated into the Charter of the Organization. A good example is the Act of Chapultepec, adopted by the American nations on March 3, 1945, which said among other things that "invasion by armed forces of one state into the territory of another, trespassing boundaries established by treaty . . . shall constitute an act of aggression." Attention is also called to the Convention for the Definition of Aggression of July 3, 1933, signed by Russia and its seven neighbors—a definition of which Russia was the author.

2) Greater recognition of the need for peaceful change

One of the best features of the Proposals is that they give to the Assembly broad powers to recommend peaceful change. It can make recommendations for the purpose of promoting "international cooperation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare." It should be made clear that action of the Assembly under this power may not be vitiated by big-power veto in the Security Council. Second, it should be made clear that the Assembly is not debarred from making recommendations as to the revision of peace treaties by Chapter XII, 2 of Dumbarton Oaks, which asserts, "No provisions of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy states as a result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action." The Assembly should have the unrestricted right to recommend revision of any provision in war-imposed settlements or peace treaties which it should decide to be unjust.

3) Strengthen the General Assembly

The powers of the General Assembly should be increased along the following lines:

a) The Assembly should have the right to make recommendations on any matter relating to peace and security if the Security Council has not acted on the question, say, within three months.

b) The Assembly should have the right to admit new members into the Organization by a two-thirds vote of its members together with a two-thirds vote of the Security Council including three of the five permanent members.

c) The Assembly should have the power to propose amendments to the Charter by a two-thirds vote, effective when ratified by a majority of the members including three of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Any member unwilling to be bound by a new amendment should be given the right to resign upon two years' notice.

d) The Assembly should have broader powers of control and coordination over so-called functional organizations, such as the proposed food organization and the International Labor Organization. The Assembly should be given the power to vote a consolidated annual budget for all such specialized organizations. The Assembly would not have the authority either to expand or restrict functions granted such organizations by separate conventions. But through this budgetary control it could watch

over administration, prevent chaotic proliferation of the staffs of such organizations, and secure uniformity in policy.

e) Finally, under this head, the San Francisco Conference should give serious consideration to the principle of "weighted representation" of nations in the Assembly. The Assembly would achieve greater effectiveness and influence if the great powers were more adequately represented there.

Weighted representation means that each state should be given a number of votes according to a rough formula based on such factors as population, literacy, and national income. The difficulties involved in working out an acceptable formula are obvious. Nevertheless, as a basis for discussion, we propose for a ten-year period that each of the five big powers be given twenty votes; that each of the so-called middle powers, such as Canada, Brazil, India, and the Netherlands, be given ten; and that each of the twenty-two states having less than five million people be given one seat. Under such a system, Soviet Russia could allot its twenty seats among its constituent republics. The small states, even with weighted voting, would still have the same opportunity to express their views as they have under equal voting strength. Moreover, since the Assembly is not a legislative body, no state would legally be bound by its deliberations. Nevertheless the recommendations of the Assembly would be treated more seriously if the constitution of that body more nearly reflected the distribution of population and productivity of the world, and the adoption of the principle of weighted representation could pave the way for the development of a real world community outlook.

4) The role of the Security Council should be modified

A strong case could be made for abolishing altogether the enforcement powers of the Security Council. As now planned, the Council will enforce its decisions only when all the big powers agree to gang up on one or two little powers. This could make the enforcement power of the Council a joke, and a bitter one. The punitive power of the Security Council (dependent on the big-power veto) has already led to widespread mistrust. Doing away with the punitive power of the Council would reduce this distrust, for the inferior legal status imposed on small powers would be removed. And the Organization would still retain its chief merit and virtue, namely, that of providing a regular system for getting together and talking things over. This suggestion, in short, is that the Security Council should be a solemn consultative body rather than an executive agency. Sanctions against aggression would still be possible but would be left to the discretion of states, acting wherever possible in accordance with concrete security agreements.

This is a logical suggestion. Nevertheless it seems unwise to urge that the punitive powers of the Security Council be scrapped now. Defective as the Proposals are, they represent an attempt to institutionalize the use of force. In any case, the Charter should broaden the obligation of the Security Council to investigate all disputes that threaten world peace, and make recommendations, as follows:

First, the right of any one of the Big Five—if not a party—to prevent the Security Council from even investigating a controversy should be abolished. It is recommended that the Council be authorized to investigate a controversy and recommend a settlement by a vote of seven of the eleven members, including any three of the Big Five.

Second, the Council should be clearly granted the power to recommend *terms* of settlement, in addition to "appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment," as in the Proposals today.

Third, the present right of any state to block investigation of any dispute by the Council on the ground that it is a "domestic" question should be drastically qualified. It is recommended that the reservation as to "domestic" problems be eliminated. If this is impossible, then the Charter should make it clear that the determination of what constitutes a "domestic" question should be decided not by the party itself but by the World Court.

5) Encouragement to regional arrangements

Already the three leading powers in Europe, Soviet Russia, France, and Britain, have attempted to protect their future security by bilateral alliances. But alliances breed counter-alliances. The whole system tends to strengthen competitive nationalism—while the promises made in alliances soon tend to lose their value. Basic underlying conditions may change so that the promise is forgotten—witness the futility of the Franco-Czech alliance at the time of Munich. We would like to see a different approach to the security problem, namely, through the creation of a series of pooled-power centers in various parts of the world—joint bases and United Nations forces, consisting of units of the Big Three and other powers, the very existence of which would act as a stabilizing factor. A step in this direction would be an Anglo-American agreement open to adherence by other states continuing the Combined Military Staffs and pooling British and American bases in every part of the world, for twenty years, say, after the war.

It is not the task of the San Francisco Conference to conclude concrete security agreements; but it should look with sympathy upon this approach and amend the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals so as to remove those provisions obstructing such developments.

Under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals no "enforcement" measures under a regional agreement can be taken without the authorization of the Security Council. This means that one big power, even if the aggressor, can veto the operation of the security system created in the Act of Chapultepec, the Franco-Russian alliance, or any other such arrangement. To impose such a veto in the midst of a crisis would obviously do more harm than good and the veto in all probability would not be observed. In our opinion, every concrete security agreement, regional or otherwise, should be submitted to the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee for their "observations." Likewise the parties should immediately report action taken under such agreements to the Security Council. The latter body and the General Assembly should have the right to express an opinion and make recommendations as to whether such regional action is in accord with international law and world security.

6) A declaration of principles with regard to colonial and non-self-governing peoples

The Charter of the Organization should contain a declaration of principles with regard to colonial and non-self-governing peoples. This declaration would presumably do no more than recognize that (1) the government of dependent peoples is a "sacred trust"; (2) the goal of colonial rule is the progressive development of self-government; (3) colonial powers, holding these sacred trusts and having accepted the progressive goal, are in some degree accountable to an appropriate international

uthority for the discharge of their trust and their progress toward the goal.

The question of how such a declaration of principles should be implemented and enforced is too large to be decided in any detail at San Francisco. We suggest therefore that the conference instruct the General Assembly to convene a United Nations conference to deal exclusively with the problem of colonies and other so-called backward areas. This conference should decide whether or not the Mandates Commission should be continued in its present form or changed, whether a world colonial commission should be established, or whether greater progress can be made by regional methods.

7) International bill of rights

How a government treats its own nationals within its borders has usually been regarded as nobody's business but its own. International law considers it a "domestic question." Apart from the so-called Minorities Treaties virtually imposed on the new states of Europe after World War I, a state has been under no international obligations to treat its nationals as free men, or even as human beings.

The terrible atrocities of the past fifteen years, exceeding anything since the Dark Ages, illustrate what can happen to the human spirit when it refuses to answer Cain's question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" What can happen, and has happened in many parts of the world, is outright reversion to savagery, "made more sinister," in Mr. Churchill's famous phrase, "by the lights of perverted science." If a humane civilization is to survive, based on the rights of man and the sacredness of the individual, an international organization must be concerned with man's treatment of man everywhere.

From this premise many groups and individuals advocate an international bill of rights. The recent Inter-American Conference at Mexico City declared in favor of "the international protection of the rights of man," and called on the Inter-American Judicial Committee to draft such a bill. The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals direct the Organization to promote "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." Perhaps the fundamental task of the San Francisco Conference is to bring the power of the Big Three into a clear relation to this aim. We therefore regard it as a natural and necessary step for San Francisco to define these human rights more exactly, as our own Bill of Rights does, so that nations are committed to as broad a standard of civilized political behavior as they can agree upon. Even if the declaration is limited to freedom from terror, freedom of speech, and perhaps freedom of elections, it would be better than no specific commitments at all.

Of course, an international bill of rights means little to the victim of tyranny if he cannot lay his case before some international tribunal. But can the sovereign members of our Organization be expected to accept such international interpretations and controls? Would the U.S. permit a world court to declare that Mississippi or Georgia had violated the world bill of rights? Probably not. As for some other countries, the answer would be certainly not. Therefore San Francisco had best confine itself to a general declaration of rights, and authorize the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to watch over their protection. In case of violation, these bodies could air it publicly and recommend reform. Whether or not the reform ensues, the offending government, having signed the bill of rights, could at least no longer claim that its behavior was a "domestic question."

This may not seem a great advance over prewar practice. But it would be a definite advance; and almost everything about Dumbarton Oaks, and about the world situation, teaches us to work harder in concert for what is possible now, deferring the grand, irreversible decisions. Ten years from now the signatories of San Francisco might do well to gather again and review their handiwork in another world constitutional convention. They may then see what shape their minimal bill of rights is in, what shape the world, what shape their Organization. They may find that, working together, they have made enough progress as sovereign nations to undertake still further commitments as members of an international community.

19-38-194

17 January 1945

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of December 10, I may say that I have great sympathy with the Catholic Church and know something of its history. My granddaughter is at present in the eighth grade of the elementary school conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis Academy in Baltimore. On the other hand, I cannot assent to any creed which demands that I accept on faith the elaborate doctrine and dogma of the Catholic Church. As a scientist I am perfectly aware that there are somethings in this world we must accept on faith so long as we rigorously test them by the data of experience. Beyond that I cannot go.

I regret to say that the human friendship and intellectual fellowship offered by the Catholic Church now and in the past is not as perfect as I wish it could be. There are separate white and Negro congregations in the South. The Catholics still refuse to receive colored students in a large number of their schools and their training of Negro Catholic priests in America has been ridiculously below the demand.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend John R. Timpany, S. S. J.
St. Peter Claver's Church
P. O. Box 555
Tyler, Texas

Hon. Dr. Henry Carr, C. B. E.
The Haven
6, Tinubu Square, Lagos

Hon. A. Alakija, C. B. E.
Akuro House, Lagos

Professor N. D. Oyerinde
Ogbomosho, via Ibadan

9 March 1945

Chief Salami Agbaje
Alafia House
Ayeye Market, Ibadan

Chief Gaius Obaseki
c/o Post Office
Benin City, Nigeria

20-4-151

My dear Sir:

We are holding in New York, April sixth, a Colonial Conference to which we have invited native representatives of as many colonies as we can get in touch with. Most of these attendants will be persons at present resident in the United States. Nevertheless in continuing the work of this conference we want to get in correspondence with leaders in all the colonies.

I am enclosing our invitation and statement and asking if you can any time in the near future help with data and advice? We would be greatly pleased to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Chief C. A. A. Titcombe
P. O. Box 7
Abeokuta
Nigeria
Africa

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT
HARPER SIBLEY, CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ELLIOTT H. LEE, TREASURER
EUGENE E. BARNETT, GENERAL SECRETARY
RALPH W. HARBISON, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL BOARD
WM. E. SPEERS, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
CLEVELAND E. DODGE, CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL BOARD

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CORPORATE BODY
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
347 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 6-1200

January 15, 1945

20-4-02 341-48

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have yours of January 8th, in which you state that you are exploring the advisability of holding a small colonial conference in New York next month. I am in hearty accord with this proposal, and for the reasons given in your letter. I am leaving the city today but will be back Friday or Saturday, and will be glad to talk with you about groups and individuals who might be invited to participate.

A few days ago I suggested to Rev. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak, an Indian who is interested in promoting what he calls a "One World League," that he have a talk with you. I am sure that he can give you some information about Indian groups in this country that may be helpful to you in planning for the conference. 425 E. 86 St

Please let me say that your association with the N.A.A.C.P. at this critical hour is a source of reassurance and inspiration to me personally.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

Channing H. Tobias.

CHT:ERR

HOWARD A. COFFIN
PRESIDENT

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MURRAY HILL 6-1200

March 29, 1945

20-4-149

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have received your invitation to a Colonial Conference, to be held on April 6th, in the auditorium of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, and am definitely planning to be present.

I am glad that this Conference is to be held before the San Francisco Conference, and doubly glad that you are going to San Francisco as an observor.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias.

CHT:ERR

20 West 40th Street

29 November 1945

21-6-124

My dear Dr. Tobias:

I have just heard of your election as Director of the Phelps Stokes Fund. May I congratulate you heartily. It is a sign of the progress which the American Negro is making to think that Thomas Jesse Jones has been succeeded by Channing H. Tobias. Glory to God in the highest!

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
YMCA
347 Madison Avenue
New York City

HOWARD A. COFFIN
PRESIDENT

HARPER SIBLEY
CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

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MURRAY HILL 6-1200

November 30, 1945

21-6-125

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

No congratulatory expression that I have received means more to me than yours. In the first place, I happen to know that Dr. Stokes wrote you sometime ago, asking your opinion of certain persons whose names he submitted to you for comment, and that you spoke very highly of me in your reply. In the second place, you are so well acquainted with the Fund and the field that it serves that your expression of confidence has a depth of meaning that would not be true of anyone who did not have this intimate knowledge. Rest assured that I fully appreciate the significance of your reference to the present occupant of the office.

I kept up fairly well with your reports from London, and shall be looking forward to an early opportunity of talking with you about the Pan African Congress and your observations in general while you were in Europe. From what I have read, I am sure that it was worth all the time that was spent in trying to convince some of our friends that the trip was worthwhile.

With every good wish, and again thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

Channing H. Tobias.

CHT:ERR

City of New York
Municipal Court
Borough of Manhattan
8 Reade Street
New York

JUSTICES' CHAMBERS
CHARLES E. TONEY, JUSTICE

(Unofficial)

January 22, 1945

20-1-154

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York. N. Y.

My dear Doctor DuBois:

In reply to your favor of recent date, allow me to say that I think your proposal with respect to the Colonial Conference is well calculated to bring out certain facts and opinions with respect to colonial conditions. Such a plan should be helpful in laying a basis for bettering colonial conditions. I have no doubt that the more varied the representatives of such a conference the more likely it would be to receive helpful information.

I am sorry I am not in a position to be of much assistance so far as suggesting any particular individuals to be invited to such a conference. However, I would suggest Hope Stevens of 209 West 125th Street, an attorney, who

ought to be well informed with respect to West Indian conditions. The Secretary of the Pullman Porters, whose name I cannot now just recollect, is from the Virgin Islands and probably could be helpful with respect to conditions generally there.

I am sorry I am unable to be more helpful to you.

I am

Very truly yours ,

Chas. E. Toney

Charles E. Toney

20-15-76

October 10, 1945

Miss Marian Tooley
43 Mortimer Court
Abbey Road
St. John's Wood
London, England

Dear Marian:

I am flying to London Saturday morning. My address will be in C/O Dr. Clarke, 112 Newington Causeway, S.E.1, London. Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

D:jd

John Hope

1910

59 Morton Street
New York City 14

January 16th, 1945

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Please forgive me for having delayed so long in returning these valuable letters, Dr. Hope's and your own reply to it. I have made copies and am returning your own copy of the Hope letter.

Of course, these are highly important documents and I am duly grateful for your kindness in letting me have them. If you have come across any additional items that you think might be serviceable to me, I hope you will do me the additional kindness of letting me see them.

May I add that throughout the preparation of this Hope material I have again and again returned to the study of various volumes of your writings and have been constantly impressed by the magnificent contribution you have made to the cause of human progress, however far it lags behind you.

With greetings and all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ridgely Torrence

Ridgely Torrence

20-2-14

23 January 1945

20-2-15

My dear Mr. Torrance:

I am very glad to hear from you and to know that I have been of some use. Thank you for the return of the letter.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Ridgely Torrence
59 Morton Street
New York City 14, New York

July 9, 1945

20-12-55

My dear Mrs. Trotman:

Mrs. DuBois is expecting to spend the last two weeks in July and most of August in New York. I am trying to get her the usual accommodations at the Y.W.C.A. as that seems most convenient. I know she will want to get in touch with you as soon as she comes.

I am still planning to come over to see you as soon as I get a chance to draw a breath.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mrs. M. B. Trotman
355 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn New York